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15

406
P566

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1877-8-9.

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TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.
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CONTENTS.

PAGE

I.—Sixth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 18th May, 1877. By HENRY SWEET, Esq. 1

REPORTS BY—

The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society in 1876–7* 1
The PRESIDENT, on *English Philology* 3
The PRESIDENT, on *Phonology* 7
The PRESIDENT, on the *Characteristics of English Work* ... 10
Dr. J. H. GALLÉE, on *Dutch* 16
Dr. F. TAMM, on *Swedish* 30
Prof. A. LESKIEN, on *Lithuanian, Lettish, and Prussian* ... 44
Prof. P. DE COURTEILLE, on *Turkish Languages* 54
Prof. HÜBSCHMANN, on *Armenian* 64
R. N. CUST, Esq., on the *Languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago* 72
Prof. L. DE ROSNY, on *Japanese* 109

II.—Accadian Phonology. By Professor A. H. SAYCE ... 123

✓III.—The Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset. By FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY, Esq.... 143

IV.—English Metre. By Professor J. B. MAYOR 257

V.—The Malagasy Language. By the Rev. W. E. COUSINS 283

VI.—The Anglo-Cymric Score. By ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S., Vice-President 316

VII.—Seventh Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 17th May, 1878. By HENRY SWEET, Esq. 373

REPORTS BY—

The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society in 1877–8* 373
The PRESIDENT, on *English and Germanic Philology* 376
The PRESIDENT, on *Phonology* 392
The PRESIDENT, on *Dialectology* 398
The PRESIDENT, on the *Future of English Philology* 410
Dr. L. TOBLER, on *Swiss-German Dialects* 419
The Rev. S. J. WHITMEE, on *Our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Polynesia* 424
M. VON BOECK, on *Quichua* 439

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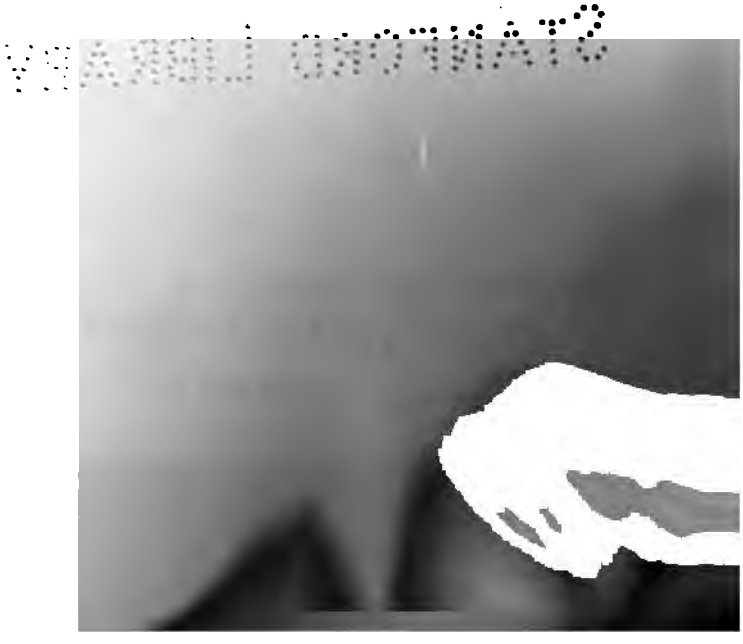

PAGE

VIII.—Sounds and Forms of Spoken Swedish. By HENRY SWEET, Esq. 457

IX.—Russian Pronunciation. By HENRY SWEET, Esq. ... 543

X.—Eighth Annual Address of the President to the Philological Society, delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 16th May, 1879. By Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY 561

REPORTS BY—

The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society* in 1878–9 561

The PRESIDENT, on the *Philological Society's Dictionary* ... 567

The PRESIDENT, on *Problems and Principles of Lexicography* 573

Prof. RAJNA, on the *Dialects of Italy* 587

Prof. SCHIEFNER, on the *Languages of the Caucasus* 593

Dr. OTTO DONNER, on the *Finnish and Lappish and their Mutual Relationship*... 602

R. N. CUST, Esq., on the *Korean Language* 613

Conclusion 617

Specimen of the Dictionary 622

APPENDIX I.—On *Here* and *There* in Chaucer. By R. F. WEYMOUTH, Esq., D.Lit. *1

APPENDIX II.—Collation of the Durham Ritual; with Notes, etc. By the Rev. Professor SKEAT... ... ... *49

INDEX *73

APPENDIX III.—1. Minutes of Meetings from January 19, 1877, to May 2, 1879 i

2. *A*. Circular of the Hon. Secretary, F. J. Furnivall, Esq., to the Members of the Philological Society, January 18, 1879 xxiii

B. Circular of the Council to the Members of the Philological Society, January 24, 1879 xxvi

C. Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Philological Society xxix

D. Copy of the Agreement referred to in the Articles ... xlvi

E. Dictionary-Contract with the Clarendon Press xlix

3. List of Members lxi

4. Treasurer's Cash Accounts, 1877, 1878 lxix

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1877-8-9.

I.—SIXTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, THE 18TH OF MAY, 1877. BY HENRY SWEET, ESQ.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

REPORTS BY—	PAGE
The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society* in 1876-7...	1
The PRESIDENT, on *English Philology*	3
The PRESIDENT, on *Phonology* ...	7
The PRESIDENT, on the *Characteristics of English Work*	10
Dr. J. H. GALLÉE, on *Dutch* ...	16
Dr. F. TAMM, on *Swedish*	30
Prof. A. LESKIEN, on *Lithuanian, Lettish, and Prussian*	44
Prof. P. DE COURTEILLE, on *Turkish Languages*	54
Prof. HÜBSCHMANN, on *Armenian*	64
R. N. CUST, Esq., on the *Languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago* ...	72
Prof. L. DE ROSNY, on *Japanese*..	109

THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM MAY, 1876, TO MAY, 1877.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

OUR Society's work during the last year still shows that healthy preference for special investigations over hazy generalization, which is the surest sign of true progress.

Almost the only paper that dealt with any of the fundamental problems of language was my own on "Words, Logic and Grammar," in which I tried to upset some of the conventional dogmas of philology, logic, and grammar, partly by means of a consistent phonetic analysis, and to explain the real meaning of the parts of speech.[1] Prof. J. B. Mayor's

[1] I also made my results the subject of a paper read before the Anthropological Institute, which will appear in the Transactions of that body.

papers on "English Metres," together with Mr. Ellis's remarks, although confined to English, were of general interest as a very important contribution to the scientific investigation of metre generally.

The Teutonic family was the subject of two papers of mine, one on "Parallel Developments as contrasted with Traditional Agreements," the other on the "Comparative Grammar of the living Teutonic Languages."[1]

Turning now to English, and beginning at the beginning, I read a paper on the "Text-criticism of the Anglo-Saxon Poets." Dr. R. Weymouth gave us an interesting paper on "*Here* and *There* in Chaucer," in which he combated, and I think with partial success, certain views of Mr. Ellis on Chaucer pronunciation. English dialects were treated in two very interesting papers by our two chief authorities on the subject, Prince L. Bonaparte, who gave us the results of his latest inquiries as to the present state of the "Somerset Dialect," and Mr. A. J. Ellis, who treated them as a whole, discussing their characteristics and classification in his paper on "English Dialects."[2]

The other European languages were represented by Prof. Cassal's "French Genders," of which we hope soon to hear the continuation, and by Mr. W. R. Morfill's instructive sketch of "Servia and its Dialects."

Of Oriental languages "Persian" was treated by Prof. Rieu, and "Common Tamil" by Mr. R. B. Swinton, both very interesting papers, while Mr. E. L. Brandreth gave a valuable survey of the "Non-Aryan Languages of India," which, at the request of the Society, he continued at an extra meeting.[3] Last, but not least, we had a most able paper by Prof. Sayce, of Oxford, on "Accadian Phonology," in which striking proofs of the phonetic decay of this ancient language were adduced.

[1] The subject of these papers will be treated at length in a work which I am now preparing, entitled, "Comparative Studies in the living Teutonic Languages."

[2] This paper will be incorporated into the forthcoming part of Mr. Ellis's "Early English Pronunciation."

[3] Mr. Brandreth's paper will appear in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

These papers represent a very wide range of subjects. It is enough, I think, to acquit our Society of any accusation of one-sidedness to consider how large a proportion of our papers are on Oriental languages—this, too, in spite of the formidable rivalry of a "Royal Asiatic Society," endowed by Government. The fact that we have had no papers on the Semitic languages is easily explained by the existence of our vigorous young contemporary, the "Society of Biblical Archæology," which is, to all intents and purposes, a Semitic Society. It is a significant fact that although our Society was originally founded mainly for the "Philological Illustration of the Classical Writers of Greece and Rome,"[1] we still refuse to look at classics. Most of us have probably had enough of them at school and college: I know I have.

Every philological society must, however wide its sympathies, have some specialty, and our specialty is English—surely the one most fitted for an English society, especially when we consider that outside of our Society English philology is almost absolutely unrepresented and unrecognized. I confidently look forward to the time when, instead of two or three, there will be twenty philological societies in London, each with its own specialty. An association of such societies, if well organized and properly supported by the general public, might do a great deal of good work in training philological workers and promoting research—work which in all civilized countries except England is done by the universities.

English.

Beginning with that earliest inflexional stage of our language, which I must persist, in spite of my respect for the judgment of Prof. March, in calling "Old English,"[2] we must first notice the death of Dr. J. Bosworth, Rawlinsonian Professor of Old English at Oxford, who, in spite of his want

[1] Rules, § 1.

[2] This name is now beginning to be adopted in Germany also; it has been warmly advocated by Prof. Zupitza, and is also used by Prof. Ten Brink and his pupils.

of thoroughness and scientific method, did very good service in popularizing his subject and keeping it alive in this nineteenth century. Dr. Bosworth has been succeeded by a former occupant of the chair, the Rev. J. Earle, who, although not trained in the modern school of philology, is a sound scholar, and has done good work in his edition of the Chronicle. The Old English professorship at Cambridge, founded by the munificence of Dr. Bosworth, has, unfortunately, not yet been filled up. When the time comes, it will be difficult to find a worthier occupant than our member Mr. W. W. Skeat.

In my "Anglo-Saxon Reader" (Clarendon Press, Oxford) I have tried to make the latest results of scientific Old English philology generally accessible to English students, and have made the work useful for general reference by adding a tolerably full grammar and glossary, which latter includes a good many common root-words which do not occur in the extracts given.

Besides Dr. Morris's "Blickling Homilies" (E.E.T.S.), still in progress, two text-editions have appeared in 1876. Mr. T. Arnold, of Oxford, has come out with a new edition of our national epic "Beówulf," while the sister University is represented by the Rev. R. Lumby's edition of an O.E. poetical paraphrase of Bede's "De Die Judicii," which, under the title of "Be Domes Dæge," forms, I am sorry to say, one of the publications of our ally, the Early English Text Society. That two such editions as these should be possible in the latter half of the nineteenth century is a phenomenon worthy of the most careful attention of the future historian of English philology. I have criticized the former work elsewhere at length.[1] As to the latter I will only call the attention of scholars to line 15, "ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan," with the translation, "I tremble*d* for myself eke at *that* great doom," the essential features of which are repeated again line 17. Mr. Lumby's text-criticism may also be gauged by comparing line 51, "(quench) the faint smoke of weak *flesh*," with the O.E. "waces flæsces:" one would

[1] In a review in the "Academy," Dec. 16, 1876.

think that the emendation was self-evident, even without the "lini" of the Latin original.

The splendid series of autotypes published by the Palæographical Society includes many facsimiles of Old English Charters. The Trustees of the British Museum have also issued two parts of a series of photographic reproductions of the oldest charters, both Latin and Old English (published by Quaritch). There can be no doubt that this method of dealing with old texts will be hereafter extensively employed; such MSS. as the Hatton Pastoral and the MS. of Cædmon, with its quaint illustrations, ought to be photographically published *in extenso*. Meanwhile the fine autotype specimens of Chaucer MSS., issued this year by the Chaucer Society, are a great boon to students, especially those who have not access to the MSS. themselves.

In Germany Prof. Zupitza has published the valuable Old Kentish glosses to the Proverbs of Solomon (Cott. Vesp. D. 6), with full grammatical introduction, notes and verbal index,[1] in that admirably exhaustive and scientific style which we naturally look for in German work.

Two other essays in periodicals deserve special attention. In America Dr. J. M. Garnett, of Annapolis, Ind., has given a very interesting history of the "Study of the Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature."[2] In Germany the well-known scholar M. Rieger has written a most valuable essay on "Old English Versification,"[3] in which the laws of stress are fully investigated, the results being often very important for text-criticism.

In Middle English we must first welcome the two new periodicals, the "Anglia," edited by Prof. R. Wülcker, and the "Englische Studien," edited and, as yet, almost entirely written by Dr. E. Kölbing, for, although they admit all periods of English, their contributions will probably be chiefly to the Middle one.[4]

[1] Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, neue folge ix. (1876).
[2] Proceedings of the National Education Association (1876).
[3] Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst. Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Philologie, vii. 1 (1876).
[4] I have contributed to the "Anglia" a collation of the Old English poem of Solomon and Saturn.

Our trusty allies, the "Early English Text," the "Chaucer," the "Shakspere," and the "English Dialect" Societies continue their labours with unabated vigour, although hampered, as most of them are, by want of funds.

Among works bearing specially on Middle English, I would call attention to Th. Wissmann's essay on "King Horn" (Strassburg, 1876), as a specimen of a kind of work which is very much wanted in England. It is a valuable contribution to the history of Middle English language and literature, as well as to the phonology, inflexions, and metre of the poem, and its relations to the French versions.

As regards the Romance element in our language—of not less importance than the Teutonic—we are still waiting for the completion of our member Mr. H. Nicol's treatise on "French Sounds in English"—a work which will do in a very full and accurate manner for the Romance what I have tried to do for the Teutonic element of English in my "History of English Sounds." Mr. Nicol's researches will be of great interest to special Romance as well as English philologists, as many of the French words preserved in English are extremely archaic in form, when compared with their modern French representatives.

The "Early French Text Society's"[1] publications show that combination of faithful reproduction of the MS. texts with sound critical method, which so favourably characterizes the present school of French philology, which, as regards text-criticism, is far ahead of the English. The rapidity with which scientific Romance philology has established itself in France in the last few years is very remarkable, and is evidently due to an enlightened system of public instruction.

[1] Société d'Anciens Textes Français. Chansons du xve siècle, publiées d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris par Gaston Paris, et accompagnées de la musique transcrite en notation moderne par Auguste Gevaert. 1875. Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française (ixe, xe siècle), publiés avec un commentaire philologique par Gaston Paris. Album. 1875. Brun de la Montaigne, roman d'aventure, publié pour le première fois, d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris, par Paul Meyer. 1875. Miracles de Nostre Dame, par personnages, publiés d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque nationale par Gaston Paris et Ulysse Robert. Tome i. 1876.

PHONOLOGY.

Language is essentially based on the dualism of form and meaning, and all attempts to reduce language to strict logical or psychological categories, by ignoring its formal side, have failed ignominiously. The form of language is its *sounds*. The science which teaches us to observe, analyze, and describe the sounds of language is phonology. Phonology is, therefore, *the science of linguistic observation*. The purely antiquarian philologist, who deals only with dead languages, is apt to ignore these simple principles, and to look on phonetics and pronunciation as something purely subordinate, simply because he is never brought face to face with the ultimate facts of all linguistic investigation, viz. the living language. The truth is, that phonology is not only the indispensable foundation of all philology, but also that no department, from the highest to the lowest, can be investigated fully without it, whether it be accidence, syntax, or prosody, or even that fundamental problem—the origin of language.

Many, who admit the utility of phonetics, think that "it ought not to be carried too far." They say that phoneticians ought only to make broad distinctions, and to avoid that "hair-splitting" which according to them is the besetting sin of the English school of phonetics founded by Messrs. Bell and Ellis. These critics forget that sound generalizations can only be based on a minute study of details, and that in all sciences the only way to arrive at trustworthy results is by pushing the observation of details as far as human faculties permit. Nor can any one tell *à priori* whether a given distinction, which to one observer appears almost inappreciable, may not to one who speaks a different language appear very marked. In fact, Nature itself, and not least as shown in language, is extremely given to hair-splitting, and often paves the way for the most violent changes, as, for instance, diphthongization, by minute and almost inappreciable modifications, which it is the business of the trained phonetician to detect and analyze.

Nothing more has appeared of Mr. Ellis's "Early English Pronunciation" since 1875, but we may look for another volume by the end of this year, which will contain an immense mass of precious information on our living English dialects.

This colossal work is far too elaborate for general students, and it is with great pleasure that we look forward to the appearance of a smaller book by Mr. Ellis, which, although written with a special purpose, will at the same time greatly help to popularize phonetics—I allude to his "Pronunciation for Singers," now in progress. I may also mention that I have myself written a "Handbook of Phonetics," now being printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in which I have given a concise and, I trust, thoroughly practical summary of the main results of the investigations of the best phoneticians up to the present time, together with what little I have been able to add myself.

In Germany we must first notice Prof. E. Sievers's "Physiology of Sounds."[1] It is, indeed, a cheering sign when a work of this stamp heads a series of "Indogermanische Grammatiken." Sievers's phonology is an immense advance on Brücke's "Physiologie der Sprachlaute," of which a second edition was published in 1876, wherein, to our astonishment, we still find *sh* analysed as *s* + *kh*, and our short vowels in English dismissed without further notice as "imperfect"—an epithet which is surely meant to apply not to the vowels themselves, but to Brücke's knowledge of them.

It would be curious to know what the old school of German philologists think of Winteler's work on the phonology and grammar of one of the dialects of Switzerland,[2] based, as it is, on purely phonetic principles. It is an exact analogue of Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," and higher praise cannot be given. It is, indeed, an instructive spectacle, to see an English and

[1] Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie: E. Sievers. Leipzig, 1876.
[2] Die Kerenzer Mundart des Kantons Glarus in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt, von J. Winteler: Leipzig, 1876.

a German philologist arriving independently at precisely the same method of dealing with a living dialect—both uncompromising adherents of the "hair-splitting" principle.

Norway, lastly, possesses a phonetician of high abilities and rare powers of observation in Prof. J. Storm, of Christiania, who has carefully studied the works of our English phoneticians, and is now engaged on a "History of the Norwegian Language" on the principles developed by Mr. Ellis in the first part of his "Early English Pronunciation." Prof. Storm has also written a very interesting and original essay on the peculiar intonation of the Scandinavian languages.[1]

The most important of the numerous practical applications of phonetics is that of *spelling reform*. This difficult problem postulates the most thorough-going and minute phonetic analysis, and can be approached by a trained phonetician only.

Recent action on the part of the London School Board induced Mr. Ellis and myself to write a series of letters to the "Academy," early in this year, on the principles on which all reform must be based. Although I advocate a different scheme from Mr. Ellis, who would retain the present English, while I would return to the Continental values of the letters, I would gladly co-operate with him in supporting his "Glossic," if I thought there were any chance of its being adopted. But the prejudices, especially of our upper classes, are too strong to be overcome by reason, and it seems as if we were doomed to see primary education reduced to a hollow sham, for another generation at least—solely from the impossibility of teaching our barbarous system of spelling to the majority of English people. There can, of course, be no doubt that in the end truth and reason will triumph over those arch-enemies of progress, prejudice and sloth, and it is certain that the longer reform is delayed, the more sweeping it will be when it comes.

[1] Om Tonefaldet i de skandinaviske Sprog, af Joh. Storm: Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger (1874).

The Characteristics of English Work.

The preceding remarks will serve to give a general idea of the present state of philology at home and abroad. We see that England has contributed its fair share, considering the disadvantages under which philological research labours in this country—a question to which I will return immediately. It is a subject of just pride that in some branches we take a decided lead. I allude, of course, to phonology and dialectology.

In historical philology our energies are mainly devoted to publishing our rich stores of MSS., and making them generally accessible in a reliable form. We have, in fact, to make up for the sloth of our fathers and grandfathers, and, indeed, were it not for the energy and public spirit of some of the founders of this Society, our MSS. treasures might still be mouldering in musty oblivion, unless, indeed, the zeal and industry of German students of our early language and literature had shamed us into action.

The two best features of our editing are minute accuracy and fullness of material. Hence our parallel-text editions, of which the Six-text Canterbury Tales, published by the Chaucer Society, is a noble example. I may also cite my two-text edition of the Old-English Pastoral, the five-text Thomas of Erceldoune, and the four-text Cursor Mundi now in progress, both publications of the Early English Text Society. The Germans are also beginning to see the advantage of a plan which makes the reader independent of possible editorial vagaries, besides supplying inexhaustible material for special investigations of every kind, and in Prof. Sievers's forthcoming edition of the Heliand, the Cotton MS. will, for the first time, be printed in full, parallel to the Munich one.

We must not, however, be blind to the defects of our work, and I think it will be well worth our while to listen to the criticism of an impartial, but friendly, and thoroughly competent judge, Prof. Zupitza. In his review of the publications of the Early English Text Society,[1] after doing full justice to

[1] Die neuesten publicationen der Early English Text Society: Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum und Litteratur (1875).

the energy and single-minded devotion of our Secretary, Mr. Furnivall, to which he mainly attributes the success of the Society, and enlarging on the merits of its work, he goes on to say:

"But with all appreciation I cannot refrain from calling attention to some drawbacks. The editors are, with very few exceptions, dilettantes. Many of them have very vague ideas of philological method, of the treatment of the text, especially when it is preserved in several MSS., of what is essential and what not in reproducing a MS., or of the plan of a glossary, etc. Nor do all of them possess a thorough knowledge of the earlier periods of their native language: many of them cannot get Modern English out of their heads, so that any deviation from it is apt to leave them in a fix."

Again: "Many of the better class of editors, who are quite competent to turn out good work, do not always take enough time about it. It really looks sometimes as if the copy of the MS. made by some clerk or other went straight to the printer, and that the editor cleared off the whole business of editing during the process of correcting the proofs, so that gross blunders are almost inevitable."

The truth of these criticisms cannot be denied. How is it, then, that while the principles of text-criticism have been firmly established for the last thirty years in the other Teutonic countries, we at the present day have hardly advanced beyond the mere mechanical reproduction of MS. texts?

Let us hear what Prof. Zupitza says:—

"These evils will not be remedied till the two Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, afford young men desirous of studying their mother-tongue the opportunity of devoting themselves specially to it. This involves first a change in the examination system, and then the appointment of competent professors."

In these few words Prof. Zupitza strikes at the root of the evil. The defects he exposes are the result not of any inherent defect in the English character, but simply of want of time. Most of us—indeed, nearly all of us—are by force of circumstances compelled to work in a dilettante style: we can-

not expect much from a philologist whose whole working day consists, perhaps, of an hour snatched from other labours. Where, again, are we to get our training? We are left to pick it up at random, often quite late in life, the result being that talents of the highest order often go quite astray, and waste their strength on wild and fantastic theories. How different are the circumstances of the foreign student! He starts young with a thorough training, and with the certainty of full opportunity of devoting himself to his subject for the rest of his life. An undergraduate of an English University who were to announce to the Head of his College his intention of devoting himself to English philology would be regarded as a dangerous lunatic—to be repressed by any means. If he persisted, in the face of ridicule and opposition of every kind, he would be branded with the terrible epithet of "specialist," no matter how wide the range of his culture, and that by men who only escape the epithet themselves by not possessing a scientific knowledge of any subject whatever.

When philology in England is once put on the same footing as in other countries, when young students, instead of being all forced indiscriminately into a few antiquated grooves of study, hopelessly narrowed by a rigid, iron-bound examination system, from which few emerge without intellectual deterioration, have free choice of subjects and competent professors to be trained under, together with the opportunity of devoting themselves to their work in the future, we may confidently look to a brilliant future for English philology.

Already the younger men at the Universities are beginning to show signs of a love of science and learning for their own sake, and a few have already produced work which is full of promise. I need only mention the names of Cheyne, Driver, Sayce, and Rhys, whose "Lectures on Welsh Philology," lately published, show philological talent of a high order. The foundation of the new professorships of Celtic and Chinese are also signs of the times, and the University deserves the highest credit for having elected competent scholars to these posts.

I will conclude with some remarks on what I think ought

to be the direction of English philological work in the future. Every nation, according to its genius and circumstances, contributes to the common stock in its own way, and it is, I think, one of the surest signs of a healthy and vigorous future of English philology, that it *has* an individuality of its own.

Our tendency is not so much towards the antiquarian philology and text-criticism in which German scholars have done so much, as towards the observation of the phenomena of living languages. Although the rule-of-thumb study of the dead languages of Greece and Rome is forced on every educated man, and constitutes, indeed, the whole linguistic training of our Universities, English classical philology is nothing but a feeble reflexion from Germany. How many men in England can read a Greek or Latin cursive MS., or have the remotest ideas of the principles of text-criticism—how many even among our professors? The real strength and originality of English work lies, as I have remarked above, in phonology and dialectology. Our aim ought clearly to be, while assimilating the methods and results of German work, to concentrate our energies mainly on what may be called "living philology." The vastness of our empire, which brings us incessantly in contact with innumerable languages, alone forces us to grapple with the difficulties of spoken, often also unwritten, languages. We ought to be able to send out yearly hundreds of thoroughly and specially trained young men, whether as missionaries, civil or military officers, or professed philologists. For this purpose we do not want Sanskritists and palæographers, but men whose observing faculties have been trained from childhood, who can note down sentences in strange tongues with unerring certainty in such a notation as Mr. Bell's Universal Phonetic Short-hand, and who have emancipated themselves from the narrow prejudices of one-sided Aryanism.

We must also largely modify our views of Comparative Philology. Comparative Philology has hitherto occupied itself too exclusively with the traditional agreements in a group of languages, valuing the forms of later languages

solely according to the amount of light they throw on older forms. But Comparative Philology has by no means finished its work when it is has evolved, say, the primeval Indo-Germanic language, as given in Fick's Wörterbuch. There remain the special developments of each language, which follow laws of their own. Nothing can be more important than the comparison of the "parallel developments" in such distinct languages as the Romance and the Neo-Sanskrit, English and Persian, etc. The study of such works as Bopp's or Schleicher's Comparative Grammar gives an entirely false and exaggerated idea of the unity and similarity of the different languages, picking out, as they do, the agreements, and ignoring the independent developments. Many of the features of Modern English, for instance, are entirely opposed to the conventional conception of an Indo-Germanic language, and can only be compared to those of Chinese, the Turanian, and even of some savage languages.

We shall thus arrive at the all-important principle that every language and every period of a language has an individuality of its own, which must be respected. Nothing can be more absurd than to arrange, for instance, the words in an Old English dictionary under Sanskrit roots, as has actually been done by Ettmüller. Why, may we ask, should the individuality of English be sacrificed to that of Sanskrit, which is itself a comparatively late and corrupt (if we like to call it so) development of an earlier stage? It is equally irrational to insist, as is done by most historical philologists, that English is an inflexional language because it retains the *s* of *he loves*, etc. The truth is that most of the few traditional inflexions which still connect English with the older languages are mere fossilized archaisms.

These principles are not mere theoretical questions, they are of vital practical importance. If we would only make a rational use of the means of expression which are ready to our hand in the language itself, we should be able to avoid in a great measure the necessity of employing such monstrosities as 'paraffine,' 'kamptulicon,' and 'aneroid,'[1] and thousands of

[1] Although this word is of quite recent origin, its derivation is utterly unknown.

others which disfigure our language. There was a great dispute some time ago about the word 'scientist,' and as to what is its legitimate equivalent. There can be little question that the natural English would be 'science man' just as in unsophisticated English we say 'Oxford man,' 'Eton boy,' and not 'Oxonian' or 'Etonian.' As a matter of fact, 'Eton boy' is shorter than 'Etonian,' although we, by a mere chance, write it in two words. Nor do I see why we might not by degrees Anglicize a good deal of our scientific nomenclature, which is getting more and more unwieldy every year.

Another application of our philology of the future will be a thorough reform of the practical study of language.

Instead of a cumbrous analysis the learner will begin with what is really the ultimate fact in language—the natural sentence,[1] which will of course be presented in a purely phonetic form. Half the difficulty of learning languages is really purely external. Half the time spent in learning French is wasted in the attempt to unravel the mysteries of its non-phonetic spelling, and half the time spent over Sanskrit is wasted over its cumbrous alphabet and the monstrous pedantry of the grammars. In those happy days there will be no dictionaries used in teaching. There will, instead, be a carefully graduated series of vocabularies of words arranged, not alphabetically, but in sense-groups, as in Roget's "Thesaurus," with full examples, the most elementary of these works containing about three thousand of the commonest words, as embodied in the most natural and idiomatic sentences. When the student has carefully studied such a book from beginning to end for a year, he will probably have a better practical command of the language than

[1] The well-known systems of Arnold, Ollendorff, Ahn, Prendergast, etc., are all based on the fallacy that words, like the nine digits in arithmetic, can be combined into sentences *ad libitum* by the help of a few general rules. I learned Greek on this system at school, and one of the sentences I met with has stamped itself indelibly on my memory. It is this: "The philosopher pulled the lower jaw of the hen." There are sound principles scattered through these various systems, but taken as wholes they all—including the latest one of Nasmyth—break down utterly: we may learn our Ollendorff or Nasmyth, but the language itself still remains to be learnt.

is now attainable in ten years. Not till the student has acquired a thorough mastery of the language will he be allowed to study the literature. The present practice of making the classics of a language the vehicle of elementary linguistic instruction is a most detestable one, and deserves the severest condemnation. What should we say of a music-master who gave his pupils a sonata of Beethoven to learn the notes on, instead of beginning with scales? Yet this is precisely our present system of teaching languages.

Dutch.

The following report on Dutch philology since 1840 we owe to Dr. J. H. Gallée, of Haarlem. I need not enlarge on the importance of Dutch, the most nearly allied of the literary Teutonic languages to English, nor on the fullness and accuracy of Dr. Gallée's report, which will speak for themselves. As will be seen, Dr. Gallée has added some notes on Modern Frisian philology, nor have the oldest remains of the Low-German languages been forgotten.

"Bilderdijk, who wished to distinguish himself not only as a poet, but also as a philologist, and who, by his talents, exercised great influence in Holland at the beginning of the present century, had by his works on philology, and his editions of the poets of the seventeenth century, completely eclipsed the great scholars of the last century, Lambert ten Kate and Huydecoper, in the eyes both of his contemporaries in general, and also of many of his pupils, who were mainly impressed by the personality and genius of the man. Blinded by his ingenious but often unsound explanations of philological problems, they endeavoured to proceed in the same track, but they lacked his genius and intellect, and many of them were wanting in thoroughness of study and knowledge of the language.

"The works of J. Grimm induced some of the students to devote their energies to the philology of their native language, and to break with the old traditions still upheld by their professors, and follow in the path indicated by Grimm.

Besides Grimm's edition of the *Reinaert*, other German philologists had also published editions of Middle Netherlandish poems or works on the literature. In 1836 Hoffmann von Fallersleben published the first volumes of his *Horæ Belgicæ*, in which appeared successively the dramatic literature of the fourteenth century, *Floris and Blanchefleur*, and the old popular ballads. The language, however, presented many difficulties for a foreigner, so that errors crept into the texts, which induced Prof. Moltzer, of Groningen, to re-edit the dramas, while Prof. De Vries communicated from time to time emendations of these texts in the Transactions of the Leiden Literary Society (Leidsche Maatschappij van Letterkunde). In Belgium Willems had published his edition of the *Reinaert* in 1836, and several volumes of his 'Belgisch Museum' had already appeared. All this had induced the above-mentioned students of Leiden and Utrecht (W. J. A. Jonckbloet, M. de Vries, P. Leenderts, J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, and J. Tideman) to devote their energies to the subject, but they all worked in ignorance of one another till chance brought them together.

"L. G. Visscher, Professor first at Louvain, then at Utrecht, had published in 1838 an edition of the *Ferguut* teeming with mistakes, every line of which proved the author's ignorance. The same year there appeared a small work, *Iets over Ferguut* (Something about Ferguut), by Jonckbloet, which contained a severe but just criticism of the edition. Eight years afterwards this little work was followed by a longer essay in the literary journal *de Gids*,[1] in which the same writer exposed the defects and errors of the method of the old school, and showed what were the present requirements of philology, and what method was to be pursued by younger philologists. This proved the deathblow of the older method.

"Soon after the appearance of Jonckbloet's criticism, Dr. P. J. Vermeulen was induced, in consequence of the foundation of the 'Stuttgart Literary Union' (Litterarischer Verein), to invite the above-mentioned students to found a similar

[1] Gids, 1846, Beoordeeling van het Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederl. letterkunde door Prof. Lulofs.

association in conjunction with himself. This was the origin of the Society for the Promotion of Old Netherlandish Literature (Vereeniging ter bevordering der oude Nederlandsche letterkunde), which soon showed what was the spirit it was inspired with. In 1844 appeared *der Lekenspieghel* (circa 1325), with introduction and full glossary by M. de Vries, followed in the same year by *de Roman der Lorreinen* by Jonckbloet, and Maerlant's *Boec van den Houte* by Tideman. In the next year was published Dirc Potter's *Minnenloep* by Leenderts, Maerlant's *Leven van Sinte Franciscus* by Tideman, and *de Roman van Waleweyn* by Jonckbloet. About the same time Jonckbloet edited on his own account a specimen of the *Chroniek van van Velthem* (1840), *Beatrys, een sproke* (Hague, 1841), *de Dietsche Doctrinale* (Hague, 1842), *Lancelot* (Hague, 1846), and *Cato* (Leiden, 1846), while Vermeulen published *van den Levene ons Heren* (Utrecht, 1843).

"Meanwhile the Society had been dissolved, because its members had left Leiden. In 1847 Jonckbloet was made Professor at the then-existing Athenæum at Deventer, and in 1849 de Vries became Professor at Groningen; the others went different ways. The two first went on publishing critical editions of Middle Netherlandish authors, which partly appeared in the series of 'New Publications of the Leiden Literary Society' (Nieuwe Werken der Leidsche Maatschappij van Letterkunde, 1846–54), in which also, among other works, the *Roman van Limborch* (1848) appeared, edited by L. P. C. van den Bergh.

"Willems had opened the way in Belgium, and many followed in his footsteps. His *Reinaert* (1836) was followed by Jan van Heelu's *Slag van Woeronc* (with the annotations of van Wijn, edited by W. Jonckbloet and A. Kroon, in 1840), *de Brabantsche Yeesten* (1839–43), and *van den Derden Edewaerd*. Bormans, David, the two Serrures, Blommaert, and others, continued the work begun by Willems, after the latter's death in 1846. The first mentioned edited the *Legende van St. Christine* (1850), the *Legende v. St. Servaes* (Maastricht, 1858), David the *Rymbybel* of Maerlant (Brussels,

1858–61), Blommaert 'Old Flemish Poems' (Oudvlaemsche gedichten, Ghent, 1836), *Theophilus* (ib. 1846, 50), *de Reis van St. Brandaen* (ib. 1836, 41); they were afterwards joined by Snellaert, who published Maerlant's *Alexanders Yeesten* in 1861, and *Jans Tersteye* in 1867. There also appeared a number of works published by the 'Society of Flemish Bibliophiles' (Maatschappij der Vlaamsche bibliophilen), a society founded in 1839, which consists of only thirty members, admission into which, as into the Leiden Literary Society, can only be obtained by the vote of the members.[1] In 1871 Prof. J. F. J. Heremans of Ghent published Maerlant's *van den Lande van Oversee* and *der Kerken Claghe*.

"Lively signs of interest in the old Flemish language were also shown outside the confines of the Netherlandish language. Hoffmann von Fallersleben and Mone had already to some extent smoothed the path by their histories of the old literature.[2] Kausler followed them with his 'Monuments of the Old Netherlandish Language and Literature,' in which he published a variety of texts.[3] In 1869 and 1870 Dr. Frommann published in the *Germania* and in the *Anzeiger fur Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* a fragment of the *Lorreiners* and a 'minnelied.' In 1874 appeared an edition of the Reinaert by Prof. E. Martin of Prague,[4] and finally, in 1876, Dr. J. Frank published *Flandrys, Fragmente eines Rittergedichtes*, at Strassburg.

[1] D'ystorie van Saladine; die historie van der goeden vrouwen Griseldis; eene schoone historie van Mariken van Nimweghen; Homulus eene schoene Comedie; Dyalogus of twisprake tusschen den wisen coninck Salomon ende Marcolphus; Kronyk van Vlaenderen van 580–1467; Leven van St. Amand; Der vrouwen heimelykheid; Het spel van de vyf vroede en van de vyf dwaze maagden; De boec van Catone; Oudvlaemsche liederen van de 14de en 15de eeuwen; De Grimbergsche oorlog; Dat boec v. den gheesteliken tabernacule, etc., door J. v. Ruysbroec (14de eeuw); Tafereelen uit het leven v. Jezus; De werken v. zuster Hadewych.

[2] Hoffmann v. Fallersleben: Uebersicht der mittelniederländischen Dichtung. Mone: Uebersicht der niederländischen Volkslitteratur älterer Zeit.

[3] Denkmäler altniederländischer Sprache u. Litteratur.—Rymkronyk v. Vlaanderen (1840); Die Rose, de Heimelykheid der heimelykheden, Wapen Martyn, etc. (1844); Bernardus epistele tote Raymonde, Wapen Rogier, van Saladyn, Hugo v. Tabaryen, and some shorter tales and moral treatises (1866).

[4] Willems Gedicht van den Vos Reinaerde und die Umarbeitung und Fortsetzung: Paderborn, 1874. [This edition also gives a glossary, together with a short grammar and prosody; it is, therefore, an excellent reading-book for the beginner.—H.S.]

"In Holland, meanwhile, the new views were completely victorious. De Vries was called in 1853 from Groningen to Leiden, and Jonckbloet took his place, but only to exchange it soon for a seat in the second Chamber of Deputies at the Hague. His place at Deventer was taken by Dr. J. v. Vloten, while Dr. E. H. Moltzer, a pupil of De Vries, became his successor at Groningen. New life was now infused into the Literary Society of Leiden, and its Transactions at this time contained criticisms on *Floris and Blanchefleur*, fragments of the *Spieghel Historiael*, etc., by de Vries, emendations to the *Ferguut* by Dr. Bisschop, etc. In 1856 De Vries published a 'Specimen of Middle Netherlandish Linguistic Emendations' (*Proeve van Middelnederlandsche taalzuivering*), containing a number of textual emendations of the *St. Amand*, the '*Belgisch Museum*,' the '*Horæ Belgicæ*,' and some of the *Theophilus*. A short time afterwards he corrected a passage of the Theophilus, where a page was not put in the proper place; this emendation was published in 1860 in the Transactions of the 'Royal Academy of Science at Amsterdam' (*Verslagen der koninklijke Akademie der Wetenschappen*.[1] De Vries's example was followed in 1872 by Dr. J. Verdam, who, in his 'Text-criticism of Middle Netherlandish Authors' (*Textcritiek van Middelnederl. schrijvers*), and in several articles in the 'Taal- en Letterbode,' tried to restore corrupted texts.

"In combination with one of his pupils, Dr. E. Verwijs, who in 1857 in his academical dissertation had treated of the *Wapen Martyn* and its continuations, De Vries began, in 1863, a complete critical edition of Maerlant's *Spieghel Historiael*, while F. v. Hellwald, of Vienna (at present at Rome), published in 1873, with their co-operation, an edition of the second part of the *Spieghel*, the MS. of which had just been

[1] At that time Prof. De Vries made the very same observations which Dr. Kölbing made in 1876 in his "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie," and it certainly argues for the correctness of their views that they came to conclusions which agree so perfectly. If Dr. Kölbing had been acquainted with what had been published in Holland, he would probably not have said: "dennoch scheint noch Niemand diesem Gedicht (the Theophilus) grössere Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet zu haben, denn sonst hätte er finden müssen dass der Schreiber der Handschrift, welche Blommaert sehr sorg- und gedankenlos edirt hat, eine ganze Anzahl Verse an falsche Stelle gesetzt hat." In his "Englische Studien," Dr. Kölbing has mentioned these emendations.

discovered in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In 1868 appeared *die Rose* (Hague), edited by Verwijs alone, who had published, in 1860, *X goede boerden*, stories in the manner of Boccacio, from the great Hulthem MS. Soon afterwards he edited, with Dr. Bisschop, the poems of *Willem v. Hillegaertsberg* (Hague, 1870), a wandering minstrel of the fourteenth century, like *Noydekyn* and *Augustynken v. Dordt*, whose poems were published by Dr. J. v. Vloten in 1866 and 1869, in the 'Dietsche Warande.'

"Jonckbloet had already published *Guillaume d'Orange* (1854), a critical edition of the first part of the *Reinaert* (1856), *Carel ende Elegast*, a revision of *Beatrys* (1859), and *Etude sur le Roman de Renart* (1863). Afterwards he devoted himself entirely to the history of the literature.

"This was also the case with his successor at Deventer, J. v. Vloten. Besides the editions mentioned above, he also published the popular legend *Marieken v. Nymwegen* (Hague, 1854), and a few shorter pieces in the *Dietsche Warande*, and in his periodical, the *Levensbode*. A. C. Oudemans published, in 1857, *der Ystorien Bloeme* (Amsterdam).

"For the last ten years Prof. Moltzer of Groningen has been busily employed in collecting all the remains of the Middle Age literature that have either not been published, or require re-editing, in his *Library of Middle Netherlandish Literature*.[1] In 1867 he began with a critical edition of the various dramatic pieces which had been inaccurately edited by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, or were scattered through the volumes of the *Belgisch Museum*; in 1875, when he published them under the collective title *De Middel-Nederlandsche dramatische poezy*, he added an introduction on the history of the Netherlandish drama in the Middle Ages. Then followed, in 1869, in the same Library, *de Roman van Cassamus*, a fragment, edited by Dr. E. Verwijs, a translation of *les vœux du Paon* of the fourteenth century, compared with the MSS. of Paris and Brussels. In 1871 appeared 'On Women and Love,'[2] poems of the

[1] Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche letterkunde.
[2] Van vrouwen ende van minnen.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of which are very important for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the period. Dr. W. G. Brill, Professor at Utrecht, edited 'The Life of St. Brandan,'[1] containing the adventures of an Irish monk, who was commanded by God to wander through the regions of the far West. A criticism on it by Verwijs appeared in the 'Reports of the Royal Academy' (Verslagen der Koninklijke Academie), and in the Taal- en Letterbode, 1872. Verwijs also published in the 'Library,' the second part of *der Naturen Bloeme*, by J. van Maerlant, as a continuation of Prof. Borman's edition of the first part (Brussels, 1857). Parts 10, 11, and 12 of the Library comprise 'Episodes from Maerlant's History of Troy,' by Dr. J. Verdam; while in 15 and 17 Dr. J. C. Matthes gave an edition of Renout van Montalbaen, and of some newly-discovered fragments of the romance of the Lorreiners; these last must have formed part of the work to which also 'Charlemagne and his twelve peers,'[2] edited by Jonckbloet, belonged. In 1875 J. te Winkel edited the roman of Torec, one of the knights of Arthur. With Dr. W. L. van Helten's edition of 'Anna Bijn's (a nun of Antwerp) Refrains,'[3] from the materials left by Dr. A. Bogaers, we conclude our survey of the Middle Netherlandish period.

"One of the first editions of poetical works of the seventeenth century is, besides Huyghens's Cluyswerk, by Jonckbloet (Hague, 1841), *the critical edition of Hooft's comedy, De Warenar, with an introduction and full glossary, by M. de Vries* (Leiden, 1843). A criticism of this edition can be found in the *Gids* (1843) by Bakhuizen van den Brink. In 1855 followed the complete edition of Vondel's works in chronological order by J. van Lennep, an *édition de luxe*, which was not completed till 1869.[4] A thirteenth volume

[1] Van Sinte Brandane.
[2] Karel de Groote en zyne xii pairs.
[3] Anna Byns Refereynen. Rotterdam, 1875.
[4] De Werken van Vondel, in verband gebracht met zijn leven en voorzien van verklaringen en aanteekeningen door Mr. J. v. Lennep. Amsterdam, 1855–69. 12 vols.

was published by J. Alberdingk Thym, under the title of Portraits of Vondel.[1]

"At the same time van Vloten published an edition of Vondel (Deventer, 1864–6), which is much less pretentious and costly than the other, but is more accurate and critical. The same scholar published *Starter's Friesche lusthof, minne-liedekens, gedichten en boertige kluchten* (Utrecht, 1864), and in the same year completed his edition of the poetical works of Jacob Cats (Cats dichtwerken, Zwolle, 1862–4). To him also we owe some popular editions of standard works in the series *het Letterkundig Pantheon* (A. Roelants, Schiedam). W. C. M. de Jonge van Ellemeet's *Museum Catsianum* (Utrecht, 1870) is also very important for the study of Cats.

"A number of works of this period were published in the series of *Nederlandsche Klassieken*, edited by Dr. E. Verwijs (Leeuwarden, 1867), with notes and glossaries.[2] A complete edition of Hooft's poems (Volledige uitgave v. Hoofts gedichten), in critical chronological order, with notes by P. Leenderts, appeared in 1875. After the appearance of the first volume of the works of *Huyghens* (Arnhem, 1871), containing an excellent sketch of his life in connexion with his works, Prof. Jorissen, of Amsterdam, still keeps us waiting for the second. 'A new series of Classics' (Nieuwe reeks klassieken der Nederlandsche letterkunde) is now in publication (Groningen, J. B. Wolters). As yet there has only appeared the works of *Asselyn*, edited by Dr. A. de Jager, but *Breêroo's* comedies, to be edited by Dr. Matthes, and the works and life of *Roemer Visscher*, by myself, will soon follow.

"The first complete history of the poetry (*Geschiedenis der Middelnederlandsche Dichtkunst*) was that of Jonckbloet (Amsterdam, 1851), a work which, although much has been discovered since, and some details have been put in a different light, still remains the standard one on the subject. He followed it up by a history of the literature generally

[1] Portretten van Joost van den Vondel.

[2] Vondel's *Leeuwendalers* and *Batavische Gebroeders*, Breêroo's *Spaansche Brabander*, Brandt's *Leven van Vondel*, and Constantyn Huyghens's *Costelick Mal* and *Haagsch Voorhout*.

(*Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, Groningen, 1868, 70), a work which in the short time of seven years will soon have passed through three editions; the second, much enlarged and improved, appeared in 1873, and the third will soon be published. In 1870 a German translation by W. Berg (Mrs. Lina Schneider) was published, and a detailed criticism of the work appeared in 1876 by Dr. van Vloten. In 1870 the latter had published a short history of the literature (Korte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde), together with a sketch of the prose literature (Overzicht van het Nederl. proza) of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

"Dr. J. ten Brink published in 1858 a study of the life and works of the comic dramatist *Brederoo* (Breêroo),[1] and in 1859 a study of *Dirck Volckertsen Coornhert* and his 'Art of Good Breeding' (Wellevenheytskonst, Amsterdam, 1860). A history of the literature (Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, 1867, Leeuwarden) was begun by him, but has remained unfinished, while Van Vloten's edition of Hooft's letters has opened a rich mine for the history of the seventeenth century literature.

"For the history of W. and Onno Zwier van Haren are very interesting: *Leven en Werken van W. en O. Z. van Haren*, by Dr. J. van Vloten; *de van Harens*, by Cd. Busken Huet; *Hareniana*, by Dr. H. E. Moltzer, and a few pieces of the same in the *Spectator* of 1876, and in *Onze Wachter*, 1876, by Dr. Nuyens.

"Among literary criticisms the 'Literary Fancies' (Literarische phantasien) of Cd. Busken Huet, formerly preacher at Haarlem, afterwards editor of the 'Dagblad' at Batavia, and since 1876 settled at Paris, occupy the first place. In the first part (Arnhem, 1868), he treated of some poets of the seventeenth century, Hooft, Vondel, Cats and Poot, together with some of his own contemporaries. In his 'New Literary Fancies' (Nieuwe litter. phantasien, Batavia, 1874), he treated of the Netherlandish authors of the nineteenth

[1] Gerbrand Adriaensen Brederoo, Historiesch æsthetische studie van het Nederlandsche blijspel der 17de eeuw (Utrecht).

century, and many foreign authors, as is also the case in his recent work *Nederlandsche Bibliographie* (1876). A first place may also be given to his friend and predecessor E. J. Potgieter (+1874), whose critical studies first appeared in the literary periodical *Gids*, and were afterwards united in one volume (Haarlem, 1876). Besides these two, Prof. N. Beets in his 'Miscellanies' (Verscheidenheden, Haarlem, 1867), Bakhuizen van den Brink in his critiques in the *Gids* (published in one collection in 1868 at the Hague), Gorter Vosmaer and others contributed also to the just appreciation of our old and modern literature.

"The first work which, after a long time, treated especially of the history of the stage, was Dr. E. Moltzer's 'History of the Secular Drama in the Middle Ages' (Geschiedenis van het wereldlijk tooneel in Nederland, gedurende de Middeleeuwen, Leiden, 1862), followed by my 'Contributions to the History of Dramatic Representations in the Netherlands in the Middle Ages' (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Dramatische Vertooningen in de Nederlanden gedurende de Middeleeuwen, Haarlem, 1873). I also wrote a minuter study of some minor details, 'A Page out of the History of the Amsterdam Stage in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century' (Eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche tooneel in den aanvang der 17de eeuw) in the fourth volume of the 'Taal- en Letterbode' (Haarlem, 1875), whilst Dr. A. W. Wijbrands devoted an elaborate essay in the 'Kerkhistorisch Archief' to the same subjects, under the title of 'Remarks on the Religious Drama in this Country in the Middle Ages' (Opmerkingen over het geestelijk drama hier te lande in de Middeleeuwen). In the same year there also appeared the above-mentioned work of Moltzer with his introduction on the 'History of the Netherlandish Drama in the Middle Ages' (Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche drama in de Middeleeuwen).

"Two works have appeared on the history of the drama up to modern times, the one by C. N. Wijbrands, 'The Amsterdam Stage from 1617–1772' (Het Amsterdamsche Tooneel, Utrecht, 1873), the other by F. v. Hellwald, 'His-

tory of the Dutch Theatre' (Geschichte des holländischen Theaters, Rotterd. 1874). The comic drama was to have been treated of by J. v. Vloten, but the first part is still the only one that has appeared.

"The history of the Rhetoricians was cursorily treated of by Blommaert in his 'History of the Fonteyne of Ghent' (Geschiedenis der Fonteyne van Gent), and more fully by Dr. Schotel in his 'History of the Rhetoricians in the Netherlands' (Geschiedenis der Rederijkers in Nederland), whilst Snellaert in his 'Treatise on Netherlandish Poetry' (Verhandeling over de Nederlandsche Dichtkunst, Brussels, 1858) devotes a considerable space to it.

"In the department of grammar Prof. Brill has published a 'Netherlandish Grammar' (Nederlandsche Spraakleer, Leiden, 1850), which has been reprinted four times, and has been each time improved and recast. By the side of it may be mentioned the grammars of Prof. Kern (Amsterdam, 1876, 6th ed.) and of Dr. P. J. Cosijn (Haarlem, 1875, 4th ed.). A grammar on a large scale by De Winkel was stopped by his death. His articles in various periodicals show how profound his investigations were in this department. In 1876 Dr. W. L. van Helten published the first part of a grammar (Nederlandsche Spraakkunst, i. de Klinkers, Rotterdam). The philosophy of language is the subject of v. Vloten's 'Introduction to General and Netherlandish Philology' (Inleiding ter algemeene en Nederlandsche taalkennis, Haarl. 1871), which also contains a criticism of Dr. T. Roorda's 'Essay on the Differences and Agreements between Colloquial and Literary Language' (Verhandeling over het onderscheid en de behoorlijke overeenstemming tusschen spreek- en schrijftaal). Jonckbloet brought out in 1849 a small work on the 'Epic Versification in Middle Netherlandish' (De Middelnederlandsch epische versbouw), whilst Prudens van Duyse published in 1854 a prize 'Essay on Netherlandish Versification' (Verhandeling over den Nederlandschen versbouw), and Dr. T. Roorda in 1863 a similar work entitled *Dichtmaat, versmaat en versbouw*. Two works were specially devoted to Etymology: G. J. v. der Helm's *Proeve van woordgronding*

(Utrecht, 1859), and W. L. v. Helten's *Proeve van woordverklaring* (Rotterd. 1871).

"A number of dictionaries have appeared of late years. The most important is *Het woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, begun in 1864 (the preparatory work was begun in 1852) by Dr. W. de Vries and L. A. te Winkel. After the death of the latter, first Dr. E. Verwijs, and a short time afterwards also Dr. P. J. Cosijn, became collaborators at this colossal work, which has been planned on the same method, and on the same grand scale, as Grimm's German Dictionary. To explain the changes made in the orthography, te Winkel first published his 'Principles of Dutch Spelling' (Grondbeginselen der Nederlandsche spelling), and afterwards, both editors together, a 'Wordlist to show the Orthography of the Dutch Language' (Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Nederlandsche taal). Verwijs undertook the letter O, while Cosijn took G. A has now advanced to 'afwisselen,' G to 'gehalte,' and O to 'onderrichten.'

"This dictionary prevented De Vries from continuing to devote his energies to his 'Middle Netherlandish Dictionary' (Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek), of which two parts appeared in 1864 and 1865, *a–anxt*. A. C. Oudemans, who had published in 1857 a 'Dictionary to Breeroo' (Woordenboek op Breeroo), and in 1868 a supplement (nalezing) to the dictionary of Hooft's works published in 1825 for the Royal Institution (Koninklijk Instituut), attempted to supply this deficiency by his 'Contributions to a Middle and Old Netherlandish Dictionary' (Bijdrage tot een Middel en Oud Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Arnhem, 1869). His death in 1874 seemed likely to put a stop to the work, but Dr. A. de Jager undertook to continue it, so that it has now appeared up to 'sintmeer.' In the same year Dr. de Jager published a 'Dictionary of Frequentatives' (Woordenboek der Frequentitieven, Gouda, 1874). A shorter dictionary (Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal, Hague, 1872) by J. H. van Dale had previously appeared.

"The most important of the various periodicals are: the *Taalkundig Magazijn*, edited by A. de Jager (Rotterd. 1835, 4

vols.); *Archief v. Nederl. taalkunde*, by the same (Amsterdam, 1847, 4 vols.); *Magazijn voor Nederl. taalkunde* (Hague, 1848); *Nieuwe Nederl. taal-magazijn* (ib. 1853); *de Taalgids*, ed. by Dr. A. de Jager and A. te Winkel (Utr. 1859–68); *de Taal- en Letterbode*, ed. by Dr. E. Verwijs and Dr. P. J. Cosijn (Haarl. 1870–5), which is continued under the title *De Taalkundige Bijdragen*, by Drs. Kern, Verwijs, Cosijn, and Verdam (Haarl. 1876). The two last, and also to some extent the *Taalgids*, are distinguished by the articles on Comparative and Germanic Philology by Kern and Cosijn. The influence of the former, the interpreter of the so-called Malberg glosses to the *Lex Salica*, on the study of philology is very perceptible. The following Belgian periodicals are devoted to the more general features of philology, history, and literature: *het Belgisch Museum*, ed. by J. F. Willems (Ghent, 1837, 4 vols.); *het Vaderlandsch Museum*, ed. by C. P. Serrure (Ghent and the Hague, 1855–63); *de Toekomst*, ed. by F. de Cort; and *het Driemaandelijksch tijdschrift*, ed. by E. Hiel; also the following Dutch ones: *de Navorscher*, ed. by P. Lienderts (Amsterd. 1851–77); *de Dietsche Warande*, ed. by J. Alberdingk Thijm (Amsterd. 1855–77); and several articles in the monthly periodical *de Gids* (Amsterd. 1837–77); whilst the proceedings of the *Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* (Amsterd. van Kampen) always contain articles by the members on literary, philological, and historical subjects.

"The following periodicals have appeared in Holland in and on the Frisian language: *de vrije Fries*, published by the 'Frisian society' (Friesch Genootschap van geschied- oudheid- en taalkunde, Leeuw.); *Forjit-mij net! tidskrift, útjown fen t selskip for fríske tael- end skriftekennisse* (Heerenveen); *Swanneblommen, Jierboekje* (ib.).

"In 1860 there appeared at Leiden (Brill) *die nordfriesische Sprache nach der moringer Mundart v. Bende Bendsen, hgg. v. M. de Vries*, and in 1863 a 'Short grammar of the present language' (Beknopte Spraakkunst voor den tegenwoordigen tijd, d. G. Colmjon, Leeuw., 1863). *Halbertsma's Frisian dictionary* (Justus Halbertsma, Lexicon Frisicum, Hague, 1872) has only appeared up to *Feêr, pluma*, on account of the death of

the author. The *Friesch-Latijnsch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek* of de Haan Hettema is less rich in examples from the popular speech. J. Winkler wrote an essay on the language and dialects of the Frisians (Over de Taal en tongvallen der Friezen, Leeuw., 1868), followed by the 'General Low-German and Frisian Dialectology' (Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch Dialecticon, Hague, 1874), giving the parable of the Prodigal Son in a large number of dialects.[1] The same was the object of *Van de Schelde tot de Weichsel: Nederduitsche Dialekten in Dicht en Ondicht* (Groningen), by J. A. and L. Leopold, of which three parts have appeared since 1876, comprising Flanders, Zeeland, and East Friesland.

"Prof. Kern treated of the West Saxon dialect of Groenlo[2] (het Westsaxische dialect van Groenlo) in the *Taalgids* (1866). There appeared besides various articles in or on this dialect by Swaving, Buser, Aarssens, and others in the above-mentioned periodicals, and in the *Geldersche* and *Overijsselsche Almanakken*.

"Besides Prof. Kern's work, *die Glossen in der Lex Salica und die Sprache der Salischen Franken*, there have appeared lately several editions in the department of Old Netherlandish philology. In *die kleineren altniederdeutschen Denkmäler* of M. Heyne (Paderborn, 1867) were included a translation of some of the Psalms and the Glossæ Lipsianæ; the former had been published in part in 1816 by von der Hagen (Breslau), afterwards in 1835 by Prof. A. Ypey, in the Taalkundig Magazijn. In 1872 and 1875 appeared *de Oudnederlandsche Psalmen* and the *Glossæ Lipsianæ*, edited by Dr. P. Cosijn, originally in the numbers of the Taal- en Letterbode, in 1873 as a separate work.

"Dr. L. P. C. van den Bergh wrote in the 'Taalkundig Magazijn' an investigation of the state of the language before the twelfth century, and published, in 1852, in the new series of the transactions of the 'Maatschappij v. Ned. Letterkunde' of Leiden, two magic formulas of the ninth or tenth century,

[1] This work was noticed by me, together with several other Dutch books, in my report on Germanic philology in 1873. In his "Early English Pronunciation" (part iv. p. 1378) Mr. Ellis has given a complete abstract.—H.S.

[2] The district of Zutphen in Gelderland.

and a few fragments of some old law. Prof. Kern has written several articles in the Taal- en Letterbode, and in other periodicals, explaining old words in charters and glosses.

"An account of all that has appeared during the last year in the various periodicals would take up more room than is at my disposal. I have in my report attempted to give a brief survey of the developement of our new school of philology, and of the different editions which have appeared during the period."

SWEDISH.

When Dr. A. Erdmann, of the University of Upsala, was in London last summer, Mr. Ellis obtained from him the promise of a report on Swedish philology. The present report was written by Dr. F. Tamm, and translated by Dr. Erdmann into English. It is the fullest and most accurate that has ever been published, even in Sweden itself. Both this and the preceding report show how powerfully the interests of scientific philology can be forwarded by a liberal and enlightened University system.[1] Swedish itself is a language of great importance to the comparative Teutonic philologist: it and Lithuanian (see p. 44) are the only Indo-Germanic languages that have retained any traces of the original musical accent.

"In the first part of the present century a lively interest

[1] The following notes on the examination-system of the Swedish Universities, from a letter by Dr. Erdmann, may be interesting to those who are only acquainted with our own Universities. "Northern philology is placed on a footing of perfect equality with Latin and Greek at our Universities. The classical languages have lost much ground in Sweden about and since the middle of this century. There are two examinations, one preparatory, the other (the philosophical) meant to be scientific. The philosophical faculty is subdivided into two sections, the *humanistic* (including philology) and the *mathematical-physical*. Within these two sections the subjects are combined into groups of three, leaving pretty much liberty to individual taste. You may take your degree only in Philology, for instance, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit; or Modern European languages (Germanic and Romance) and Sanskrit; or combine these languages in different ways. There is very great freedom of choice. In modern languages you may lay equal stress on the two branches, or devote yourself specially to one of them, but you must not in any case be unfamiliar with the other."

in the ancient history of the North and in its old literature, language, and mythology, was re-awakened in Sweden by the patriotic exertions of the national literary school, opposing the domineering influence of the French pseudo-classicism of the preceding period. It was a circumstance of great moment for the furtherance of that interest that *Rask*, the founder of scientific Northern philology, made a prolonged stay in Sweden, 1816–1819, and caused the two *Eddas* and the *Heimskringla* to be published at Stockholm, in Icelandic and Swedish.[1]

"Nevertheless it lasted very long before the study of the Northern languages was more widely spread in Sweden, or developed into scientific and independent research. The chief cause of this slow progress was the want of professorships of the Northern languages at the two Swedish Universities down to the year 1859, when, at the initiative and formal petition of the students themselves, a chair was granted by the Diet to each University. *Carl Säve* became the first Professor of the Northern languages at Upsala, after having previously, during many years, devoted himself indefatigably and successfully to the investigation of the old language as well as the modern dialects. *Carl Säve* and *J. E. Rydqvist* (late royal librarian) are to be regarded as the founders of independent Northern philology in Sweden. Together with these two eminent scholars *C. J. Schlyter* ought to be mentioned, who, by his edition of the *Old Laws of Sweden* (the first part, the Vestgöta-Laws, published 1827, in collaboration with *Collin*), set the example of a new and critical method in editing old texts in Sweden.

"Before exhibiting the works of interest that have been written in *Sweden* and *Finland* in the department of Northern philology, there ought to be pointed out briefly the chief Swedish productions in those departments of Germanic philology that are most closely connected with that of the Northern languages.

[1] On these publications see *T. Möbius*, Catalogus librorum islandicorum et norvegicorum ætatis mediæ . . . Lipsiæ, 1856, pp. 69, 74, 103, 71, 76, 105.

"By his careful revision of the *Gothic texts*,[1] *Andreas Uppström* has laid a safe and lasting foundation for the study of this highly important language, and, by his edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew, with a glossary and grammar,[2] he has much promoted Gothic studies in Sweden. His son, *Vilhelm Uppström*, has published his father's posthumous work, a critical edition of the Codices Ambrosiani,[3] and written some contributions of his own (mostly syntactical) to our knowledge of Gothic.[4] The *Phonetic Laws of the Consonants* in Gothic and four other Indo-European languages, have been set forth by *Richert*;[5] on account of numerous occasional remarks referring to the Northern tongues, this work is of interest even with special regard to Northern phonology and derivation.

"On the important question of the 'Umlaut' in the Germanic languages there are two treatises to be noted, a smaller one by *Blomberg*[6] (1865), and one by *Leffler*.[7] In the last-mentioned, *On the i-Umlaut*, the author proves it to be a necessary consequence of the view now generally accepted,—viz. that *e* and *o*, originating in *a*, are previous stages of development, in comparison with the Gothic *i* and *u* of the same origin—to admit the existence of an umlaut of *e* into *i* and of *o* into *u* caused by the influence of a following *j* or *i*. He also demonstrates another phonetic law—existing in the period of unity that preceded the division of the common Germanic language—effecting a change of original *i* and *u*

[1] Codex Argenteus sive sacrorum evangeliorum versionis gothicæ fragmenta edidit *A. Uppström*. Upsaliæ, 1854, 4to. pp. 125 (with the supplement: Decem Codicis Argentei rediviva folia, Upsaliæ 1857, 4to. pp. xii. and 14).

[2] Aivaggeljo þairh Matþaiu eller Fragmenterna af Matthæi Evangelium på Götiska jemte Ordförklaring och Ordböjningslära . . . . af *A. Uppström* . . . . Upsala, 1850. Second edition by *V. Uppström*. Stockholm, 1874, 8vo. pp. 120.

[3] Codices gothici Ambrosiani sive epistolarum Pauli, Esræ, Nehemiæ versionis gothicæ fragmenta, quæ iterum recognovit . . . *A. Uppström*. Upsaliæ, 1864–68. 4to. pp. 124.

[4] Gotiska bidrag med särskild hänsyn till de Ambrosianska urkunderna af *A. E. V. Uppström*. Upsala, 1868, 8vo. pp. 47 (Dissert. Acad.).

[5] Bidrag till läran om de konsonantiska ljudlagarna i äldre och nyare språk af *M. B. Richert*. Upsala, (1863–)1866, 8vo. pp. 382.

[6] Bidrag till den germaniska omljudsläran med hufvudsakligt afseende på fornnorskan af *C. J. Blomberg*. Upsala, 1865, 8vo. pp. 74 (Diss. Ac.).

[7] Bidrag till läran om *i*-omljudet med särskild hänsyn till tiden för den germaniska språkenheten af *L. F. Leffler* (pp. 1–19, 146–180, 231–320 in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi og Pædagogik, Ny Række, II Bind, København, 1875–1876).

into *e* and *o* before *r* and *h*. *Lundgren* has made a special investigation of the stems of the nouns in the old Teutonic languages.[1]

"With regard to the *History of the Northern Languages* in general, there is to be remarked the small but important paper of *Säve*,[2] on the differences of Swedish and Icelandic old texts, demonstrating that the Old Swedish is to be considered not as the daughter but as the sister of the Old Icelandic.

"*Leffler* has lately (Jan. 1877) published the first part of an extensive treatise *On the v-Umlaut in the Northern Languages*,[3] i.e. the *u*-Umlaut caused by *v*.

"An essay by *Wigert* on the derived verbs in *-i* in the Northern languages,[4] is not without interest.

"In the department of *Old Norse Grammar*, Sweden has but little of its own to show. The Swedish revision of *Rask's* Grammar,[5] published in 1818, was for a long time the hand-book generally used, even outside of Sweden; it is the original of Dasent's English translation. Now it is, of course, quite antiquated. The best hand-book now existing is the Old Norse grammar of the Dane *Wimmer*, containing the etymology of the language. In the revised edition, published in Swedish in 1874,[6] the author has corrected several important points, *e.g.* the treatment of the *ja*-stems, and of the reflexive form of the first pers. sing. of the verb. *Wisén* has written a treatise on the syntax of the elder Edda,[7] which appeared some time before the similar work of the Norwe-

[1] Om substantivens stammar i de forngermanska språken af *M. F. Lundgren*. Upsala, 1875, 8vo. pp. 74 (Diss. Ac.).

[2] Om språkskiljaktigheterna i svenska och isländska fornskrifter af *C. Säve*. Upsala, 1861, 8vo. pp. 16 (in Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1861).

[3] Om *v*-omljudet af *ǐ*, *ĭ* och *ei* i de nordiska språken. I. Om *v*-omljudet af *ĭ* framför vokal. Af *L. F. Leffler*. Upsala, 1877, 8vo. pp. 95 (in Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1877).

[4] Om verbalafledningen på *-i* inom de nordiska språken af *O. Wigert*. Upsala, 1872, 8vo. pp. 48 (Diss. Ac.).

[5] See *Möbius*, Catalogus, p. 21.

[6] Fornnordisk Formlära af *L. F. A. Wimmer*. Svensk omarbetad upplaga. Lund, 1874, 8vo. pp. 179.

[7] Om ordfogningen i den äldre Eddan af *Th. Wisén*. Lund, 1865, 4to. pp. 84 (Diss. Ac.).

gian *Nygaard*. *Ambrosius* is the author of a treatise on the syntax of the Färoe dialect.[1]

"With the exception of older times (when *e.g.* the first edition of the Heimskringla was made by the Swede *Peringskjöld*, 1697 [2]), Sweden has only lately begun to take its part in the *publishing of Icelandic texts*. One of the most ancient Icelandic manuscripts, especially remarkable and important in point of orthography, the so-called *Homiliubók* (in the royal library at Stockholm), has been edited by *Wisén*, 1872, with great care and accuracy.[3] *Cederschiöld* has republished the *Bandamanna Saga* after a better MS. than those used before;[4] also *Skúlason's Geisli*[5] (shortly before edited by *Wennberg* after another MS.[6]) and *Jómsvikinga Saga*.[7] *O'lafs Drápa* in the so-called 'Bergsboken' in the royal library, has been published by *Gullberg*,[8] and an edition of the *Partalopa Saga*, by *O. Klockhoff*, has just been published.[9] A catalogue of all the Icelandic manuscripts of the royal library at Stockholm, with short descriptions, has been published by *Arwidsson*.[10]

"Of *translations* of Icelandic texts and *commentaries* there is no small number in Swedish. Besides the older translations of Rask's time, the following works deserve to be mentioned: Snorri Sturluson's *Ynglinga Saga*, translated by *Säve*, with a series of valuable explanations;[11] the poems in the

[1] Undersökningar om ordfogningen i färöiskan . . . af *N. Ambrosius*. Lund, 1876, 8vo. pp. 40.

[2] See *Möbius*, Catalogus, p. 102.

[3] Homiliubók. Isländska homilier, efter en handskrift från tolfte århundradet utgifna af Dr. *Th. Wisén*. Lund, 1872, 8vo. pp. xviii. and 221.

[4] Bandamanna saga, efter skinnboken 2845 å Kongl. Bibliotheket i Köpenhamn af *G. J. C. Cederschiöld*. Lund, 1874, 4to. pp. xiv. and 26 (Diss. Ac.).

[5] Geisli eða O'láfs Drápa ens helga er Einarr orti Skúlason. Efter "Bergsboken" utgifven af *G. Cederschiöld*. 4to. pp. xvi. and 30 (in Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Tom. x. 1873).

[6] Geisli, Einarr Skúlason orti. Öfversättning med anmärkningar. Af *L. Wennberg*. Lund, 1874, 8vo. pp. 75 (Diss. Ac.).

[7] Jómsvíkinga saga efter skinnboken 7, 4to. å kongl. Biblioteket i Stockholm utgifven af *G. Cederschiöld*. 4to. pp. xii. and 37 (in Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Tom. xi. 1874).

[8] Oláfs Drápa Tryggvasonar, fragment ur "Bergsboken" af *H. Gullberg*. Lund, 1875, 8vo. pp. 49 (Diss. Ac.).

[9] Partalopa-Saga för första gången utgifven af *Oskar Klockhoff* (Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1877, Diss. Ac.).

[10] See *Möbius*, Catal. p. 8.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 162.

Skáldskaparmál, translated by *Uppström*, with a commentary;[1] the whole of *Heimskringla*, translated by *Hildebrand*, with historical and archæological notes and a biography of Snorri.[2] *Gödecke* has written a translation of the elder Edda in the original metre (1877).[3] Of the Icelandic family sagas, *Lönnberg* has given a Swedish version of the *Vatnsdœla* and *Eyrbyggja Sagas*.[4] A translation and commentary of *Hallfred's Saga* has been published by *Svensson*.[5] *Wisén* has written a glossarial and grammatical commentary on the first three heroic poems of the *older Edda*,[6] and *Richert* has analysed and explained a number of difficult and obscure passages in the same important collection of ancient songs.[7] On the 'skálds' and their poems there have appeared several monographs, *e.g.* on *Vellekla* by *Freudenthal*,[8] on *Harmsól* by *Kempff*,[9] on *Höfuðlausn* by *Sörensson*,[10] on the poet *Sighvat Thordsson* by *Kyhlberg*[11] and *Ternström*,[12] not to mention a number of smaller dissertations.

"No work of any extent on the *history of the ancient literature* exists in Swedish. A well-written popular book by

[1] Skáldskaparmála-Qvæði Snorra-Eddu öfversatta och med anmärkningar försedda . . . af *A. Uppström*. Upsala, 1859, 8vo. pp. iv. and 79 (Diss. Ac.).

[2] Konungaboken eller sagor om Ynglingarne och Norges konungar intill år 1177 af Snorre Sturleson, öfversatt och förklarad af *H. O. H. Hildebrand*. Örebro, 1869–71, 8vo. 3 vols.

[3] Edda. En isländsk samling folkliga forntidsdikter . . . på svenska af *P. A. Gödecke*. Stockholm, 1877, 8vo. pp. xix. and 396.

[4] Fornnordiska sagor. I. Vatns-dalingarnas saga, från fornnordiskan af *C. J. L. Lönnberg*. Stockholm, 1870, 8vo. pp. 146.—II. Eyrbyggarnes saga . . . Stockholm, 1873, 8vo. pp. 104.

[5] Hallfreds Saga. Öfversättning från Isländskan jemte Anmärkningar . . . af *S. H. B. Svensson*. Lund, 1864, 8vo. pp. viii. and 82 (Diss. Ac.).

[6] Hjeltesångerna i Sæmunds Edda, förklarade af *T. Wisén*. I. häftet. Lund, 1865, 8vo. pp. 104.

[7] Försök till belysning af mörkare och oförstådda ställen i den poetiska eddan af *M. B. Richert*. Upsala, 1877, 8vo. pp. iii. and 57 (In Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1877).

[8] Einar Skálaglams Vellekla, öfversatt och förklarad af *A. O. Freudenthal*. Helsingfors, 1865, 8vo. pp. 114 (Diss. Ac.).

[9] Kaniken Gamles Harmsól (sol i sorgen), öfversättning och förklaringar af *Hj. Kempff*. Upsala, 1867, 8vo. pp. 60 (Diss. Ac.).

[10] Egil Skallagrimssons Höfuðlausn, öfversatt och förklarad af *P. Sörensson*. Lund, 1868, 8vo. pp. 61 (Diss. Ac.).

[11] Om skalden Sighvat Thordsson, samt tolkning af hans Vestrvíkingar- och Nesja-visur af *O. Kyhlberg*. Lund, 1868, 8vo. pp. 63 (Diss. Ac.).

[12] Om skalden Sighvat Thordsson och tolkning af hans Austrfararvísur, Vestrfararvísur och Knútsdrápa af *A. Ternström*. Lund, 1871, 8vo. pp. 60 (Diss. Ac.).

Richert[1] deserves attention, because, amongst other questions treated there, it refutes the pretensions of some Norwegians to claim the whole of the literature that is written in the 'norroena' tongue as exclusively Norwegian property. There is a paper by *Säve*[2] bearing on the same point; in it he sets forth the remarkable discovery he had just made, that on two Swedish rune-stones of the eleventh century, in the province of Södermanland, there are engraved scenes unmistakably belonging to the story of Sigurd Fafnisbani. *Wulff* has published a treatise on *Mágus ok Geirarðs Saga* and its relation to the French epopees.[3]

"With regard to *Northern Mythology*, there are to be remarked a paper by *Säve* on the signification of the names of the northern gods,[4] and a popular essay by *Wisén* on the gods Odin and Loki.[5]

"The study of the *Runes*, first begun in Sweden, the country which is by far the richest of all in rune-stones, is still carried on there with great interest. The *Bautil* of *Göransson* (1750), containing delineations of all the rune-stones then known in Sweden—some of which are now no more to be found—has not lost its importance even for the students of our age.[6] *Liljegren's* treatise on the runes (1832) is now of very little value, but the same author's *Run-Urkunder* (1838) is still, notwithstanding all its faults, an indispensable hand-book for all modern students of the Runic language, because it contains a complete collection of all the Runic inscriptions known in 1833, transcribed into common letters, as far as they were then deciphered.[7] The indefatig-

[1] Om nordisk bildning och fornnordisk literatur af *M. B. Richert*. Lund, 1869, 8vo. pp 106.

[2] Sigurdsristningarna å Ramsundsberget och Göksstenen. Tvänne fornsvenska minnesmärken om Sigurd Fafnesbane. Stockholm, 1869, 8vo. pp. 44, with two engravings (pp. 321–364 in Vitterhets-, Historie- och Antiqvitets-Akademiens Handlingar, part 26).

[3] Notices sur les sagas de Mágus et de Geirarð et leurs rapport aux epopées françaises . . . . Par *F. A. Wulff*. Lund, 1874, 4to. pp. 44 (Diss. Ac.).

[4] Om de nordiska gudanamnens betydelse af *C. Säve* (pp. 66–90 in Fyra inträdesföreläsningar af professorerna P. Hedenius, B. E. Malmström, H. G. Hultman och C. Säve). Upsala, 1860, 8vo.

[5] Oden och Loke. Två bilder ur fornnordiska gudaläran af *Th. Wisén*. Stockholm, 1873, 8vo. pp. 109.

[6] See *Möbius*, Catal. p. 8. [7] *Ibid.*

able antiquary *Dybeck* has published in two works sketches of the Runic inscriptions of Upland and Södermanland, with explanatory notes.[1] From the province of Gestrikland there is a smaller collection by *Wiberg*.[2] *Säve*, the greatest Runic scholar in Sweden, has appended a treatise on the Runic inscriptions of Gotland to his edition of the Gotlandic laws. But the most remarkable work of this kind that has appeared in Sweden of late is a treatise written by the highly eminent Norwegian philologist, Prof. S. *Bugge*, on the Runic inscription of the so-called 'Rökstenen' in Östergötland.[3] This is the longest inscription found on any rune-stone, and, at the same time, one of the most interesting and most difficult to decipher and to explain. Bugge has solved the problem in a most brilliant manner. Besides, there are many papers on rune-stones scattered in several periodical publications issued by the *societies for the preservation of antiquities*, that have been formed of late in most Swedish provinces. The best are *Säve's* papers on Uplandic rune-stones in 'Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift,' i.–iv. (Stockholm, 1871–5. 8vo.).

"The fundamental work on the *History of the Swedish Language* is *Rydqvist's* well-known '*Laws of the Swedish Language*,' in five volumes, divided into twelve books.[4] The first volume (pp. 501), 1850–52, contains 1. The conjugation in general, 2. The different conjugations and their relation to each other, 3. Survey of the flexion of the verb in old and modern times. The second volume (pp. 633), 1857–60, contains 4. The substantive, 5. The adjective, 6. The pronouns, 7. The numerals, 8. Survey of the flexion of the noun

[1] Svenska run-urkunder, utgifna af *R. Dybeck*. I. 52 pp. (text), and 50 plates (engravings). II. 48 pp. and 50 plates. Stockholm, 1855–57, 4to. Sverikes run-urkunder granskade och utgifne af *R. Dybeck*. I. Upland. Stockholm, 1860–66. 38 pp. and 67 plates. II. Stockholms län. Stockholm, 1865–70, 26 pp. and 59 plates, folio.

[2] Gestriklands runstenar af *C. F. Wiberg*; ritade och lithografierade af *N. L. Söderholm*. Gefle, 1867, 4to 10 pp. and 2 plates.

[3] In "Antiqvarisk tidskrift för Sverige, utgifven af Kongl. Vitterhets-, Historie- och Antiqvitets-akademien genom *B. E. Hildebrand*," V. (as yet published, pp. 1–96. Stockholm, 1873), 8vo.

[4] Svenska språkets lagar. Kritisk afhandling af *J. E. Rydqvist*, I.–V. Stockholm, 1850–74, 8vo.

and the pronoun. The third volume (pp. 303), 1863, contains a complete list of the words treated in the preceding volumes with references, an appendix, and critical remarks. The fourth volume (pp. 552), 1868–70, contains 9, The vowels, 10. The consonants, 11. General linguistic phenomena (aphæresis, syncope, apocope, synæresis, metathesis, etc.), Orthography. The fifth volume (pp. 269), 1874, contains 12. Formation of words. In the first two volumes the author has treated his subject in an excellent manner. He has a full command of the linguistic science of that time, and gives a clear and, in general, complete view of the historical development of the Swedish language, from the period of the Runic inscriptions down to our day. The fourth volume is not so satisfactory from a scientific point of view, the author abiding, in general, by Grimm's views. In the fifth volume the author in his analysis of the forms not going further back than the historical facts of the Swedish language permit him to do, the exposition necessarily becomes more elementary than the present state of science claims in a work of this kind. But in spite of the imperfections that modern criticism may be able to detect in the great work of Rydqvist, it is acknowledged by all to have inaugurated a new era of Swedish philology, and it will ever remain a fine monument of independent and sagacious research. *Söderwall* has written a pretty good hand-book of the history of the Swedish language, principally founded on Rydqvist,[1] and three smaller treatises on Old Swedish.[2] The syntactical use of the *cases* in Old Swedish has been carefully investigated by *Schwartz*.[3] *Säve* has published a philological treatise on the Gotland laws,[4] and *Landtmanson* on the so-

[1] Hufvudepokerna af svenska språkets utbildning af *K. F. Söderwall*. Lund, 1870, 8vo. pp. 130.

[2] Om verbets rektion i fornsvenskan af *K. F. Söderwall*. Lund, 1865, 4to. pp. 38 (Diss. Ac.).

Om främmande ords behandling i fornsvenskan af *K. F. Söderwall*. Lund, 1867, 4to. pp. 19.

Några anmärkningar öfver de svenska kasusformerna under medeltiden af *K. F. Söderwall*. Lund, 4to. pp 17 (in Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, ii.).

[3] Om användningen af kasus och prepositioner i fornsvenskan före år 1400 af *E. Schwartz*. I. Upsala, 1875, 8vo. pp. 55 (Diss. Ac.).

[4] Gutniska urkunder: Guta lag, Guta saga och Gotlands runinskrifter språkligt behandlade af *C. Säve*. Upsala, 1859, 8vo. pp. xlii. and 81 (Diss. Ac.).

called 'Um Styrilsi Kununga ok Höfdinga,'[1] and on the Codex Bureanus.[2]

"*Old Swedish texts* are published in great numbers. They are now almost always edited in a very careful and satisfactory way. Besides *Schlyter's Old Laws of Sweden*, that have been referred to before,[3] there are to be mentioned the many old texts published by the *Swedish Old Text Society* in their *Collections*,[4] and as appendices to their Annual Meetings. The present royal librarian, *Klemming*, has alone edited about half of the 'Collections' (now in 67 parts). An interesting collection of old proverbs has been compiled by *Reuterdahl*.[5]

"*Swedish Lexicography.*—The language of the old laws has been treated excellently by *Schlyter* in the glossaries added to each part of his editions. His great dictionary of all the old laws is almost ready to be issued, the greater part of it being already printed. *Söderwall* has been occupied for several years in preparing a dictionary of the printed Old Swedish literature (except the laws), which is eagerly expected by all the friends of Swedish philology. For practical use *Dalin's* (modern) *Swedish Dictionary* is pretty good, although destitute of scientific worth. It notes the pronunciation of the words.[6] An abridged edition (without the pronunciation,

[1] Undersökning af språket i skriften Um Styrilsi Kununga ok Höfdinga af *C. J. G. Landtmanson.* Upsala, 1865, 8vo. pp. 140 (Diss. Ac.).

[2] Om ordböjningen i den svenska fornskriften Codex Bureanus af *C. J. G. Landtmanson.* Lund, 1875, 8vo. pp. 87.

[3] Corpus juris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui. Samling af Sveriges Gamla Lagar, utgifven af *H. S. Collin* och *C. J. Schlyter.* I. II. Stockholm, 1827-30, 4to. . . . . utgifven af *C. J. Schlyter.* III. Stockholm, 1834. IV.-XII. Lund, 1838-69, 4to.

[4] Samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet. Vol. i.-lxvii. Stockholm, 1844-76, 8vo. These volumes contain the following texts: Flores och Blanzeflor; Sanct Patriks-Sagan; Peder Månssons Stridskonst och Stridslag; Vadstena Kloster-Reglor; Herr Ivan Lejon-Riddaren; Namnlös och Valentin; Ett Forn-Svenskt Legendarium; Konung Erik XIVdes Krönika; Svenska Medeltidens Bibelarbeten; Sagan om Didrik af Bern; Hertig Fredrik af Normandie; Konung Alexander; Skrå-Ordningar; Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser; Bonaventuras Betraktelser öfver Christi lefverne; Legenden om Gregorius af Armenien; Sveriges Dramatiska Litteratur; Helige Bernhards Skrifter; Svenska Medeltidens Rim-Krönikor; Suso, Gudeliga Snilles Väckare; Själens Tröst; Skrifter till läsning för klosterfolk; Gersons bok om djefvulens frestelse.

[5] Gamla ordspråk på latin och svenska, utgifna och med glossarier försedda af *H. Reuterdahl.* Lund, 1840, 8vo. pp. 154.

[6] Ordbok öfver svenska språket af *A. F. Dalin.* I. A-K. II. L-Ö. Stockholm, 1850-53, 4to.

but with the etymologies of the words) was published in 1868.[1] The *Glossarium Svio-gothicum* of the learned *Ihre* (1769)[2] is especially remarkable, because Grimm has drawn from it not a few of his etymologies; it has now only an historical interest. One of the duties imposed on the Swedish Academy, instituted in 1786 by Gustavus III., was the compilation of a Swedish dictionary. Extensive collections have been made, but up to now only the letter A has been published (1870),[3] and there is no hope of a continuation. In 1874 a *List of Words*, very incomplete, was published, with the sanction of the Academy, principally with a view of opposing the orthographical reform movement lately begun.[4]

"*Tamm* has published the two first small parts of a Swedish etymological dictionary (A and B);[5] *Blomberg* has written a paper on the same subject.[6] There are, besides, some essays of a more popular kind, two by *Rydqvist*[7] and one by *Richert*.[8] *Freudenthal* has contributed two papers on Swedish local names in some provinces of Finland.[9]

"On *Phonology* there are three works of interest to be remarked: one by *Sundevall* on *Phonetic Letters*,[10] one by *Aurén* on the *Phonology of the Swedish Language*,[11] a useful book

[1] Svensk Handordbok. Med tillägg af ordens etymologi . . . . . af *A. F. Dalin*. Stockholm, 1868, 8vo.

[2] See *Möbius*, Catal. p. 26.

[3] Ordbok öfver svenska språket utgifven af Svenska Akademien. A. Stockholm, 1870, 4to. pp. viii. and 179.

[4] Ordlista öfver svenska språket utgifven af Svenska Akademien. Stockholm, 1874, 8vo. pp. 334 (third edition, 1875).

[5] Bidrag till en svensk etymologisk ordbok af *F. A. Tamm*. A. Upsala, 1874, 8vo. pp. 54 (Diss. Ac.).—B. Upsala, 1875, 8vo. pp. 146.

[6] Några prof af en materialsamling till etymologisk ordbok öfver svenska språket af *C. J. Blomberg*. Hernösand, 1872, 4to. pp. 15.

[7] Den historiska språkforskningen af *J. E. Rydqvist*. (Second edition.) Stockholm, 1863, 8vo. pp. 52.

Ljus och irrsken i språkets verld af *J. E. Rydqvist*. Stockholm, 1865, 8vo. pp. 48 (pp. 105–152 in "Svenska Akademiens Handlingar," xxxix. Delen).

[8] Kulturhistoriska bilder framstälda genom undersökning af de svenska ordens bemärkelser af *M. B. Richert*. Stockholm, 1876, 8vo. (pp. 1-40, 105–131 in "Svensk Tidskrift," 1876).

[9] Viz. in the provinces Nyland, Egentliga Finland and Åland (pp. 1–26 in the eighth volume, and pp. 1–57 in the eleventh volume of "Bidrag till kännedom af Finlands natur och folk, utgifna af Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten." Helsingfors, 1867–68, 8vo.).

[10] Om phonetiska bokstäfver af *C. J. Sundevall*. Stockholm, 1862, 8vo. pp. 67 (No. 2 of Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar, i. 1856).

[11] Bidrag till svenska språkets ljudlära af *J. A. A.* Linköping, 1869, 8vo. pp. 96.

notwithstanding its mistakes, and one by *Leffler* on the consonants.[1] The last-mentioned author tries to prove, by reasons physiological, phonetic, and historical, that the so-called double consonants in Swedish ought really to be considered as *two* sounds slightly differing, one implosive and the other explosive, and that it is not an essential characteristic of the 'mediæ' to be vocal (voiced).

"With regard to the *orthography* of the Swedish language, an animated contest is at present going on between the phonetic school, who demand reforms, and the partisans of the old spelling. The orthography hitherto received being in general a tolerably good expression of the sounds, the reforms introduced are very easy and practical, and do not sensibly affect the physiognomy of the language. There is no comparison between these slight alterations and such a thorough revolution as would be brought about in English by the application of the phonetic principle. In fact, the phonetic party are steadily gaining ground, especially at the two Universities of Upsala and Lund, and their final victory may be expected with certainty. Several important and much read works—*e.g.* Prof. Nyblæus's fundamental work on the History of Swedish Philosophy—have already put their principles into practice, as has also been done by some widely-spread newspapers. The cause of the phonetic principle, as adapted to Swedish orthography, has been pleaded by *Hazelius* in an eloquent and moderate style, and with clear and unanswerable reasons, in his work on the subject.[2] The reforms are almost wholly based on the resolutions agreed upon by a general meeting, held in Stockholm in 1869, of delegates from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, amongst whom were such men as Lyngby, Säve, Wisén, and others. On the opposite side is *Rydqvist*, who has zealously endeavoured by ridicule and by the authority of his name to put down the

[1] Några ljudfysiologiska undersökningar rörande konsonantljuden. I. De klusila konsonantljuden. Upsala, 1874, 8vo. pp. 120 (in "Upsala Universitets Årsskrift," 1874).

[2] Om svensk rättstafning af *A. Hazelius*. I. II. Stockholm, 1870-71. 8vo. pp. 142 and 250.

together more than three hundred members, and has been taken up successfully at Helsingfors for the Swedish dialects of Finland, and at Lund for the dialects of South Sweden. It is evident that such a union of educated young men, who were born in the provinces, have passed a great deal of their childhood and youth there, and go back to their homes for several months every year, must be well qualified to bring together rich and reliable materials for a scientific study of the dialects of their respective provinces. Not a few of the students are themselves children of the people.[1]

"Altogether, on comparing the present state of Swedish philology with the state reached only twenty years ago, fair hopes may be entertained that the great progress made during this brief time will lead to even better results. There are now two chairs for the Northern languages at each University, and the number of students that choose the Northern languages for their specialty, as well as the interest of the public in general, is steadily increasing."

Lithuanian, Lettish, and Prussian.

Of all the Indo-Germanic languages Lithuanian is most closely allied to our own Teutonic, of which, indeed, it practically represents the prehistoric stage before the lautverschiebung—at least, to a great extent. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the shifting musical intonation of Lithuanian was once universal in the Teutonic languages also, and it is possible that a comparison of the Scandinavian, Lithuanian, and Sanskrit systems of intonation may enable us to recover the lost intermediate stages. The relation of the Lettish to the older Lithuanian accentuation affords most striking analogies to the development of the Teutonic system. We may congratulate ourselves on having secured the help of such a scholar as Prof. A. Leskien, the illustrious disciple of Schleicher. I have no hesitation in saying that I consider

[1] The Landsmålsföreningar of Upsala have just resolved to publish a "Tidskrift för Sveriges landsmål."

the present report one of the best we have ever had: it is a model of clearness, conciseness, and criticism, and is always to the point—no small merit in a report. The present English translation was made by me from Prof. Leskien's German original: I hope, however, that in future years we may be able to print such reports in their original language.

"There is no suitable general name for the family of languages whose separate members are Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian: the usual designation 'Lithuanian family' involves the inconvenience of having to distinguish 'Lithuanian' in a special sense; it might, therefore, be advisable, in want of a better name, to select that of 'Baltic languages,' which has been employed by several scholars.

"The following brief report will notice all the three separate languages. But, as we have to deal with several somewhat obscure and petty races, it will, perhaps, not be superfluous to make some preliminary remarks on the distribution of these languages, and their relation to one another.

"Without attempting any precise geographical determinations, we can trace the extent of the special Lithuanian linguistic territory by the following boundary lines. The north boundary is formed by a line from the Prusso-Russian border-town Polangen, on the Baltic (a little north of Memel), to Bauske, a little to the south of Mitau, in Courland, thence somewhat to the east of Dünaburg (more precisely as far as Druja, near the Dvina); the east boundary by a line from Druja to Grodno (more precisely to Przelom) on the Niemen; the south boundary by a line from Grodno (Przelom) to Labiau on the Kurische Haff; the west boundary, finally, by the shores of the Kurische Haff and of the Baltic from Labiau to Polangen. A convenient map of the extent of the Lithuanian language is appended to Kurschat's grammar, to be mentioned more fully below. By the boundaries we have described, by far the greater portion of the linguistic territory of Lithuania belongs to Russia, the smaller to Prussia. The number of those who speak Lithuanian is estimated at one and a half to two millions, of whom about one hundred and forty thousand belong to Prussia. It need hardly be said that

the language is divided into various subdivisions and dialects, but it is not yet possible to determine with any accuracy their number, relations, and extent. Schleicher (cp. his Grammar, p. 4) divided the whole language into High and Low Lithuanian (this latter is also called 'żemaitic,' from the Lithuanian *żemaitis*), and assumed as the boundary in Prussia the Niemen, conjecturing that the same river separated the two groups of dialects in Russia as well. This division was attacked by Kurschat (in the introduction to his dictionary), and with justice, for the criterion on which Schleicher founded his distinction of the dialects—the change of original *tj* and *dj*, which, according to him, become *cz* (=tsh) and *dż* (=dzh) in High, and are kept in Low Lithuanian—does not hold good, *cz* and *dż* appearing far north and east of the Niemen in Russian Lithuania as well. Until, therefore, a more careful treatment of the dialects of Russian Lithuania is forthcoming, it is better to give up the attempt to class the dialects scientifically, and content ourselves with such accounts as we have of the separate dialects.

"And, indeed, Kurschat (Grammar, § 24), under the title 'Subdivisions of the Lithuanian Linguistic Territory,' has not given any real classification of the dialects, but has divided the linguistic field into a number of groups, and enumerates the peculiarities of each district under the several sections of the phonology or inflexions. It may therefore suffice to mention here that the literary language of the Prussian Lithuanians is based on the dialect of the extreme south of Prussian Lithuania (from about Stallupönen to Goldap), and that the extreme north of Prussian Lithuania, about three to four German miles south of Memel, shows a dialect whose divergences are comparatively great, to which also applies Schleicher's criterion of his Low Lithuanian—retention of *tj* and *dj*. The Lithuanian of the extreme south might, as Kurschat proposes, be termed High Lithuanian. Specimens of various local dialects are contained in several works mentioned below.

"Immediately north of the Lithuanian begins the Lettish

territory; its southern boundary, which is at the same time the political one of Courland, is formed by the northern boundary of Lithuania, described above; in the want of accurate information, it is not easy to determine the eastern boundary, but a line from the eastern extremity of Courland (Druja) to Marienhausen will serve as an approximate determination; the northern boundary is formed by a line from Marienhausen through Oppekaln and Walk (these two in Livonia) to Salis, on the Gulf of Riga. The shores of the Baltic give the west boundary. The Lettish territory, which lies entirely within the Russian empire, includes, therefore, the whole of the province of Courland, the southern portion of Livonia, and the extreme east of the government of Vitebsk. There are, besides, some Letts within Prussia, who inhabit the Kurische Nehrung. The total number of the Letts is stated to be a full million. It is usual to divide Lettish into *High Lettish* (Oberländisch) in the eastern part of the linguistic territory, and *Low Lettish;* the latter is subdivided into the *North-west Kurish* (Tahmisch) on the Baltic, and the so-called *Middle* dialect, lying between the High and Tahmic dialects; on it is based the common literary language.

"The relation of Lettish to Lithuanian is, perhaps, most simply defined by the statement that Lettish, in its present phonetic and inflexional state, presupposes everywhere as the oldest ascertainable stage, that in which we still find Lithuanian at the present day, especially High Lithuanian, in the sense stated above. The eastern and northern local dialects of Lithuanian show, on the other hand, numerous phonetic developments which represent the intermediate stages between the archaic state of High Lithuanian and the greatly reduced one of Lettish. The most characteristic differences in the phonology of the two languages are the following:—

"1) Consonants:

"*a*) Lith. *sz* (=sh) and *ż* (=zh), derived from Indog. *k* and *g*, are represented in Lettish by *s* and *z*, thus Lith. *szirdis* (heart), Lett. *sirds*, Lith. *żėmė* (earth), Lett. *zeme*.

"*b*) *tj* and *dj* become *sz* (=sh) and *ż* (=zh) in Lett., while

in Lith. they are either preserved (see above) or else become *cz* (=tsh) and *dż* (=dzh), which must also have been the previous stages of *sz* and *ż* in Lett., thus Lith. *puczu* (I blow, cr. *putà*, bubble), Lett. *puszu;* Lith. *grudžu* (I stamp), Lett. *grużu*.

"*c*) *k* and *g* are preserved in Lith. before *e*, *ī*, *ei*, *ė*, while in Lett. they become *c* (=ts) and *dz*, as in Lith. *kélti* (lift), Lett. *celt*, Lith. *gìmti* (be born), Lett. *dzimt*.

"2) Vowels:

"*a*) Lett. does not change original long *ā* to *ō*, and is therefore, so far, more archaic than High Lith., as in *māte*, Lith. *mōte* (mother, woman).

"*b*) In Lith. a vowel + nasal before *s* and *ż* (=zh) becomes a nasal vowel, as in *žąsìs* (goose) = *žansìs*, *grėžiù* (I pierce) = *grenžiù*, the nasal consonant being preserved before other consonants; in Lett. the nasal disappears before any consonant, the vowel being simply lengthened or diphthongized, as in Lith. *rankà* (hand), Lett. *růka*, Lith. *penkì* (five), Lett. *pëci*, Lith. *lìnkti* (bend), Lett. *līkt*, Lith. *juntù* (I feel), Lett. *jūtu*.

"*c*) Lettish is peculiarly modern in its treatment of final syllables: short final *a*, *e*, *i*, in Lith. are always cut off in Lett., as in Lith. *nésza* (he carries), Lett. *nes*, Lith. *nèszti* (to carry), Lett. *nest;* all simple long vowels in final syllables are shortened in Lett., as in Lith. *lėpõs* gen. sg. (linden), Lett. *lëpās*, Lith. *žolės* gen. sg. (grass), Lett. *zalēs;* the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, *ei*, in final syllables are monophthongized and shortened in Lett. to *i*, *u*, *i*, as in Lith. *sakaì* (thou sayest), Lett. *saki*, Lith. *sakaù* (I say), Lett. *saku*.

"It is, of course, possible to adduce many more instances to prove that Lettish is in a later stage of development, especially, for instance, the loss of a free and movable accentuation; in Lettish the accent always falls on the first syllable. But space will not allow us to go into details.

"The third language with which we are concerned, the Prussian, commonly, although superfluously, called Old Prussian, is entirely extinct; the remains that have come down to us belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The

territory of Prussian lay between the lower Vistula (from Thorn downwards) and the Niemen. The exact course of the boundary-line which separated it from Lithuanian on the east, and Polish on the south, can only be approximately determined by detailed historical arguments, which must be passed over here.

"Comparative grammar has from the beginning regarded the Lithuanian group, especially Lithuanian itself, as one of the most important members of the Indo-Germanic family, and its archaic character certainly entitles it to a high rank. Nothing, however, can be more absurd than the opinion, which we still find occasionally expressed, that Lithuanian stands nearer to Sanskrit than any other European language, and is almost on a level with it in antiquity, that is, in resemblance to the Indo-Germanic primeval language. Nothing can be more false. Lithuanian is intimately allied only to the Slavonic family, just as Zend is to Sanskrit, and is by no means of such thorough-going antiquity as a few arbitrarily chosen examples might easily make any one believe who has no special knowledge of the language. It has, for instance, degenerated most remarkably in its conjugation, and in this respect is far inferior to the oldest known Slavonian. It must now be clearly understood that Lithuanian has no more importance in the general Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic languages than can be claimed by any other Indo-Germanic language, but that it is of primary importance in the comparative treatment of the Slavonic languages.

"It is well known that the first complete and scientific study of Lithuanian is due to Schleicher.[1]

"With the single exception of Kurschat's 'Contributions,'[2] which have also been utilized by Schleicher, especially in the Accents, all earlier work is completely antiquated, and has at most an occasional historical interest. Schleicher's Grammar is far surpassed in bulk by that of Kurschat.[3] Friedrich

[1] Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, I. Grammatik; II. Lesebuch und Glossar. Prag, 1857.

[2] Beiträge zur Kunde der littauischen Sprache, 1 und 2 H. Königsberg, 1843–9.

[3] Grammatik der littauischen Sprache. Halle, 1876.

Kurschat, Professor at Königsberg, is a native Lithuanian, and the chief authority on his language. All the statements of facts contained in his grammar are in the highest degree trustworthy, and the accurate account of the difficult Lithuanian accentuation, begun in the second part of his 'Beiträge,' is most valuable; all his statements, on the other hand, about the more general linguistic relations of Lithuanian are in an equal degree imperfect, and even the relations of Lithuanian to the immediately allied languages, as well as to the more remote Slavonic ones, are often misunderstood.

"Passing to the separate parts of the grammar, the work of Smith[1] has some value, through the author having made use of some older Lithuanian books;[2] the same applies also to another work of the same author on the pronouns.[3] Voelkel treats of accent in the declension.[4] Masing, in an essay on Servian accentuation,[5] makes detailed reference to the Lithuanian accents, and gives valuable theoretical remarks.

"We are unfortunately very badly off for comprehensive dictionaries. The very uncritical and inaccurate compilation of Nesselmann[6] is still the only full work of reference we possess; for as yet only the first part of Kurschat's dictionary has appeared,[7] which, with all its excellence, can only be used by such as are already familiar with the details of the language. Those who are not able to check the statements of Nesselmann's dictionary by their own knowledge, had better content themselves for comparative purposes with the glossaries to Schleicher's Reading-book and to his Donaleitis. There are, unfortunately, not many Lithuanian texts published in such a form as to allow of their being completely relied upon for the purposes of scientific investigation.

[1] De locis quibusdam linguarum Balticarum et Slavonicarum, fasc. I.–III. Havniæ, 1857–9.

[2] Compare Schleicher's review in "Beiträge zur vergleich. Sprachforschung," Bd. I.

[3] Bemerkungen über die primitiven Fürwörter der baltischen und slavischen Sprache, Beitr. zur vergl. Spr. B. II.

[4] Der Tonwandel in der litthauischen Deklination. Tilsit, 1873.

[5] Die Hauptformen des Serbisch-Chorwatischen Accents (Mém. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg, t. xxiii., No. 5. 1876.

[6] Wörterbuch der littauischen Sprache. Königsberg, 1851.

[7] Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch. Halle, 1870.

Besides those given in the above-mentioned Reading-book of Schleicher, the most important are the poems of Christian Donaleitis, first published in full by Schleicher,[1] together with a glossary. Again by Nesselmann,[2] in a very pretentious edition, which is, indeed, in so far an improvement on Schleicher's, that what has been preserved of the original manuscript and the more complete copy from it could be better utilized; but on the other hand here, as in all the other Lithuanian publications of Nesselmann, his grammatical accuracy cannot be relied on. An important aid is the text of the New Testament, as revised by Kurschat.[3] There is great need of a new and more extensive collection of the ballads, of which, as is well known, there is already a large collection by Nesselmann;[4] the critical treatment consists, however, in this case in transliterating ballads from different districts, and consequently distinct in dialect, into the literary language, so that the collection naturally loses much of its value for linguistic investigations. I may pass over here some smaller collections organized by Russian philologists (especially Fortunatow and Miller), for although not without value for dialectology, the Cyrillian letters in which they are written down will prevent their giving most readers any accurate representation of the language.

"The utilization of the oldest printed works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has hitherto been attended with great difficulty, as they are very rare, and the oldest, indeed, only exists in a single copy. It is, therefore, a very praiseworthy undertaking of Bezzenberger to make them generally accessible by reprints.[5] A portion of the oldest linguistic docu-

[1] St. Petersburg, 1865.

[2] Christian Donalitius Littauische Dichtungen nach den Königsberger Handschriften mit metrischer Uebersetzung, krit. Anmerkungen und genauem Glossar, von G. H. F. Nesselmann. Königsberg, 1869.

[3] Naujasis Testamentas, perweizdėtas ir pertaisytas Fr. Kurszaczio. Halle, 1865 (in der Kanstein'schen Bibeldruckerei).

[4] Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt von Nesselmann. Berlin, 1853.

[5] Under the title of "Littauische und Lettische Drucke des 16 Jahrh. hgg. von A. Bezzenberger," there have appeared as yet: I. Der litauische Katechismus vom Jahre 1547, Göttingen 1874; II. Der lettische Katechismus vom Jahre 1586; III. Das litauische Taufformular vom Jahre 1559; IV. Anhang: Das (angeblich altpreussische) lettische Vaterunser des Simon Grunau. Gött. 1875.

ment, the Katechism of 1547, is also printed in Leopold Geiter's Lithuanian Studies,[1] but with so many mistakes that one cannot but distrust the accuracy of his other texts. Otherwise the dialect specimens are in themselves valuable, as they belong to the very little known Russian Lithuania.[2]

"Lettish can boast of a truly excellent treatment in the great work of Bielenstein—his Lettish grammar;[3] few languages have been treated grammatically with such completeness and accuracy as Lettish has been in this work. There is only one warning I would address to students of the book, that is, not to attach too much importance to Bielenstein's comparisons and derivations of Lettish forms from those of the older cognates. Bielenstein is very apt to regard the Lettish forms as more archaic than they really are, and often fails to recognize that apparent archaisms are simply the result of later development in Lettish itself. His smaller grammar,[4] intended to form the first part of a 'Handbook of the Lettish Language,' is therefore more convenient for learning the language. The second part of the 'Handbuch,' which was to give a Reading-book, has, unfortunately, not appeared yet. This is the more to be regretted, as there is a great want of texts taken from the mouths of the people. Büttner's ballad-collection, published in 1844 by the Lettish Literary Society, has been long out of print. It is, on the other hand, pleasant to know that another collection is now in course of publication, under the guidance and editorship of Bielenstein.[5] According to the plan of the collection it will consist of four parts, with about 9—10,000 stanzas of four lines. There appeared at Vilna, in Russian and with a Russian translation, a larger collection of popular songs,[6]

[1] Litauische Studien. Auswahl aus den ältesten Denkmälern, dialectische Beispiele, lexicalische und sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge. Prag, 1875.

[2] Cp. the reviews of Bezzenberger's and Geitler's publications by Hugo Weber in the Jenaer Litteraturzeitung, Jahrg. 1875, Artikel 236.

[3] Die lettische Sprache nach ihren Lauten und Formen erklärend und vergleichend dargestellt I. II. Berlin, 1863–4.

[4] Lettische Grammatik. Mitau, 1863.

[5] Lettische Volkslieder gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Lettisch-literärischen Gesellschaft (Latweeszu tautas dzeesmas), 2 lfg. Leipzig, 1875 (gedruckt bei A. Th. Engelhardt).

[6] Pamjatniki latyšskago narodnago tvorčestva.

by Ivan Sprogis. I hear that the revision of the Lettish translation of the Bible, undertaken by Bielenstein in conjunction with others, is now completed, and the new edition of the Bible will thus become one of the most important sources of linguistic illustration. The publication of the Lettish Catechism of 1586 by Bezzenberger has been already mentioned above.

"The want of a dictionary, for the old one by Stender was very imperfect, is now remedied by the more complete and reliable and better arranged work of Ullmann,[1] revised and edited by Bielenstein.

"Finally, as regards Prussian, it is well known that Nesselmann edited the only documents formerly known, two catechisms of 1545, and another of 1561;[2] the text is trustworthy, but the grammatical treatment and the lexicon are not satisfactory. Of great importance for the vocabulary and etymology is the only document older than the Reformation, attributed to the beginning of the fifteenth century, a German and Prussian vocabulary, edited by Nesselmann.[3] There has been no general grammatical treatment of Prussian of late years. The reader may be reminded here of Bopp's essay on the language of the Old Prussians.[4] Pauli's 'Prussian Studies'[5] deserve special attention. Nesselmann has attempted to collect the whole Prussian vocabulary, both as contained in the texts and as handed down to us in other ways, in his 'Thesaurus linguæ Prussicæ;'[6] the book is unhappily disfigured by the introduction of a number of words of very dubious Prussian origin, and of many which are certainly not Prussian; the comparison of Prussian with

[1] Lettisches Wörterbuch. I. Th. Lettisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, von C. C. Ullmann. Riga, 1872.

[2] Die Sprache der alten Preussen an ihren Ueberresten erläutert. Berlin, 1845. The earlier edition of Vater, 1821, is quite useless.

[3] Ein deutsch-preussisches Vocabularium aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrh., von Nesselmann. Königsberg, 1868. Kritische Bemerkungen (by the same) in the Altpreuss. Monatsschrift B. v. Compare Pott's detailed discussion in Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachf. B. vi.

[4] Ueber die Sprache der alten Preussen (Abhandl. der Berliner Akad., hist.-phil. Classe, 1853).

[5] C. Pauli, Preussische Studien, I. Lautlehre, II. Formenlehre (VI. and VII. B. der Beitr. zur vergl. Sprachf.).

[6] Nesselmann, Thesaurus linguæ Prussicæ. Berlin, 1873.

Slavonic words, to which the writer is so much given, is utterly devoid of criticism, and swarms with mistakes. But this work of Nesselmann's stands, nevertheless, far above a similar work of Pierson's,[1] in which Prussian is compared in the wildest way with Lithuanian, Slavonian, Greek, Celtic, and Sanskrit. An interesting and important work is one by Bezzenberger on the Prussian proper names.[2]

"I may add that the comparative grammar of the Lithuanian family has been considerably advanced by the special sections of Schmidt's 'Contributions to the History of the Indo-Germanic Vowel-system,'[3] and of Fick's 'Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Germanic Languages.'[4] I myself have also treated the declension comparatively in my work on the 'Declension in Lithu-Slavonian and German.'"[5]

Turkish Languages.

I am very glad to be able to include in our reports one on this most interesting family of languages, which we owe to the kindness of Prof. P. de Courteille, of Paris. A better authority could scarcely be found.

"Un des préjugés les plus répandus parmi certains orientalistes c'est que la langue turke actuelle, véritable pastiche d'expression arabes et persanes, mérite à peine qu'on y consacre quelques mois d'étude, juste ce qui est nécessaire pour comprendre les écrits des commentateurs, des lexicographes et des grammairiens, peut-être même ceux des historiens, qui à cause de leur époque relativement moderne, n'offrent qu'un médiocre intérêt.[6] Voilà pourquoi dans un temps, où l'étude de la philologie comparée est si en faveur,

[1] W. Pierson, Altpreussischer Wörterschatz. Berlin, 1875.

[2] Die Bildung der altpreussischen Personennamen; ein Versuch ihrer Deutung, von A. Bezzenberger. Königsberg, 1876.

[3] Zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Vocalismus, I. Weimar, 1871; II. 1875.

[4] Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, 3 Aufl. Göttingen, 1874-6.

[5] Die Declination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen, von A. Leskien. Leipzig, 1876.

[6] Prof. Max Müller s'est exprimé en termes ingénieux et éloquents sur l'intérêt qu'offre l'étude de la langue turke même au point de vue grammaticale, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. i. Lect. viii.

l'attention des savants ne se porte que faiblement sur un de ses éléments d'information les plus considérables : je veux parler, non pas seulement du dialecte osmanli, le moins intéressant peut-être des nombreux rejetons de la grande famille turke, mais de l'ensemble même de ces dialectes. Cependant, si l'étude du sanskrit, d'une part, et celle de l'arabe, de l'autre, attirent à elles la plus grande partie de nos orientalistes, il en est quelques uns, soit en Russie surtout, soit en Allemagne, soit en Angleterre, soit en France, soit à Constantinople même, qui se sont consacrés au défrichement de ces terrains encore peu connus, et par conséquent plus difficiles à exploiter. Ce sont ces travaux : grammaires, dictionnaires, publications et traductions de textes originaux, que je vais essayer d'indiquer, l'espace restreint dont je dispose ne me permettant pas de les analyser. Pour plus de clarté et pour permettre au lecteur de suivre plus facilement le développement des faits, je considérerai la langue turke dans ses deux branches principales : l'occidentale et l'orientale, dont je m'occuperai successivement, en commençant par la première, qui est la mieux connue en Europe et celle qu'on a d'abord étudiée.

"Les instruments les plus indispensables à ceux qui veulent entreprendre l'étude raisonnée d'une langue : je veux parler des grammaires et des dictionnaires conçus et rédigés dans un esprit philologique, étaient précisément ce qui manquait pour le turk jusqu'à ces dernières années. Il y avait eu cependant des efforts tentés et des résultats considérables obtenus, et je n'ai pas besoin de rappeler ici les noms de Meninski, Viguier, Oldermann, Jaubert, Davids, Dubeux, de Hammer, dont les travaux remontent, pour la plupart, à une époque déjà ancienne. Il n'entre pas non plus dans mon sujet de parler du dictionnaire de Mr. Redhouse,[1] l'un des hommes les plus versés dans la connaissance de la langue ottomane, ni des belles recherches de Messieurs Boller, Rœhrig, Schott, Bérézine, Klaproth, Rémusat, Kacem-beg, Böhtlingk, Alexander Castren, Schiefner, qui, par leur date

[1] Ce savant orientaliste est en train de préparer un dictionnaire turk bien plus complet que celui qu'il a déjà publié.

sont en dehors du cadre que je me suis tracé. J'arrive tout de suite dans le domaine de la langue vulgaire et pratique à trois dictionnaires publiés l'un par Mallouf en 1867 (*Dictionnaire turk-français avec la prononciation figurée*, 2 volumes. Paris, 1862-1867), le second par Mehemed-Atuf (*Dictionnaire français-turk-italien*, Constantinople, 1868), le troisième par Mr. Wahrmund (*Praktisches Handbuch der osmanisch-türkischen Sprache*, Giessen, 1869). La lexicographie s'est enrichie en 1876 de deux ouvrages importants. Le premier dû au savant orientaliste J. Th. Zenker sous ce double titre: *türkisch-arabisch-persiches Handwörterbuch* et *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*, Leipzig, se recommande surtout dans la partie turke par la grande quantité de mots appartenant, soit à la branche orientale, soit à la branche occidentale, qui n'avaient pas encore été expliqués ou qui ne se rencontraient que dans des ouvrages spéciaux. L'auteur a mis à contribution les richesses répandues à profusion dans le *Kamous* et le *Borhân-i-Kâti* pour le turk osmanli et a utilisé pour le *djagataï* les notes du savant E. Quatremère et les renseignements puisés à des sources originales. Quant au second dictionnaire paru en 1876 il a été imprimé à Constantinople sous le titre de *Lehdjèh-i-osmani* (la langue ottomane) et est rédigé en turk. L'auteur, qui n'est autre que le savant Ahmed Vefik efendi, s'inspirant des principes de la philologie, a groupé tous les dérivés autour de leurs racines respectives d'après la méthode des lexicographes arabes et a expliqué une foule d'expressions que nos dictionnaires européens ne connaissaient qu'imparfaitement. M. Barbier de Meynard, l'un de nos plus laborieux orientalistes, mettra à profit cet excellent travail pour la rédaction du Dictionnaire turk-français qu'il nous a promis (Journal asiatique, Septembre, 1876).

"A côté des dictionnaires se placent tout naturellement les recueils de proverbes. J'ai à enregistrer avant tout autre celui qu'a publié à Constantinople le savant Chinaci efendi d'abord en 1280 (1863–1864), puis une seconde fois, mais presque grossi de moitié en 1287 (1870–1871), sous le titre de *zouroub-i-emçâl-i-osmaniyèh*. Les proverbes français y sont traduits littéralement en turk et accompagnés des proverbes similaires

en turk, en persan et en arabe. Ce recueil est plus intéressant et plus complet que celui qui a été publié à Vienne en 1869 (*osmanische Sprichwörter*). Ahmed Vefik a également publié en 1871 un recueil de maximes et sentences en langue turke sous le titre de: *atalar seuzi* (paroles des pères) qui rappelle le *Pirké abôth* des Juifs. On doit au même savant la traduction en langue ottomane de trois pièces de Molière: *Le mariage forcé* (zor nikiâhi), *Le médecin malgré lui* (zoraki tabib), *George Dandin* (yorgaki dandini); toutes trois imprimées à Constantinople en 1286 (1869–1870).[1]

"Pour en finir avec le turk occidental j'ai encore à signaler quatre ouvrages dont les trois derniers appartiennent plutôt à la littérature qu'à la philologie. C'est d'abord une sorte de chrestomathie avec glossaires et notes publiée par le docteur Otto Blau (*Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1868). Ce petit volume est rempli de renseignements utiles et qui ne se rencontrent pas ailleurs; en second lieu la traduction allemande du roman turk de *seïd Battal*, enrichie de bonnes notes, publiée en 1871 à Leipzig par le docteur Hermann Ethé (*Die Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal, ein alt-türkischer Volks- und Sittenroman*); en troisième lieu un conte des *Mille et une nuits* publié à Jérusalem en 1869 dans la version turke avec traduction française et notes par un jeune orientaliste, M. Ganneau (*Calife le pêcheur et Haroun-er-Rechid*); quatrièmement enfin, le beau et intéressant recueil de poésies de l'Azerbaïdjân, dont la langue tient le milieu entre le pur osmanli et le turk oriental, publié dans le texte original accompagné d'une savante préface par M. Adolph Bergé (*Dichtungen transkaukasischer Sänger des* XVIII *und* XIX *Jahrhunderts in adserbeidshanischer Mundart*, Leipzig, 1868).

"Arrivons maintenant à la branche orientale, la plus intér-

[1] Il est bon de faire observer que *Le médecin malgré lui* avait déjà été traduit en partie par Chinaci efendi sous ce titre *zor ilèh hekim*, que le même poëte a rendu en vers turks des morceaux choisis de La Fontaine, Racine, Gilbert, de Lamartine, enfin qu'il a composé et fait imprimer à Constantinople en 1277 (1860–1861) une scénette satyrique, tirée de son propre fonds. C'est, je crois, le premier et unique exemple de ce genre que l'on puisse citer. Je pourrais encore parler de la traduction turke de *Télémaque*, de l'*Histoire de Charles XII.* et de *Candide* de Voltaire par différents lettrés ottomans, mais je sortirais de mon sujet.

essante des deux, celle à laquelle se rattachent une foule de dialectes plus ou moins connus, depuis le *djagataï* et l'*ouïgour* qui ont produit d'importants monuments littéraires et donné lieu à des travaux de valeur, jusqu'aux patois de l'Altaï, de la Sibérie méridionale et des steppes des Kirguiz, dont l'étude est importante pour quiconque veut bien se rendre compte du mécanisme de la langue turke. A ce point de vue général signalons tout d'abord le grand travail de M. Lazare Boudagoff publié à St. Petersbourg en 1869-1871 sous ce titre *Logat-i-turki*, Сравнительный словарь турецко-татарскихъ нарѣчій (*dictionnaire comparatif des dialectes turks-tatars*). Cet excellent dictionnaire, où chaque mot est classé avec indication du dialecte auquel il appartient, est rédigé complétement en russe et vise surtout l'utilité pratique. Il offre de précieuses ressources à ceux qui s'occupent de philologie comparée.

"A côté de ce grand lexique et comme devant lui servir de champ d'application se place tout naturellement la vaste publication du docteur Radloff (*Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, St. Petersbourg, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1872, quatre volumes pour le texte en caractères russes et quatre volumes pour la traduction allemande). Ce recueil renferme les spécimens les plus curieux des dialectes de l'Altaï, des régions arrosées par l'Obi, l'Irtich, la Tobol, des steppes des Kirguiz. Au milieu de récits et de légendes où l'empreinte du Bouddhisme ou de l'Islamisme est fortement accusée, on rencontre des chants absolument originaux et qui, dans leur naïveté sauvage, exhalent comme un parfum de terroir. Je n'ai pas besoin de faire remarquer combien le lexicographe, le grammairien et le philologue ont à recueillir sur un pareil champ et quelle reconnaissance ils doivent au savant orientaliste qui leur en a ouvert l'accès.[1]

"Si nous passons maintenant aux ouvrages qui s'occupent particulièrement du dialecte *djagataï*, tout en ne négligeant pas le *turkoman* et l'*ouïgour*, nous avons d'abord à signaler un estimable travail dans lequel M. Vambéry a réuni un

[1] On trouvera un compte-rendu détaillé du quatrième volume de cet ouvrage dans le Journal Asiatique, Août-Septembre, 1874.

aperçu grammatical, des textes inédits dont il a donné la traduction et un glossaire djagataï-allemand-français (*Cagataische Sprachstudien, enthaltend grammatikalischen Umriss, Chrestomathie und Wörterbuch der cagataischen Sprache* von Hermann Vambéry, Leipzig, 1867).

"Un auteur inconnu a rédigé en turk, sous le nom d'*abouchka*, un dictionnaire *djagataï* où il explique bon nombre de mots, en citant à l'appui de son interprétation de nombreux exemples en prose ou en vers empruntés à d'illustres écrivains du seizième siècle, tels que Mir Ali chir Nevâï, Lutfi, Bâber mirza, Obeïd Khan, Sultan Hussein, Mir Haïder. Cet ouvrage, très important, avait déjà attiré l'attention d'Abel Rémusat, de M. Bérézine et de M. Vambéry. Ce dernier en avait même publié à Pesth en 1862 une traduction hongroise, en ne donnant que les mots sans les exemples. C'est cette lacune regrettable qu'un savant orientaliste russe, M. de Véliaminof-Zernof, déjà connu entre autres travaux par son recueil de *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersbourg, 1864, a voulu combler en préparant une édition très soignée du texte complet de l'*Abouchka*, St. Petersbourg, 1869. Lorsque j'ai fait paraître à mon tour mon Dictionnaire turk oriental, Paris, 1870, j'y ai introduit tous les mots et tous les exemples de l'*Abouchka*, dont j'ai essayé la traduction, en y joignant de nombreux exemples tirés de Bâber, d'Aboul Gâzi et d'autres auteurs, sans oublier le dépouillement complet de l'excellent lexique turk-persan manuscrit connu sous le nom de *Khouláceh-i-Abbâci* et du lexique également turk-persan de *Faz ullâh* imprimé à Calcutta en 1825. Comme complément à ce travail j'ai donné en 1871 la traduction française[1] du *Bâber-nâmeh* faite sur le texte original publié en 1857 à Kazan par M. Ilminsky.

"M. Fræhn avait donné en 1825 à Kazan une édition du texte original du *chedjerèh-i-turk* d'Aboul-Gâzi. L'importance de cet ouvrage, tant sous le rapport des faits historiques

[1] L'excellente traduction de Messrs. Leyden et Erskine publiée à Londres en 1826 a été faite sur la version persane ; la mienne a été faite sur le texte turk et dans le but de faciliter l'étude du djagataï.

qu'il renferme que sous celui de la langue dans laquelle il est rédigé, méritait une nouvelle édition critique. M. le baron Desmaisons s'est acquitté de cette tâche, à la satisfaction des orientalistes. Non content de publier (St. Petersbourg, 1871) une édition du texte bien plus correcte que la première, il l'a fait suivre d'une traduction française, élégante et fidèle (on n'en pouvait dire autant de celle qui a paru à Leyde en 1726), enrichie de notes savantes et substantielles (St. Petersbourg, 1874). Je ne puis pas passer sous silence que le texte djagataï d'Aboul-Gâzi a été traduit en partie[1] en dialecte osmanli et imprimé à Constantinople dans le *tasvir-i-efkiâr* (numéros du 16 septembre 1280, (1863-1864) et suivants).

"En 1872 Ahmed Vefik a publié à Constantinople le texte *djagataï* du *Mahboul-el-Kouloub*, l'un des ouvrages les plus rares de Nevâï.[2] Je le remarque parceque je ne sache pas que l'on eût jamais rien imprimé en orient des écrits du plus célèbre représentant de la littérature *djagataï*.

"Nous savions bien que la langue turke était parlée à Kachgar et à Yarkand, mais il y a si peu de communications entre l'Europe et ces points reculés de l'Asie centrale qu'à peine pouvions nous espérer d'obtenir sur eux des renseignements certains. Heureusement pour nous M. Robert Barkley Shaw, qui a visité ces contrées en observateur intelligent et instruit, en a rapporté les matériaux d'un travail qui a paru à Lahore en 1875, sous le titre de: *A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan (Káshgar and Yarkand), together with a Collection of Extracts.* La théorie du verbe[3] dans le 'modern ouïgour' est expliquée de la manière la plus ingénieuse par M. Shaw qui nous a donné en même temps la clef de la conjugaison en *osmanli*. Les

[1] Du commencement à la page 63 de la première édition et à la page 110 de la seconde.

[2] M. Belin en avait traduit de nombreux extraits dans le Journal asiatique de 1866; i. 549, et ii. 126. Il a été rendu un compte détaillé de cette publication dans le J. asiat. Janvier, 1874.

[3] Combien M. Max Müller se montre un ingénieux et véridique observateur lorsqu'il compare la conjugaison turke "to a tree with innumerable branches, each of which is bowed down to the earth by the weight of the fruit which it bears."

extraits placés à la fin du volume sont très curieux comme spécimens de cette langue des frontières de la Chine, et on y remarque avec surprise un emploi bien plus fréquent des mots arabes et persans qu'on ne pourrait le supposer à une pareille distance des centres de l'islamisme.

"Mais il existe des manuscrits, d'une excessive rareté malheureusement, qui nous ont conservé des monuments précieux du dialecte *ouïgour*, monuments jusqu'ici peu étudiés, sans doute à cause de la difficulté qu'on éprouve à les déchiffrer. Aussi n'en connaissions nous que des fragments peu étendus lorsque M. Vambéry, plus hardi et plus heureux que ses devanciers, est parvenu à pénétrer dans ce *sanctuaire* mystérieux. S'attaquant au plus ancien des ouvrages *ouïgours* (il remonte au onzième siècle de notre ère), il en a déchiffré, publié en caractères originaux et traduit les trente-sept premiers chapitres. Ce beau travail[1] a paru à Innsbruck en 1870 sous le titre de *Uigurische Sprach-monumente und das Kudatku Bilik*. Une esquisse historique et grammaticale commence le volume que termine un vocabulaire des mots employés dans les extraits. Outre l'intérêt que présente en lui-même ce traité d'*Économie domestique*, la langue en est des plus curieuses par sa naïveté, sa rudesse, sa pureté d'éléments hétérogènes, je dirais presque cette gaucherie qui donnerait à penser que ce dialecte avait été jusqu'alors plus parlé qu'écrit. On voit, sans qu'il soit besoin d'en dire plus, quel service M. Vambéry a rendu à la philologie orientale par cette importante publication.

"Les dialectes moins littéraires que le *djagataï* et l'*ouïgour*, tels que l'*altaïque*, le *tchouvache*, le *kirguiz* n'ont pas été non plus oubliés, puisque nous trouvons une Grammaire de la langue altaïque composée par les membres de la mission altaïque et suivie d'un vocabulaire russe-altaïque et altaïque-russe, publiée à Kazan en 1869; un Dictionnaire des racines tchouvaches comparées avec les langues et dialectes turks, finnois, etc., par Zalotnitsky, publié également à

[1] Il en a été rendu un compte raisonné dans le Journ. asiat. d'Avril, 1873. M. Vambéry a encore publié un *Histoire de Bokhara*. *Geschichte Bokharas oder Transoxaniens von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1872.

Kazan en 1875, ainsi qu'un travail de M. Ilminsky sur le Kirguiz.[1]

"Quoique la tâche que je me suis imposée ne comprenne proprement que les différents dialectes de la langue turke, il m'est impossible de passer sous silence une discussion philologique de la plus haute importance et qui se rattache à notre sujet au moins par un de ses côtés : je veux parler de la polémique engagée sur l'origine touranienne de la langue *accadienne* ou *sumérienne*, cet idiome des 'inventeurs de l'écriture cunéiforme, population qui a précédé dans le bassin inférieur de l'Euphrate et du Tigre les populations d'origine sémitique.' Je ne veux pas encore me prononcer sur cette difficile question, soulevée il y a quelques années par Messieurs Henry Rawlinson et Oppert, et qui a trouvé un défenseur aussi infatigable qu'érudit dans la personne de M. François Lenormant. Dans quatre ouvrages parus successivement : *La magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines Accadiennes*, 1874 ; *La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes touraniens*, 1875 ; *Etude sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes*, 1877 ; *Les syllabaires cunéiformes*, 1877 ; ce savant s'efforce de répondre, soit aux dénégations absolues de M. J. Halévy (*Journal asiat.*, Juin, 1874, Mars–Avril, 1876), soit aux doutes de M. Eberhard Schrader (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, I Heft, 1875). Je me borne à indiquer sommairement les pièces de ce procès philologique qui aura certainement pour résultat, quelle qu'en soit l'issue, de provoquer des débats très intéressants et on ne peut plus instructifs.

"Si le tableau, que j'ai essayé de mettre sous les yeux du lecteur, n'est pas trop défectueux, il y verra que les études turkes, au point de vue scientifique comme au point de vue pratique, n'ont pas été trop délaissées dans ces dernières années. Les travaux que j'ai indiqués et sans doute aussi ceux qu'il ne m'a pas été donné de connaître font bien augurer de l'avenir. D'autres viendront après nous, qui feront mieux et plus que nous, et le jour n'est pas loin, peut-être, où un esprit généralisateur comme le savant et ingénieux

[1] C'est à M. Ch. Schefer que je dois l'indication de ces trois derniers ouvrages, très difficiles à se procurer, comme tous ceux qui sont imprimés à Kazan.

professeur Max Müller, mettant à profit les documents réunis de côtés et d'autres par de patients collectionneurs, fera pour l'ensemble des langues touraniennes ou altaïques ce qui a été si bien fait pour les langues indo-européennes. En attendant et pour bien faire apprécier la nature toute particulière de la langue turke en général et l'intérêt philologique que présente son étude, je ne puis mieux faire que de citer textuellement le commencement de la préface que M. Shaw a mise en tête de son excellent livre :

"'The Turkish tongues are of singular interest to the student of language. To him they are what the mountains which surround their birth-place are to the geologist; who there can observe many of the vastest operations of Nature and their results, naked as it were, and unveiled by the superficial covering which in other less barren countries makes the investigation and tracing out of the various formations so laborious a task.

"'The Indo-European languages are like an ancient building, where frequent restorations have interfered with the original design, and where, finally, a universal coat of plaster has destroyed all outward distinction between old and new. In the Turanian structure, on the other hand, every tool-mark is still fresh, the places where the scaffolding has rested are still visible, and we can almost trace each course of the stone-work to its origin in the quarry whence it was hewn.

"'It seems strange that a language elaborated by the rude and nomad tribes of Central Asia, who in their own home have never known how to reduce it to rule (or rather to distinguish the laws through which they themselves had unconsciously formed it), should present, in fact, an example of symmetry such as few of the more cultivated forms of speech can boast of. Although its own people would have one believe that it is subject to no rule, and almost arbitrary (their only notion of grammar being that of Arabic and Persian, with which the Túrki cannot be made to fit); yet in reality a few simple and transparent rules suffice to account for all its permutations. These rules, possessing an accumulative power, are enough to produce the immense variety of forms noticeable in the Eastern Túrki.

"'We are now learning to believe that even in languages such as Greek, German, or even English, every seeming irregularity is really the result of laws, some of which we know and can trace in their

action, and some of which are yet to be discovered. But in Túrki we can *see* them; it is as if the centuries were to flow backwards, and we could watch the building of the Pyramids, and solve by ocular demonstration the doubts of the learned as to the method by which the vast blocks were transported from the quarries and placed in their present positions. We can even detect in some instances a commencement, in this Turanian tongue, of the process by which the Aryan languages have been polished down and enamelled, as it were, till they reached their present condition.'

"Je n'ai rien à ajouter à cette description si fine, si juste, si expressive, et je termine par le proverbe persan que M. Shaw a pris pour épigraphe: '*Arabi asl farse cheker hindi nemek turki huner*,' L'arabe est la racine; le persan le sucre; l'hindi le sel; le turk l'art."

Armenian.

We owe the following report (translated by myself from the German original) on this outlying member of the great Indo-Germanic family to the best German authority on the subject, Prof. H. Hübschmann, of Leipzig. It is certain that as Comparative Philology emerges from its present one-sidedly antiquarian point of view, it will direct its attention more and more to the independent developments of each language, instead of ignoring everything except the traditional agreements in a family of languages. Armenian will then take its proper place among the allied languages. Prof. Hübschmann's paper on 'Armenian Pronunciation' (p. 71 note 5, below) deserves the attention of every phonetician. With the help of Prof. Sievers, of Jena, he has given a full account of the remarkable consonants of the language. The most important fact is that all the languages spoken in the Caucasus, although totally disconnected, have exactly the same phonetic system, which proves, beyond a doubt, that the sounds of one language may strongly influence those of another. It has always struck me that the remarkable similarity of the Welsh and English consonantal system, as

shown in the two *th*-sounds and the *w*, could not be a matter of chance.[1]

"I gladly acceded to the request of the President of the Philological Society to furnish its members with a report on what has been done in Armenian studies, and the more so, as I consider that such a report will serve as an admonition to English philologists to take a more zealous part in these studies than has hitherto been the case. For, although Armenians also are included among the subjects of England's vast empire, English philologists have cultivated the study of Armenian far less than those of France and Germany. Were it not for the brothers William and George Whiston, who published and translated Moses of Khorene in 1736, Englishmen would hardly be represented at all among Armenists. For Lord Byron was only a dilettante in Armenian, and had he not been the great poet, the world would certainly know nothing about his Armenian studies. Let us hope that future annual reports may be able to include the productions of English Armenists!

"Although the Armenian literature takes no conspicuous rank among the literatures of the kindred nations, it is certainly more important than those would expect who have paid only an occasional attention to it. As literature pure and simple it has certainly little attraction, but the numerous historical documents make it highly valuable to the earnest investigator. The histories written by the Armenians are, it is true, mostly of Armenia itself; but, as the history of a nation is always connected with that of its neighbours, the Armenian histories, as might be expected, make many important contributions to the history of the Caucasian tribes, of the Persians from the Arsacides to the latest times, of the Byzantines, Arabs, Mongols, etc.

"In another direction also the Armenian literature is of considerable value. Since their conversion the Armenians have always been very zealous adherents of Christianity, they have always taken the liveliest interest in ecclesiastical

[1] It must also be borne in mind that the sounds of Welsh *ll*, *rh*, and *ch* were once English also.

questions, and their writers were without exception ecclesiastics. It is no wonder, therefore, that their histories yield many contributions to Church History, and that a most extensive theological literature has been developed, which may well claim the attention of theologians and ecclesiastical historians.

"To this may be added that Armenian literature gives us translations of Greek and Syriac works which are important, because they either supply the place of lost originals, or because they supply valuable variations of the readings of the texts that have been preserved.[1]

"We must therefore distinguish three classes of works in Armenian literature: *a*) historical, *b*) theological, and *c*) translations.

a) Armenian literature is beyond dispute most brilliantly represented by its historical works, of which about fifty are in existence. The most important of them, in the chronological order now followed—which is, however, by no means certain—are the following:

(4th cent. P.C.): *History of St. Gregory* (the Apostle of the Armenians), by *Agathangelos*, secretary to King Tiridates II. It has been handed down both in Greek and Armenian; but our text is not the original one, being, according to recent investigations, not earlier than the 5th cent. *History of the Province of Taron*, by *Zenob Glak*, continued by *John the Mamiconian*, who is assigned to the 7th cent. The work belongs, however, according to the views of a learned historian, to a much later period. *History of Armenia* (344–392), by *Faustus of Byzantium*.

(5th cent., the golden age of Armenian literature): *The History of Armenia*, from the earliest times up to 441 P.C., by *Moses of Khorene*, the Armenian Herodotus, as the Armenians themselves call him, but without reason; *Biography of St. Mesrop*, by *Korium*; *History of the Religious Wars between the Armenians and Persians* (451), by *Elishê*; *History of Armenia* (388–485), by *Lazar of Pharp*.

(7th cent.): *History of Armenia*, especially of the wars with the Emperor Heraclius and the Arabs (590–660), by *Sebeos*.

(8th cent.): *History of the Invasion of Armenia by the Arabs* (632–788), by *Levond the Priest*.

(10th cent.): *History of Armenia*, from the beginning of the world to the year 925, by *John Katholikos*; *History of the Artsrunians* (-936), by *Thomas Arts-*

[1] Full accounts of Armenian literature may be found in the *Quadro della storia letteraria di Armenia*, by *Sukias Somal*, Venice, 1829; in the *Quadro delle opere di vari autori anticamente tradotte in Armeno*, Venice, 1825; and in *Neumann's Versuch einer Geschichte der armenischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1836. Compare also the *Catalogue of all works known to exist in the Armenian language of a date earlier than the seventeenth century, by Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary of the American Board in Turkey*, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iii. 1853, pp. 246–88; and the *Catalogue de la littérature arménienne depuis le commencement du iv. siècle jusque vers le milieu du xvii.* (by Patkanean) in the *Mélanges asiatiques*, t. iv., livr. i., St. Pétersb. 1860. A limited list of printed Armenian works will also be found in *Petermann's Brevis Grammatica* (see below), pp. 100-111.

runi; History of Armenia, from the beginning of the world to 1004, by *Stephan. Asolik; History of the Aluans*, by *Moses Kalankatuatsi* (who is also assigned to the 7th cent.). To this period belongs also the History by *Ukhtanès*, Bishop of Edessa, which among other matter also narrates the religious separation of the Georgians from Armenia in the year 596.

(11th cent.): *History of Armenia* (989–1071), (Destruction of Ani by Alp Arslan), by *Aristakès of Lastivert*. In this century lived also *Gregory Magistros*, author of some poems and many learned letters.

(12th cent.): *General Chronology* (–1179), by *Samuel of Ani; Universal History*, by *Michael the Syrian* (translated from the Syrian); *Armenian History* (952–1132), by *Matthew of Urha*, continued up to 1136 by *Gregory the Priest*. (13th cent.): *Chronology* (–1285), by *Mkhitar of Airivankh; Universal History* (–1267), by *Vardan of Bardzrberd; History of Armenia* (300–1265, Invasions of the Mongols), by *Kirakos of Gandzak; History of Siunikh*, by *Stephanos Orbelean; History of the Armenian Kings in Cilicia* (–1280), by *Vahram of Edessa (Rabuni)*; *Chronicle of Smbat*, continued by another hand (951–1331). 14th cent.: *History of the Tartars*, by *Hethum*. 15th cent.: *History of Tamerlane*, by *Thomas of Metsob*. 17th cent.: *Contemporary History*, by *Arakhel of Tebris* (1602–1661). 18th cent.: *History of Armenia* (–1784), by M. Chamchean (in three stout vols.).

Of geographical works may be mentioned the following: The one ascribed to *Moses of Khorene*; the Geography by *Vardan* (1271); the Geography and Antiquities by *Pater Injijean*, which belongs to the beginning of this century; the recent Geography by *Pater Leon Alishan*.

b) The theological literature seems to be still richer than the historical. Considerations of space forbid me to enumerate the chief works; I will therefore only mention two well-known writers: *Eznik of Kolb*, of the 5th cent., who wrote a book against heretics (heathens, Persians, Greek philosophers, Marcionites, and Manichæans), and *Nerses Shnorhali*, of the 12th cent., celebrated as poet, theologian, and scholar.

c) Of translations may be mentioned: The *Bible*, translated by *Isaak the Great* and *Mesrop* about 410; the works of *Aristotle*, translated by *David the Philosopher* (about 490), who also wrote works of his own on philosophy; the life of *Alexander the Great* (by the Pseudo-Callisthenes); the *Grammar of Dionysius Thrax*; the *Chronicle of Eusebius*; the treatises of *Philo* and of *Ephrem the Syrian*, etc.

"Armenian has been the subject of learned investigation in Europe since the last century. The French Jesuit, J. Villotte (1656-1743), who was a missionary in Armenia, was acquainted with the language, also La Croze, who was born at Nantes, and after 1724 was employed at the French gymnasium at Berlin († 1739), and Villefroy, who died at Paris in 1777. In England the brothers *Whiston* published Moses of Khorene in 1736 with a Latin translation, as mentioned above. In Germany Armenian was studied by Akoluth, who died at Breslau as professor in 1704; the above-mentioned La Croze, and Schröder, who published an excellent Thesaurus linguæ Armenicæ[1] († 1756 at Marburg).

"But a new epoch for Armenian studies began with the founding of the order of the 'Mechitarists' on the island of

[1] Amstelodami, 1711.

St. Lazaro, near Venice, by Mkhitar (1676-1749), an order which set itself the noble task of providing the Armenian nation with spiritual and secular cultivation, and of reviving and promoting the study of the Armenian language and literature. This is not the place to do justice to the great merits of the Mechitarists and to enumerate their works; I will only remark that they have published the most important Armenian authors in good editions, thus making the literature generally accessible; that they have composed works on Armenian history, geography, and antiquities, and by the publication of grammars and dictionaries, both in Armenian and in the European languages, have made a thorough study of the Armenian language possible.[1]

"Of their grammatical and lexicographical works I will mention here the large grammar of Arsen Bagratuni[2] in Armenian, the Armenian-Italian dictionary of Ciakciak,[3] and the great dictionary of the Academy of St. Lazaro,[4] in Armenian.

"The zeal with which the Mechitarists laboured for the revival of their literature soon drew on their countrymen as well, and incited them to follow their example. Especially the Mechitarists of Vienna, a branch of the Venice order, and the Armenians at Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Moscow have edited Armenian authors and produced works on the language and literature. Of these I will mention the Critical History of the Colloquial Armenian by Father Arsen Vardapet Aitenean written in Armenian,[5] Eminian's French-Armenian-Turkish dictionary,[6] the edition of the historian Sebeos, by Thatêos Mihrtad,[7] the works of Emin (Moscow), some of which are mentioned below, and those of Patkanean, the well-known Armenian and Armenian scholar at the

[1] A list of their publications is given in the *Catalogue des livres de l'imprimerie arménienne de Saint-Lazare, Venise*, which can easily be obtained from them. Of the (for us) most important of these works a list is also given by Petermann in his grammar (see below), p. 100 foll.

[2] Venice, 1853.

[3] Dizionario Armeno-Italiano composto da Emmanuele Ciakciak, Venice, 1837.

[4] Venice, 1836.

[5] Vienna, 1866.

[6] Dictionnaire français-arménien-turc, par Serapion Eminian, Vienna, 1853.

[7] Constantinople, 1851.

University of St. Petersburg. He has edited Mkhitar of Airivankh, and translated into Russian the following authors: Moses Kalankatuatsi (1861), Sebeos (1862), Levond (1862), and Mkhitar of Airivankh. He has written a history of the Mongols (1873–4) and of the Sassanides (1863) from Armenian sources, the latter of which has been translated into French.[1] He has also done very good service by his works on the Armenian dialects. This year an edition by him of Ananias of Shirak, and of Moses of Khorene's geography, together with a Russian translation, have appeared. We must also mention the edition of the grammar of Dionysius Thrax[2] and the Armenian grammar[3] by Cirbied (in French orthography), and the editions of Moses Kalankatuatsi, Levond, Steph. Asolik, Vahram, Steph. Orbelean and Smbat by the meritorious Shahnazarean.

"But European scholars have also joined in Armenian studies, especially the French, as, for example, St.-Martin (1791-1832), known by his Mémoires sur l'Arménie (1818), his remarks to the edition which was entrusted to him of Lebeau's Histoire du Bas-Empire, and his translation of John Catholikos (Paris, 1841, ouvrage posthume), Evar. Prud'-homme, le Vaillant de Florival (translation and edition of Moses of Khorene), Victor Langlois (see below), and—last not least—Edouard Dulaurier.[4] In Italy Cappelletti has translated Elishê, and written a work on Armenian antiquities, based on the labours of the Mechitarists.[5] German Armenists are Neumann, whose history of the literature has been mentioned above (he has also translated Elishê and Vahram into English, and written a French essay on David the Philosopher); Petermann, who has written a grammar and an essay on the Tiflis dialect, together with some other works;[6] B. Welte, who translated the Life of St.

[1] Journal asiatique, vi. série, 7.
[2] Mém. de la société royale des antiquaires de France, vi., 1824.
[3] Grammaire de la langue arménienne par Cirbied, Paris, 1823.
[4] Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne technique et historique, Paris, 1859. Etudes sur les chants historiques (Journ. asiatique, 1852).
[5] L'Armenia: Opera di Giuseppe Cappelletti, Firenze, 1841–2.
[6] Grammatica linguæ Armeniacæ, Berlin, 1837. Brevis linguæ Arm. grammatica, litteratura, chrestomathia cum glossario, 2 Ed. Berlin, 1872. Beiträge zur

Mesrop;[1] Lauer, who translated Moses of Khorene, and wrote a grammar of the classical language.[2] Russia possesses a high authority in Armenian in the well-known scholar Brosset. Besides a number of short treatises he has published a collection of translations of Armenian historians.[3] Other collections of translations are those of Langlois[4] and Dulaurier, of which last only one volume has appeared.[5]

"Now that the chief Armenian writers have thus been published and translated, it will be the task, especially of European science, to work up the material critically and utilize it for Armenian as well as Oriental history generally. A brilliant beginning has been made in this direction by A. v. Gutschmid, in his essay on the credibility of Moses of Khorene,[6] and another on Agathangelos, which has just appeared in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft (b. xxxi. heft 1).

"Windischmann was the first to prove strictly, which he did in an excellent investigation,[7] that Armenian is an Indogermanic language. Further investigations were made by the learned and acute P. de Lagarde, in his Comparison of

Geschichte der Kreuzzüge aus arm. Quellen (Abhandl. der Berliner Akad. der Wissensch. 1860). Ueber den Dialect der Armenier von Tiflis, ibid. 1866. The Armenian version of Eusebius transl. into Latin (cp. Eusebi chronicorum libri duo, ed. Schoene ii. B. 1866–75).

[1] Goriun's Lebensbeschreibung des hl. Mesrop übersetzt, Tübingen, 1841.

[2] Uebersetzung des Moses von Khorene, Regensb. 1869. Grammatik der classischen armen. Sprache, Wien, 1869.

[3] Collections d'historiens Arméniens. 2 vols. St. Pétersb. 1874-6. It contains translations of *Th. Ardzrouni*, Histoire des Ardzrouni; *Arakel de Tauris*, Livre d'histoires; *Johannès de Dzar*, Histoire de l'Aghovanie. T. ii.: *Zakaria le diacre; Esaï Hasan-Dshalalian; Davith-Beg; Abraham de Crète*, Histoire de Nadir Chah; Samouel d'Ani He also translated Deux historiens arméniens: *Kirakos de Gantzak*, Histoire de l'Arménie, et *Oukhtanès d'Ouhra*, Histoire, St. Pétersb. 1870–1, and finally, Histoire de la Siounie par Stéphanos Orbélian, St. Pétersb. 1864.

[4] Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie publiée en Français, Paris, 1867-9. 2 vols. Contains translations of Moses of Khorene, Faustus of Byzantium, Zenob of Glak, John the Mamiconian, Koriun, Elishê, Lazar of Pharp, translated by Emir (Moscow), Ghésarian (Venice), and V. Langlois.

[5] Bibliothèque historique arménienne: Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse, continuée par Grégoire le prêtre, Paris, 1858. He also published a Récueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens, with which I am not acquainted.

[6] Ueber die Glaubwürdigkeit der armen. Geschichte des Moses v. Khorene (Berichte der phil.-hist. Classe der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Leipzig, 1876).

[7] Abhandlungen der bayerischen Academie, iv. 2, 1846.

the Armenian Consonants with those of Sanskrit,[1] and in several other works, and after him by Friedrich Müller of Vienna, who since 1861 has published a series of essays on Armenian in the Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie. Patkanean wrote a treatise in Russian on the formation of the Armenian language, which was translated into French in 1870.[2] The result of Fr. Müller's investigations was to make out Armenian to be an Iranian language. I myself maintained on the other hand, in an essay on the place of Armenian in the Indogermanic languages,[3] that Armenian is an independent member of the Indogermanic family, coming between Iranian and Slavonic, or between Aryan and European. Fr. Müller has however maintained his former opinion, and defended it afresh, without, however, convincing me.[4]

"Fr. Müller has traced the Armenian alphabet to a Semitic origin, while I have attempted to prove, in conjunction with V. Gardthausen,[5] that it is derived from the Greek.

"The Vienna Mechitarist Dervishean has lately made some etymological investigations,[6] which have not, however, led to any certain results. Paul de Lagarde has just announced a work,[7] the sixth section of which (pp. 227-624) treats of the Armenian language. This section gives a list of Armenian words 'which have been elucidated by a comparison with the words of other languages, sifts this material, and assigns numerically to each of the scholars who has worked in this field his share of honour.' I cannot give further details about this book, as it has not yet come into my hands."

[1] Vergleichung der armenischen Consonanten mit denen des Sanskrit, Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch, iv. 347 fg.; Arica, Halle, 1851; Zur Urgeschichte der Armenier, 1854; Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig, 1866; Beiträge zur bactrischen Lexicographie, Leipzig, 1868.

[2] Journal asiatique, xvi., t. vi.

[3] Ueber die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indog. Sprachen (Kuhn's Zeitsch. für vgl. Sprachforschung, xxiii. H. i., and in the Nachtrag, H. iii.

[4] Ueber die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise d. indog. Sp. Sitzungsb. der Wiener Akademie, 1877.

[5] Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch., xxx. 1.

[6] Armeniaca i. (das altarmenische *q*).

[7] Symmicta, Göttingen, 1877. (Just appeared, but without the section promised on the Armenian language, which will be published in the Abhand. der Göttingschen Gesellsch. der Wissensch.)

On the Languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago.

Our able and energetic member, Mr. R. N. Cust, to whom my predecessor was indebted for a report on the Non-Aryan languages of India, has this year crowned his work by the present survey of the enormous field of languages comprised in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Indian Archipelago. Mr. Cust has accumulated a mass of information which is, no doubt, quite unique, and cannot fail to be of immense service to future investigators; he has spared no pains to make his report as complete as possible, even taking the trouble of a journey to Holland in order to get the best information on the languages of Dutch India, and the result is one which we cannot but regard with unmixed satisfaction.

"In our report of last year on the subject of the Non-Aryan Languages of India, we ended abruptly on the confines of the Political Government of Bengal. It was necessary, for want of space, to draw the line somewhere; but there was no ethnical or linguistic reason for pausing there, and we now take up the thread of our narrative, and enter into British Burmah, and thence proceeding southward into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, notice the islands of the Indian, as distinguished from the Austral Archipelago, and throw our net over the whole country which intervenes betwixt India and China, the debatable land of the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions.

"To avoid the charge of unnecessarily repeating the statements of others, it may be stated that this region has never been treated as a whole since Leyden's paper on the Indo-Chinese Languages in the Asiatic Researches of 1808, a masterly production for the time; and yet some of these languages have been known in Europe by published treatises for more than two hundred years. Max Müller, in his Lectures on the Science of Language, avoids the subject, and refers his readers to his Letter to Bunsen, an Appendix to

the Philosophy of History, wonderful for the period, but a book not readily accessible, and now twenty-five years behind date. Whitney, in his Life and Growth of Languages, disposes very summarily, and in the lump, of this great family. Hovelacque, in his Linguistique, dated 1876, fails, where a French book ought to have been strong, for he fairly shirks the Cambojan, and treats the Annamite most inadequately. He is not strictly correct with regard to Siamese and Burmese. He ignores altogether the Mon, Shan, and Savage Languages, and has no notice of Kawi. Both Hovelacque and Whitney had access to Friederich Müller's Linguistic Essay in the Voyage of the Novara, and quote from it freely. The valuable books of Crawfurd, Raffles, and Marsden, the learned essays of Logan, Bigandet, Lowe, Bastian, and others, are known to few; even the great epoch-making essay of Humboldt on the Kawi language has never appeared in an English dress. As to the French writers on the Cambojan and Annamite, the Dutch writers on Malay, Javanese, Kawi, Bugi, Macassar, and the numerous inferior languages of the Malay Archipelago, the Spanish writers on Tagál, Bisayan, and the minor languages of the Philippines, their very name is unknown. Mr. Latham's chapters, in his Elements of Comparative Philology, on these languages, fall short of the fullness and accuracy which distinguish the rest of his work, and are twenty years behind date. The newly-published anonymous Dictionary of Languages, though very brief, is for the most part correct.

"Crossing the political boundary of British Burmah, we find ourselves in the Province of Arracan, the people of which are called Mugs, (derived from Maghada, according to Leyden,) are partly Buddhist, partly Brahmanical in religion, and speak a dialect of the Burmese, from whom they are separated by the great wall of the Yoma range of mountains. The name Rakheng is applied to the language of the inhabitants of Arracan, from the Pali word meaning 'abode of demons.' The hill tribes are pagan and savages, and, with the exception of the Khyeng, we have little knowledge of their language. They are the same as those alluded to by

name in our last year's paper as on the frontier of Chittagong, the Mrúng, Kumi, and Mru. Latham calls them the tribes of the River Koladyn or Kaladan, the limit of Kalas, the term by which they call all foreigners, quoting from a notice of them under that name by Latter in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Their numbers, features, and relative relation to each other, and to Burmese, has still to be determined; they have no written character, and will probably in the progress of civilization disappear. A vocabulary of these dialects is given in an appendix to Captain Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, 1869. Sir A. Phayre and Mr. Bryan Hodgson describe them in J.B.A.S.

"Of one language, the Khyeng or Hiou, spoken by a people who are pagans, but the most extensively diffused in the great Western Mountain range of Burmah, and who are settling down to regular agriculture, we have a satisfactory grammatical memorandum by a Member of our Society, Major G. E. Fryer, who occupies the post of Deputy Commissioner of the District of Sandoway, in which they are included. This language may be classed as in the first stage of agglutination; the tones are very elaborate, but the construction simple. Attached to these notes is a vocabulary: there is no written character, no literature, and, with the exception of notices and vocabularies in the Asiatic Researches and in the J.B.A.S., in which also Major Fryer's note appeared, we have no further information.

"Passing down the coast we come to the delta of the great river of Burmah, the Irawadee. This has, from prehistoric times, been occupied by a race separate in language from the Burmese; the race is known as Talain, the language as Peguan or Mon, and the province as Pegu. They had their day of greatness, but within the last century were overpowered by the Burmese, who occupy the middle regions of the Irawadee, and during their time of power tried to exterminate this language, which has, however, revived, since, in 1853, Pegu became a British Province, and Rangoon the capital of British Burmah.

"Dr. Mason and Sir A. Phayre have stated their opinion

in favour of a connexion linguistically between the Mon and the language of the Hos or Koles, on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, in the Western District of Bengal. This is one of the hard questions of Philology and Ethnology. We have an excellent grammar of the language, by the late Rev. Mr. Haswell, a Protestant Missionary, who does not agree in this theory. Moreover, a connexion is asserted linguistically, by the late Dr. Logan, between the Mon and the Annamite language, on the confines of China, which we shall notice further down. Sir A. Phayre states that it is uncertain, when these first immigrant Mons arrived; they were joined by a Dravidian emigration from the Indian Peninsula, and the word Talain survives as a record of the Telinga connexion.

"The Mon alphabet is of an Indian source through the Dravidian, but there is little trace in the language of that connexion. Dr. Bastian (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society) says that the Mons adopted for their sole alphabet (religious and secular) the Pali alphabet, which is used everywhere else for the sacred books only. There is no dictionary of the language, but a vocabulary is attached to the grammar, and there are vocabularies by Crawfurd, Buchanan, Sir G. Campbell, and Hunter. The people are Buddhists. Their sacred books are translated into Mon, abundantly interspersed with Pali, an inflective Aryan language. There are many loan Pali and Burmese words brought in by religious and secular domination. It is classed as monosyllabic, but it is impossible, in the space allotted in this Report, to define with precision the transition stages of Monosyllabic and Agglutinating languages. There are no changes in nouns to mark their relations to other words; this is shown only by position. Numbers and genders are indicated by addition of words: tenses and moods are inadequately shown by affixes and prefixes; frequently there is nothing but the connexion to show them. The construction of the language is quite different from the Burmese, the location of words being almost always the reverse. This is one of the languages, whose days are numbered; it may survive in villages, or among the emigrants settled in Siam, but Burmese will

supplant it in the towns. We have a translation of the New Testament in this language.

"Following the coast to the limits of British Burmah, we enter the province of Tenasserim. A portion is occupied by the same race of Peguans, and the remainder by congeners of the Burmese race, speaking a dialect of that language under the name of Tavoyee or Taneagsari. A list of the words of a dialect in Tenasserim called Tungtho or Thoungtoo, is given by Messrs. B. Hodgson and Hunter, as collected by Dr. Morton, which, according to Mason, is nearly allied to Pwo Karén, and according to Bastian, had an alphabet of its own. The most southern portion of this long narrow province is only separated by a low range of hills from the kingdom of Siam; but in the mountainous tract in the corner of junction of Siam and Burmah is the country of the Karéns, who have obtained a notoriety from their ready acceptance of some form of the Christian religion at the hands of energetic missionaries, Hudson, Mason, and Wade, to whom we are indebted for ample linguistic information. They are three distinct tribes: the Sgan and the Pwo, and the Karenni or Kaya, or Red Karén. They were downright savages, and pagans, and many are so still. The Red Karén are purposely left independent both of the British and Burmese Governments: their dialects differ so much as to render communication as difficult as if they were separate languages. Sir A. Phayre reports within the limits of British Burmah the following subdivisons: Pakee, Maune Pagha, Bghae, Wee-Waee, and Sgae.

"It is asserted that the Kakhyens, who will be noted hereafter, and Karéns, are identical: the legends of the Karéns certainly point to a descent from the mountains. Out of fifty thousand nearly one-half are Christians. They have no literature, and no indigenous character: the Roman and Burmese are both employed. The field has been well worked. We have grammars by Wade and Mason, in two dialects; dictionaries by Wade and Mason; vocabularies by Hunter, Bennett, Wade, and Mason. Portions of the Bible have been translated into three dialects, and numerous con-

tributions made to journals, and many separate volumes published in Europe and America.

"Ascending the Irawadee, we find its middle course occupied by the Burmahs, or Burmese, speaking the great Burmese language, called in early days the Avan, a language great in religion, politics, and literature, the chief language of the eastern portion of the Tibeto-Burman group, as the Tibetan is of the northern. The word Burmah is a corruption of Myamma, or Marumma, which is again a contraction of the Sanskrit Mahavarna, the honorary title of the Khshatrya. The Burmese are a nation of boundless pride and great pretension, but they point to the Rakheng, or Arrakanese, as the oldest dialect of their language. The Burmese and Tibetan are the only literary languages in the midst of a series of unlettered and savage congeners, but a closer scrutiny will, before long, point out the distinguishing features, and enable a proper classification to be made of subfamilies, while admitting a common origin. In addition to those already named, and the Kakhyens, to be noticed in next paragraph, there are numerous kindred languages of the Tibeto-Burman family within the government of Bengal and Assam, and noticed in the report of last year. There were seven races of the Myamma stock, Rakheng, Burmese, Talain, Khyen, Karén, Yo, and Tavoyee. The Burmese have their own character, derived from the Indian. The Pali is their sacred language as Buddhists. Leyden, as far back as 1808, remarked that the Burmese was not purely monosyllabic, but a connecting link between monosyllabic and polysyllabic languages; this opinion has been justified by a more intimate acquaintance. By many authorities Burmese and Karén are classed as monosyllabic. Max Müller thinks that they are *not* so; but, as before stated, before any decision is arrived at, we must settle what the line of demarcation is. If the occasional use of particles, which have no meaning by themselves, removes them from the monosyllabic order, then Chinese itself, with its dead words, must cease to be styled monosyllabic. Mere juxtaposition, moreover, is not agglutination, and further, admitting that Chinese has rudimentary

traces of agglutination, it is the extent, to which this principle appears to be the rule, rather than the exception, of each language, that must decide the order to which the language belongs. All the Indo-Chinese languages admit and incorporate words from the Pali, an inflexional language, and the degree to which they break up these loan-words, and alter them, is a test of the genius of the language in assimilating discordant materials. It has been known by published works in Europe for more than a century. There are dictionaries by Hough, Judson, and Lane; grammars by Judson, Latter, and Carey; vocabularies by Leyden, Buchanan, Latham, Sir G. Campbell, and Hunter; miscellaneous treatises by Mainwaring, Chase, Towers, Phayre, and Low; and a famous treatise by Schleiermacher, on the influence of writing upon a language. This is a strong vernacular, likely to complete the absorption already commenced of all its weaker neighbours, and worthy to do so. The whole Bible is translated into Burmese.

"Ascending the river Irawadee, we find in the mountains separating Burmah from China an unruly race called Kakhyen or Kaku, known in the valley of Assam as Singhpo (which merely means 'a man') or Chingpaw, Highlanders, pagans, and savages at a decidedly low state of civilization, though living in villages, and agriculturists. In Dr. Anderson's 'Expedition to Western Yunan,' published in 1871, and his 'Mandalay to Momien,' published in 1876, we read of his long detention among these inhospitable tribes in 1868 and 1875, during two unsuccessful attempts to pass from Bhamoo into Yunan. He recognized the physical resemblance betwixt them and the Karéns, which is confirmed by their language. He gives a vocabulary of the Kakhyens, which he (perhaps incorrectly) describes as monosyllabic, spoken in an ascending tone, every sentence ending in a long clear 'ee.' The Roman Catholic Bishop Bigandet, who visited this tract, identified them with the Singhpos described in our report of last year, and other tribes in the Assam valley, and noticed their resemblance to the Khyens and Karéns. The pronunciation is soft and easy: the construction of sentences simple

and direct; there is no written character. Few Kakhyens, except the chiefs, could speak Burmese, but some could speak and write Chinese.

"Dr. Anderson found another tribe, blended in daily life with the Kakhyens, the Leesaws, who were perfectly distinct in every respect, and whose language was akin to the Burmese.

"Here we come upon the gates of China, and the channel of a future traffic, consecrated by the blood of Margary. We shall know more soon of the Kakhyens. We have vocabularies of them and the Leesaws, by Anderson; of the Kakhyens by Bigandet, Robinson, and Logan.

"Dr. Logan, who had rare opportunities of studying the subject, which he has illustrated by a series of learned papers in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago (which died with him in 1859), would divide the languages of the Indo-Chinese into two main branches: 1, the Western Himalayan, or Tibetan, which includes the Burman, Kakhyen, Karén, and their numerous uncultivated congeners in the valley of the Irawadee and Burumpootur; and the Eastern Himalayan, or Mon-Annam, including the Mon, Shan, Cambojan, and Annamite families, and all their rude congeners. It is at this point that we leave the Western Himalayan branch, and enter the Eastern region. We also leave the regions of the direct and indirect influence of British India, the great valleys of the Irawadee, Salwyn, and Sitang, which flow into the Bay of Bengal, and cross a physical and linguistic watershed into a country independent of British power, and speaking a more strictly monosyllabic language. Buddhism and the great Hindu civilization still accompany us, and at one point, indeed, the Shan civilization crosses the watershed and, leaving the valleys of the rivers Mekong and Menam, penetrates to the valleys of the Irawadee and the Burumpootur. The Shan states, which come first under notice, are divided into three groups, which are respectively subject to Burmah, Siam, and China. A fourth group, which is part of British India, known as the tribes of Khamtee, Ahom, and Aitom, were included in our report of last year. In a narrow wedge of inconsiderable

width, yet no less than fifteen degrees in length, the Shan language extends from the Burumpootur in Assam, a province of British India, to Bangkok on the Gulf of Siam. Max Müller declares that they cling by their roots to the same soil as the Tibeto-Burman family, which we have just described. They are known as Tai, are Buddhists, though clinging to old pagan worships of Nats and spirits; civilized, as an instance of which all the branches of the family have their own special alphabet, all no doubt of the same stock, but all with special variations. Thus we have one alphabet of the great Siamese conquering people, two varieties of the subject Laotians, a third of the Shans dependent on Burmah, both the latter affected by the Burmese alphabet, and circular in shape. The letters of the alphabet of the Tai Mow, or Tai Khe, within the Chinese province of Yunan, are diamond-shaped, a fact to be attributed to Chinese influence. The alphabets of the Khamtee and Ahom, within the limits of British India, resemble the Shan, but with certain modifications. The language of this Tai family was, no doubt, originally the same, and is still essentially the same. They were a conquering race, who came from the north in historic times, and still hold their own, at the expense of their neighbours, with great power and vitality; their language, in process of time, became separated into dialects; there are laws of euphony, and variations of vocabulary, peculiar to each dialect. In the Shan states the Burmese domination has left its mark. Many Pali words have crept in from religious influences. All the Tai languages are tonal, and accuracy in speaking depends on the exact knowledge of the tone; the Siamese alphabet expresses these tones, but the others do not. Books are generally metrical; the language is rich to redundancy in synonyms.

"In our last year's report we noticed the vocabularies of Khamtee and Ahom in the valley of Assam. The Shan states of Burmah are represented by a Shan grammar, published by the Rev. J. Cushing, at Rangoon, in 1871, and a vocabulary is in the course of preparation. There are vocabularies by Hunter and others. It is distinctly asserted that, while

the Siamese alone call themselves Thai or 'free,' all the others call themselves Tai without the aspirate, and for some unexplained reason; and, again, that the language is monosyllabic, and that the many polysyllabic words in it are loan-words from the Aryan Pali and the agglutinating Burmese; the religious language of the Shans is a mosaic of Shan, Pali, and Burmese.

"While of the Burmese Shan states we have full information, of the Chinese Shan, or Tai Mow, or Tai Khé, we have scant knowledge. Mr. Margary was killed in a Shan town, and the French expedition under Captain Lagrée passed through several of them. We have vocabularies of the Shan and Hota Shan in Yunan by Anderson, of the Shan by Bishop Bigandet and Yule; and vocabularies of the Pa-laong or Palo, a sub-family of the Shans, by Bigandet, Logan, Latham, Anderson, and Yule. The establishment of a British Agent at Bhamoo will throw light upon these dark places.

"The term 'Lawa' is said to be applied by the Chinese to all frontier tribes. The Shan states within the boundaries of the kingdom of Siam are called 'Laos.' They are Buddhists, with pagan customs, and fairly civilized, and their language has acquired in linguistic books the name of Laotian. Nothing was known of them until M. Mouhot visited them in 1861, and died on the frontier. He had followed the course of the Menam, and struck across to the Mekong. In 1861 the French expedition under Captain Lagrée and Lieutenant Garnier, ascended the Mekong as far as the neighbourhood of Talifue in Yunan, and threw a flood of light on the country. The language is pronounced identical with Siamese, with peculiarities. Outside the civilized Laos, in a much lower stage of civilization, are downright pagan Lawas, and we find ancient inhabitants of the country still retaining their independence under the generic name of Moi, but the special name of Khasmi, Khmens, Lewett, and Doe; vocabularies are supplied by Hunter, Garnier, and Mouhot.

"Leaving the river Mekong, which strikes to the east, we follow the course of the river Menam to Bangkok, the capital

of the great kingdom of Siam, who call themselves 'Thai,' but were called by the Malays 'Siam.' The Siamese language is spoken by four millions, ridiculously proud, and a conquering race, maintaining till within our time a conflict with the Burmese to the north, the Malays to the south, and the Annamites and Cambojans to the west. Bastian remarks, in the pages of the J.R.A.S., that the Siamese gradually diverged from pure monosyllabism, by the introduction of words from the Pali, and thus it differed very considerably from the Chinese; on the other hand, it is much more monosyllabic, and more powerfully accented, than the Burmese. Next to the Chinese, according to Bastian, it is richest in tones of the so-called monosyllabic languages. This language has been known to Europeans for two centuries. An inscription exists in the ruins of the old capital of Ayuthia, dated 1284 A.D. There are three idioms, that of the sacred Buddhistic books, that of the higher orders, and that of the people. In proportion to the elevation of the ideas is the introduction of Sanskrit and Pali words, accommodated to Siamese vocalization. There is an enormous religious and secular literature, in which there is a study of euphony and neglect of sense, and it is deemed an elegance to have many words in the same sentence commencing with the same letter. European printing presses are established at Bangkok, and Government Gazettes are published, but no indigenous native printing press. The King himself talks and writes good English, as did his predecessor. The best grammar and dictionary are by Bishop Pallegoix. The vocabulary of Loubere is dated 1687 A.D., and it is unnecessary to notice later vocabularies and fugitive notices of so great a language, for they are numerous, some scientific, like those by W. Schott, De Rosny, and Gützlaff; others of mere conversational utility. The New Testament has been translated into Siamese.

"Adjacent to the prosperous realm, and the well-known language of the Siamese, is the fallen and sadly-reduced kingdom, and the scarcely recognized idiom of the Cambojan, on the great river of Cambodia, the river Mekong. All the

surrounding nations admit, that the Cambojans were their teachers in religion and science; but for the interference of the French, who have now taken the remnant of the kingdom under their protection, in all probability it would have been totally absorbed in its two powerful neighbours, Annam and Siam. It is calculated that about one million and a half still speak the modern type of the ancient language of the Khmer or Khomer, though the kingdom of Cambodia comprises only one million; the remainder are subjects either of Siam or of French Cochin-China. The magnificent ruins of Angeour, or Nakhon Wat, have drawn attention to the subject, and among these ruins are inscriptions, in an archaic form of the special character of the Cambojan, the most easterly derivative of the great Indian prototype alphabet, and in an archaic form of language imperfectly understood, if at all, by the modern Buddhist priesthood; at least, these inscriptions have not been satisfactorily translated.

"We walk on uncertain ground here. The great Khmer people differed essentially from their neighbours of Annam and Siam; they are an elder race, having descended the river Mekong at a period anterior to the Thai, and before the powerful race of Annam crossed the dividing range. The present Cambojans are Buddhists, with marked pagan customs. Their language is placed by Dr. Logan in his Mon-Annam class, but it differs materially from any other monosyllabic language. It has no tones, being spoken *recto tono*; the numeration is quinary. Lieut. Garnier remarks that modern Cambojan is a transition language betwixt the polysyllabic language of the Malay, and the monosyllabic language of Indo-Chinese. It is full of Siamese words, and Dr. Bastian remarks, that it is so full of loan-words, that for a long time it was mistaken for Siamese. Many loan-words are found contracted in the manner required by the tendency of the Cambojan language, which is certainly towards monosyllabism. It has also loan-words from Malay, Pali, Annamite, and Mon. The inscriptions have been photographed: the written annals go back to A.D. 1346, but there is evidence of a much higher antiquity to the power and civilization of

the nation. We find mention of a Manuel Pratique of the Cambojan, by the late M. Janneau, who held a civil appointment in Cambodia, but so few copies were struck off, that it is not accessible. We have vocabularies by Garnier, Mouhot, Crawfurd, Aymonier, and a dictionary of French and Cambojan, and numerous treatises by the latter. We have an essay on the language by Mr. H. G. Kennedy, and clearly may expect that our knowledge of this important language, so accessible, and so abundant in archaic monuments, and spoken to this day by a civilized people, should be speedily brought up to a proper level.

"It is stated that, in addition to the Cambojan and Laotian, above described, there are at least a score of idioms spoken on the banks of the great river Mekong, and its numerous confluents, and in the mountain chain extending from Tonquin to French Cochin-China. According to the custom of these polyglott regions, every town has at least four names, being known under a different combination of syllables by the Siamese, Annamites, Cambojans, and Savage people. Thus these wild Savage pagan races are themselves called Penoms by the Cambojans, Khu by the Siamese, Moi by the Annamese; all these words mean 'savage,' and we have seen above that the Chinese use 'Lawa' in much the same sense. Lieut. Garnier remarks on the important affinity of the Cambojan with the idiom of some of these Savage races. We are in an absolutely *incognita terra*, and require a master mind, like that of Mr. Bryan Hodgson, to collect materials during a patient note-taking of twenty-five years, and a fine discernment like that of Max Müller to arrange them. They have no written character, no literature, and we need not add that there are no grammatical sketches, and but very scant vocabularies. Among some, like the Styens, there is a Roman Catholic Mission, maintained by devoted Frenchmen, who are prepared to live and die at their posts, an example to missionaries of another Nation and Persuasion. Garnier supplies vocabularies of some of these races. The southern division consists of Samre, Xong, Stieng, Banar, Cedang Huei, Catson, Sirie Hin, Proons. The northern division

consists of So, Nanhang Mi, Khmons, Lewett, Moutse, Khos, Kongs, Lolos, Kato, Honhi, Ykia, Minkia, Mautse, Miaotse. Crawfurd gives vocabularies of a tribe called Ka Chong, and remarks that Ka means a slave, and of others, whose names appear in Garnier's list. M. Mouhot also gives vocabularies of some of the idioms. There is a lamentable want of material, but the linguistic value of these simple uncultivated idioms on the fringe of the great Empire of China may prove of the greatest importance.

"Descending the river Mekong to the sea, we find ourselves in French Cochin-China, and the nucleus of a new civilization. Whether this settlement will pay commercially is a question; at any rate, linguistically, it is a great step in advance, and we find sweetness and light thrown round the hard questions of grammar. The French have more than a century meddled in the affairs of Cochin-China, and such meddling generally ends in annexation. The kingdom of Annam consists of two provinces, Tonquin and Cochin-China, and occupies the whole length of the eastern face of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, extending from 8° to 23°. The central portion comprises the old Malay kingdom of Champa, of which the language, religion, and nationality have perished. Colonel Yule, in the Geographical Magazine, March, 1877, gives the history of this forgotten State, and Crawfurd, in his Malay Grammar, analyzes the vocables, and considers that it was fundamentally a local language, mixed up with much Malayan. Of the three capitals, Huet, Hanoy, and Saigon, the latter has passed by conquest into the hands of the French. The people are Buddhists, but of the Chinese type; their language is a congener of Chinese, but the lower classes use many words of uncertain origin, because they have been altered to suit the euphonic laws of a monosyllabic language, in which the use of tones presents a great difficulty to the student. Dissyllables do exist, but are rare, and therefore there is a necessity for tones to distinguish the meaning of homophones. There are abundance of particles, which have no independent existence as words, and yet they do not coalesce, so as to form one word with the word which they

are employed to qualify. The sounds are easy enough to acquire, and the Roman Catholic Missionaries, who have lived and died for more than a century in the kingdom, have by ingenious additions adapted the Latin alphabet to these sounds, which makes the study of the language to a certain extent easy, and independent of the acquisition of the native alphabet, which is composed of a selection of Chinese characters, used phonetically as a syllabary, with upwards of nine hundred varieties. So clumsy is this arrangement, that the highest literati set it aside, and use the Chinese ideographic signs, thus entailing upon themselves the labour of learning that character. In such a language the meaning has to be gathered from the position of the words and the context. The idea of past, present, and future is expressed by particles, or omitted; three-fourths of the names are formed by addition of particles to the verb; there is no passive voice; all animate objects have one determinate prefix, and inanimate another, and as an instance of the redundancy of vocables, it may be stated that there are nine different words for carrying with reference to the hand, head, etc. The word 'Army' is a portion of seventy-five compounds, and the word 'to do,' implying a sense of action, appears in one hundred and thirty-five compounds. There is an abundant literature. The nation is civilized in the Chinese type, thriving, and until the French occupation, was warlike, and ambitious. Within the memory of man the sovereigns were too proud to give a personal audience to the ambassadors of the rulers of India. The dialect of the three provinces varies to a certain extent. The famous dictionary of De Rhodes was published at Rome in 1654 A.D. with a short grammar. The standard dictionary is that of Taberd and Pigneaux in Latin. Aubaret has published a satisfactory grammar and vocabulary at Paris, 1867, for the special use of students and the French officials. The language is included in the course of the Ecole des Langues Orientales at Paris; and the Professor Aymonier has written treatises on Cochin-Chinese, as has also M. De Gramont. W. Schott has written on the language and character, so have Dr. Bastian and M. de Rosny. We

may pass over numerous vocabularies of different dates and degrees of excellence. Des Michels has published at Paris, in 1869 dialogues and text-books. Our knowledge of this language is ample, but of its rude congeners, and its past history, and its actual linguistic relation to the Mon on one side, and Chinese on the other, we have still to look for information based upon scientific procedure. With this language we have completed the survey of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, with the exception of the Malay Peninsula, which must, linguistically, be treated as an island of the Indian Archipelago.

"And before we enter on this new world we must sweep up five clusters of islands in the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal, so as to complete this great subject, viz. the Andamans, the Nicobars, the Maldives, the Laccadives, and the Mergui Archipelago, all of which are included within the limits of British India.

"The Andamans contain the famous convict settlement, which in 1872 cost the life of the Viceroy of India. They are densely covered with jungle, which contain nothing but wild pigs and wild berries. The Andamanese, or Mincopies, are a dwarfed, woolly-haired, dark-skinned, Negrito race, pagans, in a stage of absence of civilization below the practice of agriculture. They are divided into tribes, and have several languages very different, but having a few words in common, without written characters. They are as low in civilization as any tribe on earth, though on the pathway of the world's civilization for centuries; they have no numerals. We have scanty vocabularies by De Roepstorff, an official of the Indian Government, 1875; and Professor Owen, in his discourse at the Oriental Congress of London, 1874, hazards the opinion of their poor unsettled language showing more relationship to the Mon than to the Burmese.

"The neighbouring Nicobars are peopled in the interior by an equally degraded race, the Shobœngs, but the majority of the inhabitants are of a very superior order, of uncertain origin, and with no admitted relationship to Malays or Burmese. They are brown, pagans, and civilized to a certain

extent. Owing to intercourse with foreign ships, they speak several foreign languages. Mr. de Roepstorff, who is the officer in charge of these islands, supplied in 1875 a vocabulary of great extent of the dialects of four of the islands—Nankowry, Great Nicobar, Theressa, and Car Nicobar, as well as a limited list of words used by the shy and savage Shobœngs. They have no written character, and no education. Vocabularies are also given by Colebrooke, Man, and Fonteaux in the pages of the J.B.A.S. In the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica there is an exhaustive article by Colonel Yule. We may fairly hope that the linguistic question as regards these two groups will be satisfactorily answered in the next quarter of a century.

"Along the Tenasserim coast, at its southern extremity, is a small archipelago of islands opposite to Mergui: in some of these reside a peaceful people, who are pagans, of uncertain race, in low civilization; they are called Silang, and we have a vocabulary by Logan in the pages of the Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

"On the other side of the Peninsula of India we come upon the two groups of Atolls, the Maldives, and Laccadives. The former are said to contain a population of twenty thousand; they have reached a limited degree of civilization, and were made Muhammadans by the Arabs, with a certain amount of severity, the memory of which lives to this day. Their modern written character is derived principally from the so-called Arabic, but really Indian, numerals, written from right to left. The Royal Asiatic Society possess several manuscripts. With regard to the *ancient* character there is obscurity. Lieut. Christopher, who, in the pages of the Journal Royal Asiatic Society, describes the language and character, and supplies a vocabulary, gives specimens of eighteen ancient characters, but M. Abbadie, the Abyssinian scholar, mentions in the Journal of the Indian Archipelago, that this ancient character was a syllabary, and not an alphabet, and that only a portion of the characters, once possessed by Lieut. Christopher, have been made known to us. The language is akin to Sinhalese, and therefore of Aryan origin.

The native Sultan is a dependent of the Government of Ceylon.

"The Laccadives lie more to the north, and are under the government of Madras, and we have accounts of visits paid to them by the officials of Government, in the Journal of the Madras and Bombay Asiatic Society. The language is identical with that of the Maldives.

"We now pass into the Indian Archipelago, and, with the exception of the narrow peninsula of Malacca, leave the continent of Asia, and find ourselves in a new terminology of Polynesia, Indonesia, and Malaisia, besides numerous other compounds of the word for Island (identical in Greek and Javanese), applicable to the region of Oceania beyond the limits of this report. In some linguistic books the whole family of languages as far as Easter Island is called the Polynesian, including the Malayan as a sub-family; there is, therefore, a wider and narrower use of the term. Indian culture, Indian religion, Indian written characters, and Indian names accompany us: but the Race and the Vernacular have wholly changed. As we have no actual physical boundary to this portion of our inquiry, such as was supplied by the coast-line of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, we must proceed to draw a line on the outer edge of the Shallow-Sea region, so as to include all the islands on that submarine plateau, whose Fauna is absolutely, and whose Flora and Ethnic and Linguistic features to a great degree are distinct from the Deep-Sea region or Papuanesia. It exceeds the line at some points, so as to include particular islands, such as Lombok, Celebes, the Moluccas, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timour. Two strongly contrasted races occupy these islands, which, if lumped together, would form a large continent: first the Malays, a brown race with lank hair; secondly the Negritos, with black skins and curly hair. Between these are intermediate tribes, the exact position of which it is hard to determine. Mr. Wallace, in his survey of the whole Malay Archipelago, gives specimens of fifty-nine languages, but he omits some, which did not come within his scope: here lies the work of the philo-

logists of the next generation, who are advised to leave the well-worn tracks of the Indo-European family, and bring order out of the existing confusion in the dialects of this Archipelago. Geographically and linguistically this region is part of Asia, while the portion, which we reject, is for the same reasons part of Australasia.

"The race spread and dominant over this region has been called the Malayan, but there are Malays proper, and tribes with only a Malay element in their language. The word 'Malay' has a wider sense ethnologically than linguistically. For convenience sake the race is called Malayan, and the language is called Malay. The Malay proper also, though possessing considerable uniformity of physical and mental characteristics, differs in civilization and language.

"There are four great tribes, a few minor semi-civilized tribes, and a number of others who are downright savages.

"I. The Malays proper, inhabiting the Malay peninsula, and almost all the coast of Borneo and Sumatra, who all speak Malay, or dialects of it, are Muhammadans, and use an Arabic character.

"II. The Javanese, who inhabit Java, part of Sumatra, Madura, of Bali, and part of Lombok. They speak the kindred tongues of Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, Sundanese, with a special character of Indian origin. They are Muhammadans, with the exception of the inhabitants of Bali and a portion of those of Lombok, who are the sole survivors of the great Hindu civilization, and are Brahmanists or Buddhists.

"III. The Bugis or Wugis, who inhabit the greater part of the Celebes, and have a settlement in the Malacca peninsula and in the island of Sumbawa. They speak the Bugi, Macassar, and other languages, and have two characters of Indian origin, and are Muhammadans.

"IV. The Tagáls, who inhabit the Philippine Islands, and are chiefly Roman Catholic Christians: the remainder are Muhammadans. They speak the Tagál, Bisayan, and other languages, and use a special character.

"The inhabitants of the Molucca Islands, the best known of which are Banda, Tidor, Ternate, and Amboyna, are semi-

civilized Muhammadans, speak a variety of languages, unintelligible to Malays, compounded of Bugi and Javanese, mixed up with the indigenous language, and have no written character.

"The less-civilized Malays are the Dhyaks of Borneo, the Battas, with three dialects, the Lampungs, and Rejangs of Sumatra, the Jakuns, and other Orung Binwuh (people of the country) of Malacca. All these are pagans, the Battas cannibals, and some at the lowest ebb of civilization. Over and above are the black woolly-haired races, one of which is found in Malacca under the name of the Samang, and another of the name of Mantra, described in the Revue de Philologie, vol. i. Negritos are found also in some other islands, though totally absent from Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes. They have survived in a state of paganism and barbarism. Another race, called by the Portuguese Alfuros (from *al fuori*, the outsiders), are found in the Celebes, Philippines, and the Moluccas, but are quite distinct both from the brown Malay and black Negrito.

"This then is our subject. About fifty identified languages come within our scope. Nine great languages or groups of languages worthy of separate notice: 1. The Malay proper. 2. The Javanese in its modern form, and the archaic Kawi, with its three sister-languages, the Balinese, Sundanese, and Madurese. 3. The Sassak of Lombok. 4, 5. The Macassar and Bugi of Celebes. 6, 7. The Tagál and Bisayan of the Philippines. 8. The Dhyak of Borneo. 9. The Batta, with its three dialects; the Lampung and Rejang, all in Sumatra. Crawfurd thinks that they may morphologically be divided into three great classes: 1. From Sumatra to Borneo and Lompok eastward. 2. From Celebes to the Moluccas inclusive. 3. The Philippine Archipelago. There is considerable difference is structure, but still more in phonetism. These languages have among them eleven indigenous alphabets, four, viz. the archaic Bugi, the Bima, the Kawi, and old Sundanese, obsolete, and seven in daily use, the Javanese, Bugi, Batta, Rejang, Lampong, Korinchi, and Tagál. All of these alphabets, though their use is immemorial, are phonetic,

and like the Indian, are so far syllabaries, that they include an *a* in their sound. All of them (except Kawi) Crawfurd maintains to be of native origin, and not to belong to any alphabetical family; he admits that some of them may have borrowed their arrangement and some modification from Indian sources. Subsequent study of the subject of Alphabets in general has led to the affiliation through the Phœnician of every known alphabet (in the strict sense) to the Egyptian hieroglyphics being looked upon as a scientific fact. The remaining languages are represented by vocabularies, but have no literature, and will probably give way to their stronger rivals. It would be a waste of time and type to set out their names, for nothing is really known worth recording; but they stand out as a warning with many others of the futility of attempts to affiliate all languages to one, or to bring back languages to a limited number of seed plots, until the data for such theories are in a much more advanced state of preparation.

"We must here notice briefly a very great controversy, of first-rate importance both from its subject-matter, and the fame of the scholars who have taken part in it. William von Humboldt in his posthumous work, 'Ueber die Kawi Sprache,' arrived at the conclusion, 'that Malay was the stem, from which the various languages spoken by the brown races inhabiting the archipelago had branched out; that all the brown races belonged to one family, the Malay; that a convulsion of nature had broken up a continent, and left a few survivors of the common race in the islands; that Malay was probably an Indo-European language,' which last assertion was more particularly pressed by the illustrious grammarian Bopp. Mr. Crawfurd brought a local experience of forty years, and a knowledge of the vernaculars, to bear against the theories of Humboldt and Bopp, and in the dissertation in his Malay Grammar (1852) denied that the brown people belonged to one race: he maintained that there were several brown races speaking distinct languages; that there were several races of Negritos also, and that the Polynesian languages, properly so called, were quite distinct from Mala-

yan. There rests the controversy, involving the deepest questions of the sciences of Ethnology, Language, and Geology. It is scarcely necessary to add that Bopp's theory as to the Indo-European connexion of the Malayan sub-family has been condemned by Max Müller, Bréal, and all scholars of weight, in spite of their reverence to their great master in Comparative Philology. One great fact stands out, that, while the Malayan languages have had no effect whatever on the higher civilization of the Asiatic continent, on the other hand, wherever Malay and Javanese have been received by other islands of the archipelago, there will be found a higher stage of civilization.

"The Malays proper had their ancestral home in the interior of Sumatra, the region of Menangkaba: thence they colonized the coasts of Sumatra, the Peninsula of Malacca, the coasts of Borneo, and made their influence felt far beyond, as adventurous pirates and merchants. Their language being simple, and easily learnt, has readily adopted loan-words from the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English, Portuguese, Dutch, Javanese, Telinga, and Chinese languages, avoiding allusion to the disputed main ingredients of primitive Malayan, and the great Polynesian. In the lower classes the primitive Malay would preponderate; in classical works the learned exotics. It is asserted that the Malay of Singapore and the State of Queddah in Malacca, is the most classical. There are several dialects, and among them the Achinese, which had certain characteristics connecting it with the Indo-Chinese and Batta languages. If there ever was a written character, it has not survived the introduction of the well-known Arabic, with additional characters. A considerable literature exists, chiefly prose, but nothing of an original nature. Van der Tuuk pronounces, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, all existing dictionaries, whether English or Dutch, to be insufficient, and not up to the mark. Of the dialects the purest are the simplest. The Malay spoken at Batavia differs very much from that spoken in the original country. Of all languages the low or common Malay is the most readily acquired. It contains no hard gutturals, or difficult conso-

nants: it is soft and musical, and has a nice blending of vowels and consonants. It has become the *lingua franca* in the Dutch colonies; all servants are addressed in it, and European children speak it before they know their own language. The Samsans of the Queddah State in the peninsula of Malacca are Siamese by race, and Muhammadans by religion, and speak a mixed language of Siamese and Malay.

"The written language is called Jawi, a Javanese word correlative of Kawi; it means 'common,' and is antithetical to the other, which is the 'abstruse' language. As the Malays have no learned language of their own, they use the word Kawi as correlative to Arabic, the depository of all their learning, chiefly translations. In some species of composition the writers introduce Arabic terms, as a proof of their learning and religious attainments, but very few Semitic words have become actually part of the Malay language.

"The nouns have no accidents; gender is only sexual; number is indicated by a word of plurality; cases by prepositions; the only instance of an inflexion is to express a possessive; the idea of time in the verb is indicated by particles, but they are often omitted; the relation of the genitive is expressed by juxtaposition, and the governing words precede the governed; a verb is changed from neuter to active by affixing or prefixing certain inseparable particles; the adjectives follow the substantives; one part of speech is formed from another with great ease by prefixing a particle, and the same word in its primitive form is often used colloquially for several different parts of speech. As in the Hindustanee language, Arabic and Sanskrit words can be incorporated into the Malay at the pleasure of the speaker. It has been for centuries the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago, and its simplicity, power of adaptation, and smoothness of pronunciation, make it one of the strong vernaculars of the East, likely to absorb its weaker neighbours. The best grammars are by Marsden, Crawfurd, in English; Etout, Favre, in French; Roorda von Eysinga, 1840, Tugault, Pijnappel, 1866, in Dutch. The dictionaries are by Crawfurd, Favre, Marsden, Pijnappel; one was commenced by Van der Wall, who died,

but the work is to be continued by Van der Tuuk. The vocabularies, reading books, and treatises are without number in English, French, and Dutch. The Koran has been translated into Malay; the whole Bible has been translated both into High and Low Malay, and in both Arabic and Roman characters. Newbold, Crawfurd, Logan, and Favre give us vocabularies of the Orung Binwuh, and the Samang, but there is much room for further inquiry.

"The Javanese is the language of the island of Java and the adjacent portion of Sumatra; it has a high and a low form; it is the most improved and copious of the Malayan sub-family. Its written character, derived from the Indian, is used by the Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, and people of Lombok, whether Balinese or Sassak, and partly in Borneo and Sumatra; its letters are not in the well-known classification of the Nagari; the character is perfect to suit the sounds of the language. The foreign ingredients of the language are very much the same as those of the Malay; the grammar and the syntax are very simple, and much is left to be gathered from the context; the general features of grammar are the same as those described in the Malay. The population of Java and Madura amounts to seventeen millions; but of these, four millions speak the Sundanese, and two the Madurese. The language is one of the most copious in the world, but it is exuberant and redundant in some particulars, and meagre in others; and the language of deference is made a study and science. The literature is threefold, Hindu, Arabic, and indigenous, and chiefly poetry. Arabic has made but a small impression on the Javanese, as they are only half Muhammadans. They write on palm-leaves or European and Chinese paper. The great proportion of words are dissyllables; there are a great number of derivatives formed by inseparable particles. No treatise of grammar existed, but they had a kind of vocabulary of synonyms in lieu of a dictionary. The Koran and the Bible have been translated into Javanese.

"The Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese differ so materially from Javanese, though of the same stock, that they

"'Kawi, or more more properly Old Javanese, belongs to the Polynesian family, particularly to the Malayan branch. Next akin to it are Malay and Sundanese; it is the parent of modern Javanese; it represents the language as we have it from 800 to 1400 A.D., and it has largely borrowed from Sanskrit, just as modern Javanese, Malay, and the Dravidian languages have. The grammar is unaffected by foreign influence; its structure and genius are thoroughly Polynesian; it is no more an artificial language than English or Persian; it is somewhat richer in forms, and more abundant in pronouns than modern Javanese, but the genius and general outline survive in the latter. The style of the literary work is highly elaborate and finished. In the poetry there is much descriptive power, less of feeling and grandeur.'

"When the Muhammadans occupied Java, the Hindu religion and the Brahmins took refuge in the island of Bali, which has remained Hindu to this day. There the treasures of Kawi literature have been found, though many manuscripts are found in the island of Java also, and translations of old Kawi works into modern Javanese. Grammars and dictionaries do not exist, but most interesting texts are being published. The earliest and most famous treatise on the subject is that by Von Humboldt already alluded to. Short descriptions have been published, both by Kern and Van der Tuuk, and the Dutch scholars have made the subject their own. Dr. Friederich published a full account of Bali, and the late Dr. Cohen Stuart has published a collection of inscriptions of great interest. The whole of the literature is thoroughly Brahmanical and Buddhist, for the professors of both faiths lived apparently in harmony together. It must be borne in mind that both MSS. and inscriptions in pure Sanskrit are also found. Original versions of the great Sanskrit epics are found in Kawi, which are very important in their critical bearing on the original poems as we now have them.

"Separated by a narrow strait from Bali is the island of Lompok, but at this point we leave the Shallow-Sea plateau, and enter into a new world, as regards Fauna; but the Bali-

nese emigrant has overleaped the boundary, and we find the sovereignty of the island possessed by Javanese in race, and Hindus akin to the Balinese in speech. The mass of the population are Sassaks, who are Muhammadans, and whose language is unintelligible to their masters, though many Sassak words are found in Malay; they have no indigenous character, but use that of the Balinese, the majority neither reading nor writing. Zollinger and Wallace give vocabularies.

"Separated by a narrow strait from Lompok is the island of Sumbawa. There are six separate languages; the two most considerable are the Sumbawa and the Bima. The people are all Muhammadans, with the exception of a few wild mountaineers. No indigenous character is now in use, but traces have been found of an ancient and obsolete character; the Bugi character of the Celebes Island is the one adopted. The third dialect, the Timoura, has kept its own numerals. Crawfurd, Leyden, Latham, and Raffles supply vocabularies.

"The large island of Floris or Eudè is said to have six distinct languages: 1. Eude, 2. Mangarei, 3. Kio, 4. Roka, 5. Konga, 6. Galeteng. Three of them have written characters. To judge from the vocabularies of two supplied by Crawfurd, there is an admixture of Malay and Javanese with indigenous vocables. The inhabitants are intermediate between Malayan and Papuan, and are pagans.

"The next island, Timour, bears that name as the most Eastern of the Malayan settlements; it is occupied by Malayans and Negritos; the number of important languages is two; there is no written character, indigenous or adopted; one of them, the Timouri, is the *lingua franca* of the island. Latham and Crawfurd supply vocabularies. They are pagans, or, in some cases, Christians, as both the Dutch and Portuguese have settlements on the island.

"We must now return to the island of Sumatra to notice three remarkable languages, spoken by people of brown colour and Malayan stock, but very distinct from the Malay.

"First in order is the Batta or Batak, which has been studied and illustrated by the grammatical works of the distinguished scholar Van der Tuuk. There are three dialects,

the Toba, the Mundailung, and the Dairi. The Battas are divided into many independent States, are pagans and cannibals, but are becoming Muhammadans; yet they are not uncivilized, have an indigenous alphabet, and write with a twig and ink made of soot upon bark and bamboo staves, from bottom to top, the lines being arranged from left to right, but this fact, as stated by Leyden, is doubted by Marsden; they have a literature both in prose and verse. Vocabularies are not wanting, but are superseded by the works of Van der Tuuk, Schreiber, Van Asselt, and Junghuhn. The language is said by the former to be nearest of kin to the old Javanese and Tagál. Schreiber considers it to have closer affinity with Malay. The New Testament is being translated into this language by the British and Foreign Bible Society; the translation is by the Rev. Mr. Nommensen, and it is edited by the Rev. Dr. Schreiber, both Protestant missionaries.

"The next is the Rejang, described as one of the most civilized nations of Sumatra. Though pagan, it has a peculiar language and an indigenous written character of its own. They write on bamboo slips, like the Battas. Their territory is chiefly inland, and quite independent. Leyden considered the language to be an admixture of Malay and Batta. There does not appear to be much literature. The old English settlement of Bencoolen was situated in their territory. Marsden gives a vocabulary.

"The third is the Lampung. The people who speak this language live on the coast separated from Java by the straits of Sunda. The language is quite peculiar, and has an indigenous written character; one-third of the vocables appear to be original. The people are rude, partly pagan, partly Muhammadan. A vocabulary is given by Marsden, but from the year 1868–1874 Van der Tuuk has turned his attention to this language, and has published several treatises, but nothing amounting to a dictionary or grammar.

"To these three tribes in the island of Sumatra may be added the Korinchi, the inhabitants of a hitherto unexplored valley. They are Malay, Muhammadans, and speak Malay, but use a special alphabet of their own. An expedition has been

fitted out this year by the Dutch Geographical Society, one of the objects of which is to penetrate into this valley. There are some savage races also, among which we have notices of the Loeboes and Oeloes by Willer and Netscher in Dutch, 1855.

"Of the language of the inhabitants of the numerous groups of islands lying off Sumatra we know little or nothing. Vocabularies are given by Marsden, and by Shortt in the Malayan Miscellanies, of the Niaz dialect, and the Gospel of St. Luke has been translated into that idiom by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Of the dialects of the inhabitants of the Engano Islands, we have Dutch vocabularies by De Straaten and Severyn; it is totally unintelligible to the Malays; all these races are pagans, and in a very low state of civilization.

"We cross the Java Sea to Borneo, situated on the Equator, and the greatest island in the world, three times the size of Great Britain. Of the interior we know little or nothing. Crawfurd is of opinion, that there may be scores of tribes speaking different languages, but they are all savages, and mostly cannibals. No respectable indigenous civilization has sprung up on the island. The coasts have been occupied by Malay settlers for more than two thousand years, who in due time brought with them Muhammadanism. Bugis have settled from the East, and are of the same faith. The Javanese have made settlements and introduced Hinduism, leaving traces in ruined temples and names of places. The Chinese have settled on the northern coast. The indigenous population is pagan, and called by the generic word Dhyak. There is no alphabet, but an inscription in an unknown tongue has been found in the interior; the natives have a kind of symbolic mode of communication by notches on arrows. The greatest known tribe is the Kayan. We have a vocabulary by Burn of 800 words; Crawfurd gives a vocabulary of nine languages, the Kayan, Pido-Petak, Binjuk, and others. With the Muhammadan religion, the Malay language is adopted. Latham remarks that the Binjuk are maritime, and the Dhyaks landsmen. The Dutch possess half the island, with a population of one million and a quarter; the Sultan of Brunè, a name identical with Borneo, the re-

mainder; the titles to Sarawak and Labuiau are both held of him. Gabelentz published a Dhyak grammar in 1852, following that of Hardeland in 1850, who also published a dictionary in 1859; there is another anonymous grammar dated 1856; the whole Bible has been translated by Hardeland; Crawfurd treats of the peculiarities of the language in his Malay Grammar; Sir J. Brooke gives a vocabulary; Von Kessel published a glossary of the dialects of the West Coast in 1849, and Tiedke a glossary of the Sanpit and Katingan in 1872; both are in Dutch.

"To the east, and separated by the Macassar Straits, is the curiously-shaped island of Celebes, the centre of a civilization independent of Java; the population at a remote period were Hindu. The Muhammadans had only just arrived, when the Christians came on the field; a certain proportion of the people are Protestant Christians, as the Dutch power is paramount. The language and literature essentially differ from that of Java and Malay; there is a distinct written character in use, preserving the classification of the Nagari, but differing in appearance; there is also another and obsolete alphabet; there are two great languages, with a literature, the Bugi or Wugi, and the Mangkasara or Macassar; there are other languages, the Mandhan, Buton, Salayer, Tomore, Garontolo, and Menado, and some are spoken by savages. The Bugi are a powerful people, and their literature copious, but both languages have a soft and vocalic pronunciation. The grammar is exceedingly simple, but differing in many particulars widely from the Malay and Javanese; out of 1700 words 1300 are native, the remainder loan-words from Malay and Javanese; their language has exerted an influence upon other islands; they have an ancient literature and laws, and by some are asserted to have an archaic language, but no specimen has been obtained. The Macassar and Bugis are not dialects of the same language, though they have much in common; they are mutually unintelligible. To Dr. Matthes we are indebted for grammars, dictionaries, an essay on folk-lore, selections, and a translation of a portion of the Bible both in Bugi and Macassar.

Vocabularies are supplied by Crawfurd, Thompson, Leyden, Raffles, and others; a vocabulary of the dialects of Tomore, Buton, Salayer, is supplied by Wallace, one of Menado by Latham, and of Mandhan and Buton by Raffles. The Koran has been translated into Bugi. Professor Niemann gives instruction in Bugi and Macassar in the College for Training Dutch Colonial Servants at Delft in Holland. There are several languages spoken in the Celebes by the Alfura, or Harafura, or Turajah, head-hunting savage races. We have contributions from several Dutch scholars, Jansen, Rhidell, and Professor Niemann, 1866, and others. The flourishing Dutch settlement of Minahassa is in their neighbourhood. We have a translation of the Bible by Herman in one of these languages, a catechism in Malay and Alfura by the same, and materials for a dictionary by Millies. There is no written character, and indeed very little is known as to the names and numbers of these languages.

"Crossing the Molucca Passage to the east, we come to the Spice-Islands. It was here that the Portuguese were met in 1521 by Magellan and the Spaniards, who had crossed the Pacific from the west. We find that then, as now, the Malay language was the language of commerce, yet each island, Amboyna, Tidor, Ternate, Banda, Gilolo, and others, had preserved their peculiar languages totally different from Malay. There was no kind of alphabet in the Spice-Islands: the Roman and Malay characters are now used, and the people of Amboyna are nominally Protestant Christians. In the other islands the inhabitants are pagans, with a sprinkling of Muhammadans. M. Van Hoewell, jun., has this year published remarks in Dutch on the five leading dialects of Amboyna, Sassarúa, Hurunka, Nusalaut, Hila, Nagari-anpat, with a glossary. He remarks that these languages had been much neglected. Vocabularies of different degrees of fullness are available in the works of Wallace, Crawfurd, Raffles, Bickmore, Leyden, De Clerq, Van Edris, and other Dutch writers. It would be a mere recapitulation of names of uncertain value and number to set out the groups of letters by which the forty-two languages, mentioned by Wallace, are

expressed, though there is no doubt of the genuineness and accuracy of his lists.

"Proceeding northwards we come to the Philippine Islands, a new linguistic world, and the colonies of the Spaniards. The two great languages are the Tagál and the Bisayan, but there are many hundred islands, and we need not be surprised to hear of many dialects, among which the Pampanga, Jambal, Pangasinar, Ilocos, Cagayan, Camarines, Batanes, Chamena, are the best known. The residents of the different islands are not mutually intelligible; out of a population of three millions and a half, called by the Spaniards the Indios, one-third speak a variety of Bisayan and two-thirds a variety of Tagál; vocabularies of about thirty exist. The Roman Catholic friars have played a great missionary and political part here, and the majority of the population is nominally Christian. One of the islands enjoys independence and Muhammadanism. Savage unsubdued tribes occupy the mountainous interior of the chief island, Luzon; some of them are Negritos, of numbers unknown, and all pagans. There is one indigenous alphabet, though the Spanish authors, who are not authorities in linguistic science, assert the existence of many, but produce no proofs. It is written with an iron stile on bambus or palm-leaves, and in Chinese fashion from top to bottom.

"The great feature of the languages of this group is polysyllabism, and the blending of noun and verb into a single word, and the difficulty of tracing the roots of either is a cause of perplexity. The changes are most complex; perfect familiarity with every form that a word can assume, not only by addition of particles, but interchange of letters, is necessary to enable a person to detect the radix, which, according to Leyden, is more disguised than in Arabic derivatives. Nouns have no accidents; verbs have moods or tenses, but have no pronominalization to indicate number and person; the inverted sentence-construction of the passive is preferred to that of the active; the plural of nouns is formed by a particular prefix instead of an adjective following; in verbs, inseparable particles are used, instead of auxiliaries, to mark time.

"The number of synonyms to represent one idea is enormous. Crawfurd remarks that several of the languages have arrived at a high degree of culture, and differ greatly in structure from the Malay and Javanese. Humboldt asserted that the Tagál was the most perfect specimen, and the parent language of the Malayan family, which is, of course, denied by Crawfurd. We have a plentiful linguistic literature in Spanish, and Crawfurd describes the languages scientifically in the Preface to his Malay Grammar; but of an indigenous literature we have but an uncertain account, for it appears, that the early missionaries extirpated the original memorials of the race with pious care, supplanting the precious remains of national and pagan antiquity with hymns, church-legends, and the religious life of Thomas à Kempis in the Roman character. Of grammar, which the Spaniards term 'Arte,' we have one in Tagál by Buyeta; in Bisayan by the same, in Pampagna by Bergnano, in Ilocos by Lopez and Bergnano. We have dictionaries or vocabularies in Tagál by De Las Santos, Noceda, Buona Ventura and Mallet; in Bisayan by Montrida and Sanchez, in Pampagna by Bergnano, in Ilocos by Carro.

"Eighty miles across the China Sea is the island of Formosa or Tai-wan, part of the Chinese empire. Its coasts and plains are occupied by Amoy-Chinese immigrants, but its mountainous interior is occupied by people of the Malayan race, the furthest eastern outwork of that great family; beyond it the Japanese dialects commence. European missionaries are now settled among this people, and Von Gabelentz, Klaproth, and Crawfurd have written about their language; and in later years we have essays by M. Guérin, M. Favre, Professor of Malay at the Cours Orientales at Paris, and Mr. Taintor, of the English Consular Service; vocabularies accompany the grammatical notices. There is reason to believe, that the Malayan race passed from the Philippines into this island; they are either found in a demi-civilized state given to agriculture, and are then known as Kabaran or Pepu-kwan, 'savages of the plain,' or as Yukan, downright savages of the mountains. Vocabularies of both dialects are given, and contrasted with

the Tagál, Malay, Javanese, Sassak, and Malagasie. They are pagans, and have never made any progress in civilization, being either in subjection to the Chinese, or in savage liberty; they have neither written character nor literature; there is an entire absence of Sanskrit words, which marks the period of the Malayan colonization to be anterior to the Hindu conquest of Java; intercourse with the rest of the Malayan race must have been very slack, and the influence of the Chinese conquest upon the language very strong.

"At a distance of many degrees to the West, separated from Africa by the Mozambique Channel, is the island of Madagascar, the most western outwork of the Malayan race. Mr. Crawfurd asserted that the Malagasies were a Negrito people of African blood, with a slight admixture of the Malayan in their blood and language, from pirates or tempest-driven vessels off the island of Sumatra. Humboldt led the van in the theory of a Malayan origin; and since the island of Madagascar has become better known, and the residence of missionaries, his opinion is gaining ground. A dictionary was published by Mr. Freeman forty years ago, and indeed one by Flacourt, in French, more than two hundred years ago. An outline of a Malagasie grammar has been published by Van der Tuuk, the celebrated Malay scholar, and a translation of the New Testament. The Rev. Dr. Mullins, of the London Missionary Society, in a paper read before the Geographical Society, 1875, has expressed the latest opinion, and quotes the following opinion of the Rev. Mr. Cousin, a missionary of standing, who has been selected by all the Protestant Missions in the island to the responsible task of revising the Bible, which is being done now thoroughly, proof-sheets being sent for revision to each missionary. 'The language is one, a Malay tongue with three or four chief dialects, and an admixture of foreign words brought in the intercourse of trade.' Van der Tuuk agrees in the above, and remarks that the Malagasie is like the Toba dialect of the Batta language in the island of Sumatra, above described; that there are resemblances to Javanese, Batta, Malay, and Dhyak of Borneo; and that it must have come

from the west coast of Sumatra, after an admixture with a language resembling that of the island of Niaz. Certainly the words in Malagasie are very long indeed; Malay and Javanese roots are bisyllabic, and prefixes monosyllabic; while in Malagasie we have prefixes and affixes of three syllables, extending the length of some words to a monstrous extent; and it must be admitted, that the Malagasies are a dark race, speaking apparently the language of the brown races of the Archipelago. There are no Sanskrit words in the Malagasie; therefore the connexion must date back to a period before the immigration of the Hindus. The Malagasies are pagans. There is no written character, and the missionaries have introduced the Roman character, and a code of laws has been printed. According to French authorities, the Arabic character was once used, the power of the letters being somewhat modified. In addition to the books mentioned above, we have French treatises by D'Urville, Marre de Marin, and Dalmont; a grammar, by Griffiths, of the Ankova dialect; the other two dialects are the Sakalava and Betsimi Saraka; a French-Malagasie dictionary is now being published by M. Marre de Marin; there are also vocabularies by Wallace, Crawfurd, Challaud, Drury, and John. Owing to the intercourse with the French, a great many French words have crept in. The population is about two and a half millions, according to Dr. Mullins' careful estimate, and Christianity is on the increase. It forms an independent State.

"We have thus swept into our net all the languages, which can possibly be connected with Asia, from the extreme western frontier of India up to the boundaries of China. The region is interesting, as lying betwixt two great civilizations, that of India and China, and partaking, to a certain extent, of both, but in different degrees. Here we come on the language of a great people, fully described in the Report of 1875 by Dr. Legge. South of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, which are situated on a plateau of *Shallow*-Sea, lie the *Deep*-Sea islands of the Austral Archipelago, with a plurality of languages requiring another collector and classifier. Be-

yond China and Japan, described this year by M. de Rosny, lie the fresh fields and pastures new of the Mongolic and Tungussic families, as far east as the distant Corean. If this harvest be in a future year garnered, it will fill up the space in Eastern Asia beyond the region of the Turkic family, which has found this year so able a reporter in M. Pavet de Courteille. To the west and north of this family lies the Ugro-Finnic family, last year (1876) reported on by M. Ujfalvy, and the Samoiedic, which is not yet disposed of. On the south-west confines of Asia is the Caucasian group, furnishing an ample study.

"Original investigations have their value, and, if based upon facts and legitimate inductions, are a contribution to positive knowledge; but a grouping and arranging of such facts in a collective and popular form, and thus rendering available the sporadic contributions of many minds, has also its value; and the first step towards supplying the lacunæ of our actual knowledge is to take stock of our possessions, and indicate what is the work left to be done by future investigators.

"The papers, of which the report is composed, are original compositions of eight to ten English and foreign authors, and the information supplied will beget and render possible future special studies. To a certain extent they are more readable and attractive to outsiders than learned discussions on special subjects. It may be mentioned that the paper on Non-Aryan Languages of India, contained in our report of last year, has been reprinted in a Philological journal in Paris and the journal of a Learned Society in Calcutta. Original views are sparingly brought forward in these reports; the statements of others are quoted for what they are worth; herein is the main difference of a popularizing report and an original research.

"The range of the Himalayas are a great linguistic watershed of a most unique and interesting kind. A profound study of the Non-Aryan Languages of India, Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago may some day furnish materials for a wider induction of grammatical principles

than was possible to the limited knowledge available to Bopp, Humboldt, and Max Müller. We seem to catch the first effects of the human race *in situ*, not in a state of hopeless savagery, as in Australia and America, but in a graduated scale of improved and improving languages. In the rear of the Himalaya is the great Monosyllabic Chinese; the flank is turned by every possible combination of the Agglutinative method; in their front is the great Inflecting Word-system of the elder family of the Aryans, destined in the Vernacular to incorporate Semitic vocables. Thus from these languages may, possibly, at some future period, be gathered the connecting links between the great Orders of Human Speech."

JAPANESE.

The absence of a report on this interesting and important language has hitherto left a regretable gap in our Annual Addresses, and we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on having secured the help of such an authority as Professor Léon de Rosny, of Paris.

"Les premiers travaux relatifs à la philologie japonaise datent de près de trois siècles. Ils sont dus aux missionnaires portugais qui avaient fondé une imprimerie européenne au Collège des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, à Amakusa, et plus tard à Nagasaki. Quelques uns de ces travaux prouvent de la part de leurs auteurs des connaissances approfondies en langue japonaise; mais leur système de composition est tellement imparfait qu'on n'a pu en tirer aucun parti sérieux pour l'étude de la littérature indigène du Nippon. Je me bornerai donc à mentionner le Vocabulaire japonais-portugais[1] et la Grammaire[2] du P. *Rodriguez* qui sont surtout

[1] *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam*, com a declaração em portugues. Nagasaqui, 1603, in-4°. L'auteur de ce Vocabulaire, le P. João Rodriguez, ne jugea pas à propos d'inscrire son nom sur le titre de son ouvrage, parcequ'il avait profité, pour le composer, de plusieurs glossaires japonais-portugais rédigés par des Jésuites de la mission à laquelle il appartenait. (Voy. à ce sujet, M. da Silva, dans les *Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1er Session, Paris, 1873, t. ii. p. 465.)—Une traduction espagnole de ce livre, attribuée au P. Fr. Hyacinthe Esquivel, a paru à Manille en 1630: elle est également d'une grande rareté.

[2] *Arte da lingoa de Iapam*, composta pello P. João Rodriguez, Nangasaki, 1604, in-4°. min.—Un abrégé de cette grammaire a été traduit en français, par

recherchés par les bibliophiles, en raison de leur extrême rareté.

"D'autres missionnaires, parmi lesquels il suffira de mentionner le P. *Collado* et le P. *Oyanguren* de Santa Ines, ont publié des livres pour l'enseignement de la langue japonaise.[1] Ces livres sont encore inférieurs à ceux du P. Rodriguez, et n'ont rendu aucune service appréciable aux orientalistes.

"Ainsi que je l'ai dit, en ouvrant pour la première fois à Paris un cours de langue japonaise,[2] malgré les travaux des anciens missionnaires, malgré les louables efforts de *Klaproth* et d'*Abel-Rémusat*, l'idiome du Nippon demeura comme un sphynx aux décevantes énigmes, jusqu'à l'époque du mémorable voyage de *Ph. Fr. von Siebold* dans les îles de l'extrême Orient, en 1830. Ce voyage fut le signal d'une ère nouvelle et c'est seulement depuis lors que commence l'histoire sérieuse des progrès de la philologie japonaise.

"L'ordre le plus avantageux pour présenter le tableau de ces progrès, eût reposé sans doute sur une classification bibliographique des principaux monuments de la littérature japonaise; mais, en adoptant un tel ordre, j'aurais été amené nécessairement à dépasser de beaucoup l'étendue qui m'a été fixée pour ce Rapport. Au contraire, j'ai pensé qu'il serait possible de répondre aux intentions de la savante Société qui m'a fait l'honneur de m'associer à ses recherches, en adoptant, pour la répartition des travaux, un ordre géographique qui permit d'apprécier la part prise jusqu'à présent aux études japonaises, dans les principaux centres scientifiques du monde; d'autant plus que cet ordre coincide, dans une certaine mesure, avec l'ordre chronologique des publications les plus importantes à citer ici.

Landresse, sous la direction d'Abel-Rémusat, et publié par la Société Asiatique de Paris. Cette traduction, faite avec une ignorance absolue de la langue japonaise, est tellement défectueuse, qu'elle n'a pu rendre aucun service aux orientalistes. Voy. sur les innombrables erreurs de ce travail, les savantes critiques du Dr. August Pfizmaier, dans les *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, de Vienne.

[1] Collado, *Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ linguæ*, Rome, 1632; *Dictionarium sive Thesauri linguæ iaponicæ compendium*, Rome, 1632.—Oyanguren, *Arte de la lengua Japona*, dividido en quatro libros, Mexico, 1738.

[2] *Discours prononcé à l'ouverture du cours de Japonais*, à l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales, Paris, 1863, p. 13.

"HOLLANDE.—Les résultats du voyage de Siebold ont été consignés dans une grande et somptueuse publication,[1] divisée en un grand nombre de parties qui n'ont malheureusement point été achevées. Cette publication, toute incomplète qu'elle soit, n'en demeure pas moins une des œuvres les plus importantes qu'on ait entrepris jusqu'à ce jour sur l'empire du Japon et les contrées avoisinantes. Cependant, il faut le dire, Siebold était surtout un grand naturaliste, un ethnographe distingué, un collectionneur de rare mérite : il était peu philologue. L'aperçu de grammaire japonaise qu'il composa à Dé-sima, et qui fut publié en 1826 dans les Mémoires de la Société des Sciences et Arts de Batavia,[2] ne vaut guère mieux que ce qu'avaient fait paraître ses devanciers; il eut des maîtres indigènes qui essayèrent de lui apprendre la langue parlée et écrite de leur pays; il ne connut jamais ni l'une ni l'autre, d'une façon quelque peu approfondie.

"Grâce à la collection de livres japonais qu'il rapporta en Europe, collection très-précieuse pour l'époque à laquelle elle avait été réunie,[3] Siebold eut un élève qui ne tarda pas à dépasser le maître, et à acquérir une connaissance solide de l'idiome littéraire du Nippon. M. le Dr. *J. Hoffmann*, aujourd'hui professeur à Leide, fut, pour le célèbre naturaliste, un collaborateur inappréciable; et, grâce à son concours, les ouvrages indigènes du Musée Néerlandais purent être mis à profit pour la publication des 'Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan.' Le savant professeur, qui avait acquis de sérieuses connaissances sinologiques, fit paraître de la sorte la traduction d'un album de représentations bouddhiques,[4] d'une chronologie chinoise-japonaise,[5] d'un traité de sériculture,[6] et d'autres écrits de moindre étendue. Il surveilla encore la reproduction lithographique d'un véritable trésor de la langue japo-

[1] *Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, Leide, 1832, in-4° maj.

[2] *Epitome linguæ Japonicæ*, dans les *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, tome xi. in-8°.

[3] Une liste détaillée des livres composant cette collection a été publiée dans la *Bibliotheca japonica*, de Siebold et M. J. Hoffmann, sous le titre de *Catalogus librorum et manu scriptorum japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum*, Leide, 1845, in-4° maj.

[4] *Buddha Pantheon von Nippon*, extrait des *Arch. z. Beschr. v. Jap.*

[5] *Wa-Kan nen-kei, Geschichttabellen von Japan*, dans la *Bibl. japon.*, in-4° maj.

[6] *L'art d'élever les vers à soie au Japon*, Paris, 1848, in-4°.

naise,[1] publié par un lexicographe japonais doué des plus remarquables qualités de l'érudition.

"Plus tard M. Hoffmann fit paraître, avec d'importantes additions, la Grammaire de la langue vulgaire, composée par M. Donker Curtius,[2] au comptoir hollandais de Dé-sima, puis enfin sa propre grammaire japonaise,[3] qui dépassait en étendue et en développements philologiques tout ce qui avait paru jusqu'alors.

"Quelques élèves de M. Hoffmann contribuèrent également aux progrès des études japonaises, notamment MM. *R. J. de Saint-Aulaire* et *W. P. Groeneveldt*, auxquels on doit un Manuel[4] pour l'enseignement méthodique de l'écriture courante ou '*sau-syo*.'

"AUTRICHE.—Avec les instruments de travail les plus imparfaits, M. le docteur *August Pfizmaier* entreprit à Vienne l'étude de la langue japonaise; et, dès 1848, il fit paraître le texte et la traduction allemande d'un petit conte[5] composé dans l'idiome vulgaire du Nippon, par le célèbre romancier de Yédo, Riu-tei Tane-hiko. Cette traduction, imprimée avec une rare perfection typographique à l'Imprimerie impériale de Vienne, était souvent obscure, inexacte; mais si l'on tient compte de l'époque à laquelle elle a été publiée, il est impossible de ne pas la considérer comme un des plus étonnants tours de force philologiques, dont l'Orientalisme de notre siècle ait donné l'exemple. Personne d'ailleurs n'a depuis lors osé aborder de nouveau l'interpretation d'un livre de ce genre, bien qu'aujourd'hui un tel travail ne présentât plus de difficultés insurmontables. En dehors de cette traduction in extenso d'un écrit japonais, M. Pfizmaier a fait paraître dans les Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie Impériale et Royale,[6] de nombreuses notices sur les différentes branches de

[1] *Wa-kan won-seki syo-gen-zi-kau, Thesaurus linguæ japonicæ*, Leide, 1835, in-4°. maj.

[2] *Proeve eener Japansche Spraakkunst*, Leide, 1857, gr. in-8°. Voy., sur cet ouvrage, Sir Rutherford Alcock, *Elem. of Jap. Gramm.*, p. 37.

[3] *A Japanese Grammar*, Leiden, 1868, gr. in-8°.

[4] *A Manual of Chinese Running-hand Writing*, especially as it is used in Japan, Amsterdam, 1861, in-4°.

[5] *Sechs Wandschirme in Gestalten der vergänglichen Welt*, Wien, 1848, in-8°.

[6] *Sitzungsberichte der K. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, in-8°.

la littérature japonaise. Je regrette, faute de place, de ne pouvoir pas même les citer ici.

"La même Académie a inséré dans ses Comptes-Rendus un essai de M. Boller, tendant à établir la parenté du japonais et des idiomes Oural-altaïens.[1] Ce mémoire est curieux ; il soulève les plus intéressantes questions de linguistique comparée, mais il demande à n'être consulté qu'avec une grande reserve. L'auteur s'occupe évidemment de langues qu'il ne connaît que superficiellement, et rattache ses théories à un idiome, le japonais, avec lequel il n'a pris le temps de se familiariser.

"Russie.—La langue japonaise a été enseignée à Irkutsk, au commencement de ce siècle, par un indigène converti à la religion orthodoxe et baptisé sous le nom *Nicolas Kolotyghin*. J'ignore si cette école a produit quelques interprètes pour le service du gouvernement : en tout cas, elle n'a rien produit pour la science.

"En 1857, M. *I. Gochkiewitch* a fait paraître le Dictionnaire Japonais-Russe,[2] qu'il avait composé avec le secours d'un indigène du Nippon appelé *Tati-bana no Kô-sai*. Ce Dictionnaire, d'une valeur incontestable, bien que fort incomplet, a obtenu sur mon rapport[3] le grand pris Démidoff, qui a été décerné à son auteur, par l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.

"Depuis lors, il n'a plus paru en Russie, que je sache, de travaux relatifs à la philologie japonaise.

"France.—L'enseignement du japonais date, en France, de l'année 1863, époque à laquelle fut ouvert pour la première fois, par l'auteur de ces lignes, un cours public à l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales. Le professeur avait fait paraître en 1856 la première Grammaire japonaise[4] qui ait été composée avec le concours si indispensable de l'écriture

[1] *Nachweis dass das Japanische zum ural-altaischen Stamme gehört*, Wien, 1857, in-8°.

[2] Японско-Русскій Словарь, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1857 ; gr. in-8°. (impr. par la lithographie).

[3] *Rapport sur le Dictionnaire japonais-russe de M. Gochkiewitch*, par M. Léon de Rosny, dans les *Mélanges asiatiques* de l'Académie des Sciences, t. iv. St. Pétersbourg, 1861, in-8°, p. 593.

[4] *Introduction à l'étude de la langue japonaise*, Paris, 1856, in-4°.

indigène. Il avait également entrepris la publication d'un grand Dictionnaire japonais-anglais, dont l'impression a dû être interrompue en 1856, à cause des dépenses excessives qu'elle eût entrainé pour les éditeurs.

"Le même orientaliste a commencé, sous le titre de Cours pratique de japonais,[1] la publication d'une série de vingt volumes destinés à son enseignement. En dehors de ces travaux de vulgarisation, il a publié, à la demande du gouvernement français, la traduction d'un Traité indigène de l'éducation des vers à soie au Japon,[2] et celle d'un Anthologie,[3] où l'on trouve des spécimens de poésies japonaises de tous les âges et de presque tous les genres, depuis les odes de la vieille collection du Man-yô-siu, jusqu'au chansons populaires contemporaines.

"Enfin il a traduit deux ouvrages de philosophie très répandus dans les écoles du Nippon, le *Zitû go kyau* ou 'Enseignement des Vérités' et le *Dô-zi kyau* ou 'Enseignement de la Jeunesse.' L'impression de cette traduction, retardée par des circonstances indépendantes de la volonté de l'auteur, ne tardera pas à être achevée. Le même professeur a inséré, en outre, dans divers recueils périodiques, des extraits de plusieurs auteurs célèbres du Japon, parmi lesquels on se bornera à citer un chapitre du Tai-hei ki 'Histoire des guerres civiles,' que l'on considére à juste titre comme un des chefs-d'œuvres de la littérature indigène,[4] et l'Histoire populaire de la jeunesse de Taïkau Sama extraite du 'Tai-kau ki.'[5]

"Parmi les élèves de l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales, le professeur est fier de citer plusieurs savants qui ont conquis une place distinguée dans les annales de l'orientalisme. M.

[1] *Cours pratique de japonais.* Parties déjà publiées: *Introduction*, 1 vol.; *Thèmes et Vocabulaire*, 1 vol.; *Versions et Vocabulaire*, 1 vol.; *Grammaire de la langue vulgaire*, 1 vol.; *Guide de la Conversation*, 1 vol.; *Textes sinico-japonais*, 1 vol.; *Dictionnaire des signes idéographiques*, 1 vol.; *Manuel du style épistolaire*, 1 vol.; *Anthologie japonaise*, Textes, 1 vol.

[2] *Traité de l'éducation des vers à soie au Japon* (quatre éditions françaises, dont deux imprimées à l'Imprimerie nationale, et une traduction italienne, par M. Felice Franceschini, ont déjà paru).

[3] *Anthologie japonaise. Poésies anciennes et modernes des insulaires du Nippon*, traduites en français et publiées avec le texte original. Avec une préface, par Ed. Laboulaye, de l'Institut, Paris, 1871, in-8°. pl. lith.

[4] Dans *Le Lotus*, organe français des études japonaises, chinoises et indo-chinoises, No. 1, Paris, 1873, in-8°. lith.

[5] Dans les *Mémoires de la Session inaugurale du Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes*, Levallois, 1874.

Antelmo Severini, aujourd'hui professeur à l'Institut de perfectionnement de Florence, et l'un des japonistes les plus autorisés de notre époque; M. *François Turettini*, directeur de l'Atume gusa, à Genève; M. *Emile Burnouf*, actuellement secrétaire de la Société des Etudes japonaises de Paris; MM. *Fr. Sarazin* et *Mellotée*, interprètes du Consulat de France, à Yokohama, etc.

"De nombreux travaux relatifs à la philologie japonaise ont été publiés dans le premier volume des Mémoires de la Session inaugurale du Congrès des Orientalistes,[1] session qui s'est tenue à Paris en 1873. A la clôture de cette session, plusieurs savants français et étrangers, considérant que les études japonaises n'étaient représentées dans aucune des sociétés scientifiques de Paris, ont fondé une association nouvelle sous le titre de 'Société des Etudes japonaises, chinoises, tartares et indo-chinoises.' Cette société, dont le président actuel est M. le comte de Montblanc, japoniste distingué et ancien ministre du Mikado, a déjà publié trois Annuaires,[2] à la rédaction desquels a contribué avec talent son jeune secrétaire indigène M. *Imamura Warau*, et un premier fascicule de Mémoires,[3] dans lequel on trouve une traduction analytique et annotée du commencement de la grande 'Histoire indépendante du Japon,' le Nihon-gwai-si, par M. *Ogura Yemon*.

"ITALIE.—M. le professeur *Severini* a introduit les études japonaises en Italie, où il a créé une chaire pour l'étude du japonais, du chinois, et du tartar-mandchou. Les travaux du savant italien sont à tous égards des plus remarquables, et se recommandent par un caractère des plus consciencieux. On lui doit une nouvelle traduction du roman de Tanehiko,[4] que M. Pfizmaier, de Vienne, avait tentée dès 1848, mais qui demandait à être refaite de fond en comble. M. Severini a en outre assumé la tâche laborieuse de nous donner un vaste

[1] *Congrès international des Orientalistes. Compte-rendu de la première Session*, Paris, 1873, tome 1er. Ce volume est exclusivement consacré aux études japonaises et chinoises.

[2] *Annuaire de la Société des Etudes japonaises*, publié par MM. Emile Burnouf et Imamura Warau, Paris, 1874–76, 3 vols. in-8°.

[3] *Mémoires de la Société des études japonaises*, t. 1er, fasc. i. Paris, 1877, in-8°.

[4] *Uomini e paraventi, racconto giapponese*, Firenze, 1872, in-36°.

index du savant Thesaurus japonais intitulé Syo-gen-zi-kau ou 'Examen des caractères affectés à la notation (idéographique) de mots dans les livres.' C'est une œuvre pour laquelle il fallait la patience d'un bénédictin : M. Severini a eu cette patience.

"Parmi les élèves de M. Severini, il faut citer M. *Carlo Puini*, qui nous a déjà donné des preuves de ses connaissances en langue chinoise, et qui est devenu un collaborateur de son maître.

"Il est juste de mentionner également le nom de M. l'avocat *Valenziani*, qui, après avoir étudié avec succès le grec moderne et l'arabe, a appris le chinois et le japonais, qu'il connaît d'une façon remarquable.

"ANGLETERRE.—Les travaux publiés sur le japonais, en Angleterre, sont de date récente; mais la science britannique avait prit place depuis longtemps en Orient sur le terrain que nous explorons. C'est ainsi qu'un savant sinologue anglais, *W. H. Medhurst*, fit paraître dès 1830, à Batavia, un Vocabulaire japonais-anglais et anglais-japonais,[1] ainsi qu'une édition du Livre des Mille Mots, accompagnée d'une version coréenne et d'un glossaire.[2]

"Un autre sinologue anglais, le Dr. Gützlaff, essaya de composer, avec le concours de quelques naufragés du Nippon, une traduction japonaise de l'Evangile de St.-Jean. Cette traduction est des plus défectueuses, mais elle date d'une époque où aucun européen ne possédait sérieusement la pratique de la langue parlée ou écrite du Japon.

"Depuis l'ouverture des ports japonais au commerce européen, plusieurs savants anglais ont cultivé avec succès la littérature des îles de l'extrême Orient. M. *Satow* notamment est parvenu aux plus solides connaissances dans cette branche de l'orientalisme. Il faut citer aussi M. le Dr. *Hepburn*, qui a publié le Dictionnaire japonais-européen[3] le

[1] *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary*, Batavia, 1830, in-8°.

[2] *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean, and Japanese Languages*, Batavia, 1835, in-8°.

[3] *A Japanese and English Dictionary*, with an English and Japanese Index, Shanghae, 1867, gr. in-8°.

plus complet que nous possédions jusqu'à présent. Ce Dictionnaire, remarquable à plus d'un égard, est cependant encore très-insuffisant; et l'orientaliste, qui ne possédrait pas la connaissance du chinois, ne parviendrait que fort rarement à traduire un texte indigène avec le seul secours de ce beau livre.

"Aujourd'hui le japonais est cultivé avec succès, à Londres, par M. Le professeur R. K. *Douglas*, qui nous promet un catalogue raisonné de la riche collection du British Museum; par M. J. *O'Neill*, du War Office, etc.

"ETATS-UNIS.—Le Congrès des Orientalistes nous a révélé l'existence d'un savant américain, M. *Addison van Name*, qui lit les textes japonais avec une remarquable facilité. Du moins la notice qu'il a publiée sur les sources de l'histoire du Nippon,[1] semble démontrer qu'il est en état de comprendre aisément les livres écrits dans les styles les plus différents. Je regrette de n'avoir pas à signaler d'autre publications d'un savant dont les débuts ont été aussi dignes de sollicitude.

"SUISSE.—Les études japonaises sont représentées à Genève par M. François Turettini, qui consacre de la façon la plus louable une brillante fortune à la publication de travaux sur la Chine et le Japon. Ce jeune savant nous a déjà donné la traduction du commencement du grand roman historique intitulé Hei-ke Monogatari,[2] d'une curieuse série de contes populaires,[3] du roman de Tanehiko,[4] que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de citer deux fois, et des débuts de l'Histoire indépendante du Japon de (Nihon gwai-si).[5]

"On s'étonnera peut-être de ne point voir mentionnée l'*Allemagne* dans la rapide énumération qui précéde. C'est que la science allemande, si féconde en travaux relatifs à une foule de branches de l'Orientalisme, n'a pour ainsi dire rien produit dans le cadre des études japonaises. Cette infériorité

[1] *Des sources de l'histoire Ancienne du Japon*, dans les Mémoires du Congrès international des Orientalistes, 1er Session, Paris, 1873, t. i. p. 213.
[2] *Récits de l'histoire du Japon au XIIe siècle*, Genève, 1871, in-4°.
[3] *Tsuino nigivai, L'activité humaine*, Genève, 1871, in-4°.
[4] *Komat et Sakiti*, Genève, 1875, in-8°.
[5] *Histoire des Taïra*, Genève, 1874–75, in-4°.

ne peut s'expliquer que par le peu de succès qu'ont eu jusqu'à present, en Allemagne, les études sinologiques, base indispensable des études littéraires relatives au Japon. A part Klaproth, qui a passé sa vie presque entière en dehors de la Prusse où il était né, c'est à peine si l'on peut compter quelques sinologues allemands. Il y a lieu de penser cependant qu'il se formera bientôt, dans ce pays, des savants capables de cultiver avec succès la philologie chinoise et japonaise; et déjà l'on peut citer M. *Georges von der Gabelentz*, fils du savant mandchouiste d'Altenbourg, qui a fait heureusement ses débuts par une thèse sinologique.[1] Je regrette de constater que l'éminent philologue de Berlin, M. le professeur *H. Steinthal*, qui avait été un des élèves distingués de l'école française, a renoncé à une branche d'études linguistiques, pour laquelle il avait des aptitudes toutes spéciales.

"On le voit par ce qui précède: la science, qu'un aimable critique français, M. *Ph. Burty*, a nommée 'Japonisme,' est encore une science nouvelle, bien jeune, aux débuts de la carrière. Un immense champ d'exploration s'ouvre devant elle, mais les adeptes sont trop peu nombreux pour l'envisager dans son ensemble. Au point de vue de la philologie proprement dite, de la linguistique, presque tout est à faire. On aurait tort de croire cependant que les pionniers de la philologie chinoise et japonaise n'ont pas ouvert les premières voies. De grands problèmes ont été posés, discutés en partie, même élaborés et résolus. Il convient d'en dire ici quelques mots.

"Durant la première moitié de notre siècle, la langue japonaise fut considerée comme un idiome isolé, que rien ne rattachait aux autres langues du monde. Le peuple japonais lui-même, était considéré comme un rameau *sui generis* de la grande famille humaine. Les idées des philologues et des ethnographes se sont considerablement modifiées dans ces derniers temps. La connaissance de la langue japonaise, en permettant de puiser largement aux sources de la littérature indigène du Nippon, a éclairé plusieurs questions d'origines

[1] *Thai-kih-thu, Tafel des Urprinzipes*, Dresden, 1876, in-8°.

qui, controlées par les donnés de diverses sciences, de l'anthropologie et de la linguistique surtout, ont signalé les affinités des Japonais avec certains peuples du continent asiatique.

"En ce qui concerne la linguistique, la seule de ces sciences dont il convienne de s'occuper ici, on a compris avec raison, qu'avant de tenter de constituer au centre, au nord et à l'est de l'Asie, une ou plusieurs familles de langues, analogues aux familles âryenne et sémitique, il fallait chercher à découvrir les caractères fondamentaux de la langue chinoise ancienne, non pas de la langue des livres qui concerne surtout la paléographie, mais de la langue parlée, la seule qui nous offre des moyens de comparaison avec les autres idiomes connus.

"Cette étude a été entreprise simultanément, en Chine, par le Rév. *J. Edkins*, et, en France, par l'auteur de ce Rapport. Les résultats obtenus par le premier ont été publiés dans la Journal de la Société asiatique de Changhaï ; le second fit connaître le fruit de ses recherches dans un fragment d'une Histoire de la race Jaune, à laquelle l'Institut de France décerna un prix au concours Volney. L'un et l'autre ont exposé la question en 1874, à Londres, devant le Congrès international des Orientalistes.[1]

"Je regrette vivement de ne pouvoir, faute de place, exposer ici un problème digne à tous égards, je crois, de la bienveillante attention de la Société Philologique de Londres. Ce problème ne tend à rien moins qu'à reconstituer la forme antique et orale d'un idiome qui a conservé les traces les plus remarquables des âges primitifs du langage humain, et, si ce problème est résolu à la satisfaction de la science, à fournir un élément aussi neuf que puissant pour l'exégèse des anciens livres sacrés de la Chine, et pour la critique des ouvrages composés dans les siècles les plus reculés de l'histoire de Royaume du Milieu. La portée de ce problème est bien autrement grande encore : elle atteint aux éléments mêmes de la comparaison des idiomes parlés par les peuples de race Jaune, et ouvre une voie inexplorée pour contribuer à la connaissance sans cesse plus précise des livres Bouddhiques ou

[1] *Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1876, in-8°. pp. 98 et 128.

Indiens en général, composés ou traduits par des religieux ou des lettrés de la Chine.

"Ce que je viens de dire suffit, il me semble, pour établir la haute importance du problème. Reste à savoir comment il a été posé philologiquement parlant, par quelle méthode et avec quels moyens on a essayé de l'éclaircir et de le résoudre. Intéressé moi-même dans la question, il ne m'est guère permis de prononcer un jugement. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que sur le point de départ et sur le choix des faits constitutifs de cet ordre de recherches nouvelles, je suis tombé presque toujours d'accord avec l'éminent philologue anglais, le Rév. J. Edkins. Nous avons, l'un et l'autre, discuté plusieurs points du problème, à Londres et à St.-Pétersbourg, devant les sinologues qui sont aujourd'hui les plus grandes autorités dans nos études, le Rév. *J. Legge*, et le Rév. *S. Beal*, en Angleterre, M. le professeur *Wassilief*, en Russie.[1] L'appui moral de savants aussi éminents nous permet de penser que nous travaillons sur un terrain solide. M. *Wilhelm Schott*, de Berlin, dont on connaît les beaux travaux sur les idiomes parlés dans la région chinoise, a accepté de même,—je crois du moins le savoir,—nos doctrines philologiques.

"A un moment donné cependant, je cesse de marcher avec le Rév. J. Edkins dans la même voie. Il ne me convient pas de me prononcer sur la valeur des théories émises par le savant sinologue anglais dans son dernier ouvrage de linguistique comparée.[2] Ce beau procès scientifique ne tardera pas à être instruit; déjà M. Pott a prononcé un premier réquisitoire dans les 'Annonces savantes de Goettingue.'[3] Ce requisitoire est une œuvre remarquable d'érudition et d'analyse philologique. Je regrette cependant que l'illustre linguiste de Halle l'ait écrit avant de réunir dans son dossier toutes les pièces du procès; plusieurs et des plus importantes paraissent lui être absolument inconnues.

[1] Voy. *Bulletin du Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Session de 1876, à St.-Pétersbourg, in-8°. p. 79.

[2] *China's Place in Philology; an attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a Common Origin*, London, 1871, in-8°.

[3] *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen*, 14 et 21 Mars 1877.

"La philologie japonaise a, en outre, été associée, dans ces derniers temps, aux recherches engagées dans le but d'établir l'affinité de tous les idiomes qui occupent la zone centrale de l'Asie. Dès 1861, j'avais signalé[1] la parenté du japonais et de divers idiômes de la Tartarie. M. *J. Edkins* a poussé beaucoup plus loin que je ne l'avait fait, les recherches dans cette direction.[2] A la Session inaugurale du Congrès international des Orientalistes, la question des affinités du finnois et du magyar avec les langues mongoliques et avec le japonais a été posée, et un jeune orientaliste qui posséde un connaissance profonde des idiomes turks, M. *Léon Cahun*, a appuyé l'idée de constituer une famille nouvelle, sous le nom de famille finno-japonaise. De longues discussions se sont élevées, au sein de la Société d'Ethnographie de Paris, sur cette proposition et sur l'avantage qu'il y aurait à repousser en linguistique la dénomination de 'langues touraniennes.' Un savant hongrois, initié depuis bien des années au génie de la langue chinoise, M. *Ludwig Podhorszky*, vient de publier un Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue magyare,[3] fondé sur les racines de la langue chinoise. Je n'ai pas les moyens de me prononcer en quelques mots sur la valeur de ce travail, auquel je compte consacrer une étude spéciale. La thèse audacieuse de M. Podhorszky est, en tout cas, de nature à faire refléchir les linguistes.

"Les problèmes à la solution desquels la philologie japonaise est appelée à participer, sont, on le voit, aussi graves que nombreux. Le terrain sur lequel se meuvent, dans cette direction, les linguistes et les ethnographes, faiblit souvent sous leurs pas. Les conditions de succès sont évidemment très-inférieures à celles qu'ont trouvé, au début de leurs investigations, les fondateurs de la philologie indo-européenne. On ne peut nier cependant qu'au milieu de tant d'obscurité, de tant d'hypothèses souvent insuffisamment justifiées, l'aurore de vérités nouvelles ne commence à poindre, dans

[1] Dans les *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, et dans les *Actes de la Société d'Ethnographie*, t. ii. p. 123.

[2] Dans les *Mémoires de la Société d'Ethnographie* de Paris, t. x. p. 75.

[3] *Etymologisches Worterbuch der magyarischen Sprache, genetisch aus chinesischen Würzeln und Stämmen*, Wien, 1877, in-8°.

cette belle et splendide carrière que la Société Philologique de Londres explore avec tant de zèle et d'autorité."

I need not enlarge upon the value of these reports both to specialists in each language, whether they be advanced scholars or only beginners, and to linguistic students generally. They all indicate definite lines of study, and thus give the young philologist full opportunity of selecting that specialty which suits him best. The amount of work ahead, especially as indicated in Mr. Cust's report, is certainly overwhelming, but I do not think this will discourage us. On the contrary, it must nerve us to renewed efforts. At any rate, no one can complain of want of work, if he only chooses to set about it, and has opportunity of devoting himself to it. Let us hope that the present "research after endowment," as it has been wittily termed, may result before long in the "endowment of research." Certainly such reports as we have been listening to this evening are very strong arguments in favour of it.

I have to return my sincerest thanks to the scholars who have come forward so generously to help me with the results of their special studies, often at a considerable sacrifice of time and trouble. My thanks are especially due to our member Mr. Cust, not only for his own valuable contribution, but also for the great interest he has taken in the organization of these reports and in securing contributors.

I have finally to thank the Council and Members, not only for the confidence and support they have shown me during the past year, but also for their readiness in taking the will for the deed, and bearing patiently with my many shortcomings. Had it not been for the ever-ready advice and assistance of our valued Hon. Sec., Mr. Furnivall, these shortcomings would have been even more painfully apparent than they have been. My only consolation is, that, whatever may be my defects, I yield to no one in zeal for the welfare of the Society and pride in its reputation, not even to my illustrious predecessor Dr. R. Morris.

II.—ACCADIAN PHONOLOGY.

By Professor A. H. Sayce.

By Accadians are meant the predecessors of the Semites in Chaldea, who built the great cities there, founded the civilization of Western Asia, and invented the cuneiform system of writing. This was originally a system of ideographs, which gradually changed into more or less corrupt forms, like the Chinese characters. The new forms were stamped upon the clay so plentiful in Babylonia, and the several lines of which they were composed consequently assumed a wedge-like or cuneiform shape.

The Accadians spoke an agglutinative language, our knowledge of which depends for the most part upon the bilingual grammars and dictionaries, phrase-books and texts, compiled by the Semitic Assyrians. The Accadian word or text is usually given in a column on the left-hand, and the Assyrian translation in a column on the right; sometimes, however, the translation is an interlinear one.

Although the Assyrian rendering furnishes the meaning of an Accadian word or grammatical form, the true pronunciation of that word or form is a matter of considerable difficulty. In the first place, the Accadian characters were primarily hieroglyphic, denoting an object or idea, but giving no clue to its name. Hence the pronunciation of a character in any given instance was left to the reader, who was, of course, supposed to be acquainted with it. Thus signifies "to make," an idea represented by more than one word in Accadian; in the 3rd person of the aorist, however, the native reader would know that he had to read *un-rú*. So the vowels of a root or suffix varied according to the vowels by which they were accompanied, and this variation had to be

observed in pronunciation, though the cuneiform character by which the root or suffix was expressed gave no indication of it. In the second place, a single ideograph might naturally stand for different ideas, each expressed by a different word, and the same idea might be represented by synonyms. Thus the picture of a star denoted also a god, and the representation of two legs might not only signify the legs, but also the ideas of walking, marching, and the like. Hence different phonetic values came to be attached to each cuneiform character, and since the vowel of the word denoted by it varied in accordance with the law of vocalic harmony, even when we are sure of the consonantal power to be assigned to a character in some given instance, we are not sure of the vowel or vowels that accompany it. Thirdly, a large number of objects and ideas could only be expressed by a group of ideographs, and the pronunciation of the word so represented naturally differed from that of the ideographs taken separately. Thus *arali* "Hades" is represented by three characters which respectively signify "house" *é*, "country" *kur* or *mada*, and "corpse" *bat*; but *é-kur-bat* would have been an unmeaning compound to an Accadian. So, again, *mušub* "the top of the head" is written with characters which, taken by themselves, would be read *tik-zi*, and *ebä* "a flood" with characters that would be read *a-dan*.[1] Fourthly, many words were accompanied in writing by a determinative prefix or affix, that is to say, by an ideograph denoting the class to which the word in question belongs. Thus *mā* "a ship" is preceded by the ideograph of "wood," and *tu* or *te* "a dove" is followed by the ideograph of "bird." Sometimes the determinative ideograph will, in conjunction with another, form a compound ideograph the pronunciation of which bears no resemblance to that of either of the characters when standing alone. *Alal* "papyrus," for instance, is represented by the ideograph of "vegetable," *gis*, followed by

[1] So the name of the Euphrates is written with two characters that would naturally be read *a-rat* or *a-sita*. Assyrian glosses, however, inform us that the right reading is *Pur-rat* "the winding water." I conclude, therefore, that the Accadian word for "river" hitherto read *aria* should be *purria*.

that of "writing," *siti*. Fifthly, the phonetic values which came to be attached to the characters were very often abbreviated forms of the full words for which those characters stood. Phonetic decay had attacked Accadian to a large extent, and for the purposes of a syllabary it was convenient to use the shortened rather than the full forms of the words. Thus *eme* or *emi* was "tongue" or "voice"; this was reduced to *me*, and the character expressing the idea received accordingly the phonetic value of *me* and not of *eme*. So the full form of the word which signified "good" or "goodness" was *khigi*; but as *khigi* became first *khig* and then simply *khi* in popular pronunciation, the ideograph which stood for it had the value, not of *khig*, but of *khi*, when used syllabically. Sixthly, it must be remembered that our knowledge of Accadian comes through the medium of a wholly different language, Semitic Assyrian. The phonology of Assyrian was profoundly unlike that of Accadian, and when the Assyrians borrowed the cuneiform system of writing from their Accadian neighbours, they had considerable difficulty in adapting it to the expression of their own system of sounds. The Accadians had no ט, and no ע, and made no distinction between *m* and *v*, or between the hard and soft consonants at the end of a syllable. And yet it is only through the Assyrian phonetic system that we can work back to that of the Accadian. The values assigned to the characters are the values assigned to them in the Assyrian syllabary. We know that there were two sibilants in Accadian, the characters containing one of these being made to represent the Assyrian ש, and the characters representing the other being made to represent the Assyrian ס; but what was the true pronunciation of these sibilants in the Accadian language it is hard to say. All we know is that the second sibilant, at all events, must have been sounded differently from the Assyrian ס; while as for the first sibilant, it is probable that the Assyrians distinguished in speaking between *sin* and *shin*, like the other Semites, though they were unable to do so in writing.

To overcome these difficulties, which beset the threshold

of Accadian phonology, we must have recourse to the following modes of assistance. First of all, there are the glosses which occur from time to time in the bilingual tablets. The Assyrian scribes sometimes indicate the true pronunciation of an Accadian ideograph or group of ideographs by writing it at the side in smaller characters. Thus *a* "water" and *nigin* "collected" form a compound signifying "a pool," but we should never have known how this compound was to be sounded were it not for a gloss which informs us that its pronunciation was *enigin* (W. A. I. ii. 29, 20). Secondly, the so-called syllabaria, in which the ideograph to be explained is put in the middle column, with the Accadian word written phonetically on the left and the Assyrian translation on the right, are naturally a great help. Thirdly, a comparison of parallel passages and a close observation of variant modes of writing a word must be constantly appealed to. In W. A. I. iv. 21, 15, for example, the ideograph which means to "establish" and has the variant powers of *mal, ma, gal, ga, e,* and *ilba,* is phonetically spelt *ma-al,* thus fixing the pronunciation as *mal.* Fourthly, the pronunciation of grammatical particles and suffixes may be ascertained in the same way. The postfixes, which are usually expressed by the ideographs *da* and *ga,* appear as *di* and *du* and *gi* in the gloss *tücündi* "thus," the words *uru-du* "bronze," and *zidu* "righteousness" (W. A. I. iv. 28, 2, 29), and the proper name *Düngi* "the strong one;" while in W. A. I. iv. 30, 1 *rev.*, the word which would naturally be read *mun-śukh-śukh-ges* "they have gone into battle with thee" is furnished with the variant readings *me-sisigg-es* and *mue-sisigg-es.* Similarly the sound of one of the third personal pronouns is determined by its appearing sometimes as *ib,* sometimes as *ab* or *ub,* sometimes as *ba* or *bi.* Fifthly, light is occasionally thrown upon the pronunciation of an Accadian word by the Assyrian word which has been borrowed from it. Thus the Assyrians borrowed *epinu* "a foundation" from the Accadian; the Accadian original would be read *apin* according to the strict letter of the characters by which it is represented; but the

Assyrian loan-word shows that we should pronounce *epin*, after the analogy of *enigin* "a pool," instead of *anigin*. Sixthly, recourse must be had to an induction based upon the general facts of language and laws of phonology. Much use, it will be seen, will be made of this expedient in the present paper.

I do not propose to give an exhaustive account of Accadian phonology, so far as it is at present possible, since this would exceed the limits of a paper and be of little interest except to some half dozen specialists; all I can do is to sketch its general outlines, to determine the value of the vowels, and to form a basis upon which future researches may be built.

(I.) The first and most important point to be investigated is the nature and number of the vowels. The written language, as seen through an Assyrian medium, possesses but four: *a*, *u*, *i*, and *e*; but many indications go to show that other vowel-sounds were known to the spoken language of Semitic Assyria itself, while the existence of ideographs with variant vowels, like *khat* and *khut*, *khar* and *khur*, *lab* and *lib*, *khir* and *khur*, points to the existence of the same fact in Accadian. We shall see reason hereafter for believing that the Accadians made full use of the lips in speaking; hence we should expect to find among them the vowels *ü* and *ö*. This is confirmed by the fact that in the passage referred to above (W. A. I. iv. 30, 1 *rev.*) we have the pronominal suffix *mun* replaced by both *me* and *mue*. We must explain the change of *mue* into *me* by considering that *mue* represents either *mü* or *mö*, and *me* either *mö* or *mi*. Now the following reasons make me accept the first alternative.

No one can study Accadian at all deeply without perceiving that a law of vocalic harmony prevails in it similar to that which characterizes most of the Ural-Altaic languages. In Accadian, as in Ural-Altaic, the accent falls on the root, that is to say, if possible, either on the antepenult or on the penult, and not on the final syllable, as was originally the case with both Aryan and Semitic. It is denoted by the

reduplication of the following consonant (as in Assyrian); thus we have *zälli*, *läkhkhi*, *mü-sisigges*, *citamma*, *gisimmär*, *babbara*. Now where the accent falls on the root-word and not on the postfixes, there is a tendency to harmonize the vowels of the latter to the vowel of the accented root-word, and this results in a law of vocalic harmony. An attempt is made to have the same vowel in every syllable of the word and its suffixes; and where this is not possible, the vowels are divided into two classes, strong and weak, a strong vowel in the root necessitating a strong vowel in the suffixes, and a weak vowel in the root a weak vowel in the suffixes. The strong vowels are *a* (*á*), *o* (*ó*), and *u* (*ú*), while the weak ones are *ä*, *ö*, and *ü*; *e* and *i*, into which *ö* and *ü* pass when the lips cease to be rounded, naturally being neutral vowels compatible with both the strong and the weak ones. The larger number of words in Accadian keep the same vowel in each syllable; thus we have *bábara* "silver," *dápara* "ox," *dimir* or *dingir* "god," *gúrus* "hero," *úrudu* "bronze," *gibil* "to burn," *uru* and *eri* "city," *mulu* and Cossæan *meli* "man." So the suffixed pronoun of the third person assumed the various forms *ab*, *ib*, *ub*, *ba*, *bi*, according to the vowel of the root-word to which it was attached. But where the same vowel could not be maintained, partly in consequence of composition, partly of intractable suffixes, the distinction of the vowels into strong and weak was had recourse to. The vowel of the postfixes had to adapt itself to the vowel of the root-word, and the Accadian postfix, accordingly, though always expressed in writing by the same ideograph, was pronounced with a strong or weak vowel in harmony with the vowel that had preceded it. In the later period of the language, most of the verbal postfixes became prefixes, through the influence, I believe, of the neighbouring Semitic, and the principle underlying the harmony of the vowels was thus thrown into confusion so far as the verbs were concerned. Hence the prefixed suffix was sometimes affected by the preceding word instead of by the verbal root to which it belonged; thus instead of the regular *in-läl-e* "he weighs," we find *babbara an-läl-e* "he weighs silver." The

extent to which phonetic decay had gone in Accadian further increased the confusion.

Let us now return to the question with which we started. The existence of two *u*-sounds in Assyrian, both represented by the same series of characters, is shown by such a fact as that no distinction is made in writing between *û* answering to the Hebrew *shûrek* and *ŭ* answering to the Hebrew *sh'wa*. The presumption thus arises that the Accadians from whom the Assyrians borrowed their writing also had more than one *u*-sound. This is borne out by our finding that, while *uru* "city" (for an earlier *muru*) becomes *eri* as soon as it loses the vowel-sound expressed by אוּ *ú* (אוּר Gen. xi. 31) in Hebrew, the land of *Shinar*, the first syllable of which has *ī* in Hebrew and *ε* in Greek (Σενναάρ), is written *Su-me-ri*. We have many other instances of the vowel-order *u-e-i*, and the inference seems obvious that the *u* in this case is different from what it is in a word like *uru*, and really represents *ü*. This inference is confirmed by several other facts. Thus *tu* "a dove" also appears as *te*, presupposing *tü*, and by the side of *úmu* and *umma* (i.e. *úma*) "mother," we find *ummegalal* "a nurse" (W. A. I. ii. 9, 40), which would presuppose *üme* with the accent on the first syllable. Then, again, there is one *u* which is not incompatible with *a*, as may be seen from such examples as *turara*, *cuga* "sunset," or *duma* (for *dunca*) "gone"; that another is so, however, is proved by the fact that the postfixes *da* and *ga* become *di* and *gi* in the words *tücündi* and *Düngi* mentioned above.

In some of the transcriptions of Accadian words that have already been given I have assumed the existence of the sound *ā* in the language. This may be made clear in the following way. The gloss *e-nigin* "pool" for *a-nigin* shows that *i* required *a* to become *e*, a sound the nature of which we shall have to examine presently. But in a series of words like *ami* "crown," *dadi* "to equal," *arig* "foot," *apin* "foundation," we seem to have the rule neglected. *Apin*, however, was borrowed by the Assyrians, and in their language was phonetically written, not *apin*, but *epinu*, where the first vowel has the vowel-sound of the Semitic ע.

Similarly, by the side of *essa* we find *esse-cü*, while *lakhkha* "pure" appears also as *lakhkhi*, *tura* "to descend" as *turi*, and *ibba* "fury" as *ibbi* (W. A. I. iv. 12, 38). In these cases we have to assign to *a* a power more or less resembling the Assyrian *e* (𒁹) on the one side and the Accadian *e* and *i* on the other, and we are therefore justified in regarding it as *ä*. In this way, too, we can explain the equivalence of the roots *gan*, *gen* and *gin* "to establish" or "exist," pointed out by M. Lenormant, as well as the fact that the Accadian *sanibi* "two-thirds" appears as an Assyrian loan-word under the form of *sīnibu*.

But there seem to have been two vowel-sounds represented even by *i*. While *i* requires *e* as in *enigin* (for *a*+*nigin*) and *eri* (for *ūrū*) or *ü* as in *Düngi*, elsewhere we get *sinik*, *siti* "to measure," and even *zigarū* "heaven," and *tidnū* "the rear." Now *gis* "tree" or "wood" becomes *ges* in *gestin* "the vine" ("tree of life"), from which we may infer that one *i* in Accadian, which we will call i_2, demanded a vowel-sound represented by *e*, and differed accordingly from the neutral vowel, which we will call i_1.

But *e* itself would seem to have denoted at least two different sounds. One of these, I believe, was *ö*. Just as in some cases *a* must have represented *o*, so *e* (*ä*) represented *ö*. Thus from the reduplicated root *dun* "to go" we have the participle *daduná* "marching constantly" (W. A. I. ii. 16, 2, 28) for *dun-dun-á*; and when we remember that the same root in its earlier form *dum* has produced the participial *dudumu*, it seems most probable that *daduná* should be pronounced *dodunâ*. Now, as we have seen above, the name of the "dove" is written sometimes *tu* and sometimes *te*; and since *uddu* "to go forth" (for *údu*) has been reduced to the simple sound of *e* through the intermediate steps of *ud* and *u* (like *u* for *ud* or *utu* "the day," Syll. A. 81), while in W. A. I. iv. 28, 1, 5, the ordinary demonstrative *na* "that" is written *nê* after *udda* (*üdä*) "day," the conclusion is easily arrived at that *e* in these cases has the force of *ö*. In fact, *e* stands to *ö* in the same relation that *i* stands to *ü*. It may be added that two different characters were used in

Accadian to express the sound of which *e* is the Assyrian representative.

I have thus endeavoured to indicate the existence in Accadian of the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, *ä*, *ö*, *ü*, *e*, i_1, and i_2; *a*, *o*, *u* being strong vowels, *ä*, *ö*, *ü* and i_2 soft ones, and *e* and i_1 being neutral. If i_2 had the value of *e*, *e* being the "obscure" *ə*, the vocalic system of Accadian would agree very remarkably with that of the Tatar-Turkish idioms.

Among the strong vowels, however, I suspect that a difference existed between long and short *a* and *u*. While final *a* might be dropped in words like *dūmū-mu-r* for *dumu-mu-ra* "for my son," *un-ma-l* "with my man" for *un-mū-la*, or *al-kut* for *an-kut-á* "accompanying him" (W. A. I. iv. 287, 4, 48), where the vowel must have been short, its length is expressed in other instances by writing the vowel *a* after a character which ends with the same vowel, as in *ta-a* for *tā*, *ta-a-an* for *tā'an*. Similarly we have *gā* (written *ga*+*a*) "to return" in contradiction to *gä* "ambrosia," though the former may have been pronounced *go*, since it goes back to an original *guru* through the intermediate forms *gur* and *gu*. So, too, *dū* "son," a contraction of *dumu* (through *dum* and *dun*), or *cûga* "precious," are essentially different from *cimmu* (*cimü*) "message," which becomes *cin*, or *muru* "the atmosphere," which becomes *mur*, *mer* (*mör*) and *mir*. Like the negative *nu*, again, the verbal modifier *su* when followed by *in* loses its vowel and forms the syllable *sin*, while the postposition *cu* is reduced to *c* before the plural affix *ene*. Ubara-Tutu is represented by *Ὠτιαρτής* (*Ὠπαρτης*) in Berosus, with *ω*, while Cudur-Lagamar is *Χοδολ-Λογομόρ* in the Septuagint with *o*. The latter transcription, if it could be trusted, might imply that *û* was sometimes sounded *ö*.

The vowel could also be nasalised; at all events there was a nasalised *ũ* and *ĩ*, and probably also a nasalised *ã*. A good example of a nasalized *ũ* occurs in the Accadian name of a character which differs from one which has the phonetic value of *dhu* only in having a few additional wedges. The character is called not *dhu-gunū* "*dhu* with

additions" (literally "tailed *dhu*"), but *dhun-gunu*, where we should write either *dhuṅ* or *dhū*.

The vocalic system of the Accadians accordingly consisted of *a*, *ā*, i_1, *e*, *o*, *u*, *ū*, *ä*, *ü*, i_2, *ū*, *ī*, and probably *ā*. It may seem strange at first sight that so many of these vowels were only roughly distinguished from one another in writing. But this was due to the ideographic origin of the syllabary. A single ideograph had to express more than one idea and word as well as different pronunciations of the same word according to its phonetic position, and therefore to distinguish between the more prominent vowel-sounds, *a*, *e*, *i* and *u* was as much as could be done. Even these could not always be clearly marked off from one another, and hence the same ideograph is indifferently *nim* or *num*, *khar* or *khir*, *gal* or *gula*. The same indistinctness is observable in the case of the consonants also, though of course not to so great an extent as in the case of the vowels. Thus we are told to pronounce the participle *dúma* ("going") as *túma* (W. A. I. ii. 29, 28), and *cúgi* ("gold") as *güski* (W. A. I. ii. 1, 111).

The Accadians possessed a whole row of diphthongs besides the simple vowels. The most common are *ae* (? *oi*), and *ua*, as in *zae* "thou" by the side of *zu* and *za*, *acae* "(he) measures" (which may, however, be read *acaŏ*), *in-khigies* "they did good," *guana* "the middle," *uatu* "to bear a child." M. Lenormant[1] has acutely observed that the diphthongal power of *ua* is proved by a passage in W. A. I. ii. 32, 53–55, where we read *lucu atu* instead of *lucu uatu* "the mother who has borne." Other diphthongs that are found are *ai*, *au*, *ea*, *ei*, *ia*, *iu*, *ue* and *ui*, though the exact pronunciation of them must remain uncertain. *Ev*, that is *ŏv*, also takes the place of *ū*, and where the same vowel was repeated for grammatical reasons the two vowels were pronounced separately, as in the participle *gā'a* "returning" or the present *inde'e* "he brings back."

(II.) We now come to the consonants. Here the Accadians experienced a difficulty in distinguishing between a *tenuis*

[1] *Etudes sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes*, p. 213.

and a *media*. At the end of a syllable (unless followed by a vowel) no distinction was made between *b* and *p*, or between either the different dentals or the different gutturals. At the beginning of a syllable no distinction was made between *b* and *p* when followed by *u* (*ü*) or *e* (*ö*), and *g* was frequently pronounced the same as a sound which I conventionally represent by *k*. The Hebrew and Greek transcription of *Purrat* "the Euphrates," however, shows that, even before *u*, *p* was more original than *b*. *M* was not allowed at the beginning of a syllable, where it was sounded like our *w*, and the same character has always to serve for both *m* and *v* (*w*). M. Lenormant[1] has pointed out that Accadian objected to the meeting of two consonants, allowing it only very rarely, as in the meeting of a guttural with a dental (*ct*, *khd*) or labial (*cp*, *gb*), or of a sibilant with a guttural (*sk*) and liquid (*zl*, *zm*).

After these general remarks, the consonantal sounds may be discussed in order. (1). There were three gutturals, the characters expressing which were afterwards adopted by the Semites to express their own *gimel*, *caph* and *koph* (*g*, *c* and *k*). *G* seems to have had a sound resembling that of the Finnic γ or the Arabic غ, or the sound heard in words like *nagen* in Northern Germany.[2] When standing between two vowels it is represented by the Hebrew ע in the transcription of proper names, Lagamar being represented by לעמר (Septuagint *Λογομόρ*), and it regularly becomes the guttural aspirate *kh* (German *ch*) at the beginning of a syllable. Thus the precative particle *gan*, *ga* becomes *kha*, *khuda* "a charm" comes from the root *gu* "word," and *khud* "dayspring" from *cun* "to shine," the affix *dā* being attached to the contracted *cu*. *Kha*, as we shall see, further passed into *ha* and *'a*. The loss of final *g* hardened the preceding vowel into a diphthong as in *gie* "night" for *gig*. *C*, our *k*, might become *g* when followed by *u*, *ü* under the influence of a neighbouring guttural, as in *güski* "gold" instead of

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 39, 40.
[2] The Assyrians found a difficulty in pronouncing the sound. Thus *nanga* "a district" was borrowed under the form of *nagu'u*.

cüs-ki or *cüs-gi*, and *cūga* "sunset" by the side of *gig*. The same change could also take place before *u* or *a* following, as in *Agu* "the Moon" for *Acu*. The true sound of *k* is difficult to ascertain. It preceded only *i* and *u* (*ü*) not *a* unless the latter were pronounced *o*. It was not far removed from the sound of *g*, however, and frequently passed into the latter sound. The Semitic Babylonian dialect was affected by a similar inclination to interchange כ and ק, due probably to Accadian influence. A preceding sibilant hardened *g* into *k* as in the case of *güski* given above.

A curious interchange seems to take place between *g* and *m* at the beginning of a word. By the side of *mal* or *ma* "to establish," for instance, we find *gal* or *ga*, and *damalla* "mother"[1] is also written *dagal(la)* in W. A. I. iv. 9, 24, 28. So, too, an unedited tablet (K. 4604 *obc.*) gives *a-marra* as a variant pronunciation of *a-garra*, the equivalent of the Assyrian *me rakhatsu* or *me sakhatu* "a flood of waters." Probably *g* was sounded in these cases as *gw*, and initial *m* had rather the sound of *w* than of *m*. That the sound in question existed in Accadian is proved by the word *guana* "the middle."

(2). Corresponding to the three gutturals are three dentals, which were made to do service for the three Semitic gutturals; though as the dental which I conventionally represent by *dh* did not precede *a*, the Semitic dental system was thereby thrown into confusion. *T* tended to become *d* after a nasal; thus by the side of *ib-tan-gub* (or rather *ip-tan-gub*) "he caused to fix," or *an-ta-dudumu* "it is constantly made to go," we have *in-da-gal* "he caused to exist," and *ba-n-da-gig* "he caused him to be sick." On the other hand, it would really seem that initial *d* could be hardened into *t*, since we are told (W. A. I. ii. 29, 28) that the participle of *dun* "to go" was pronounced *tumma;* but the explanation of this probably is that the Assyrian scribe had found the word in some text where it was preceded by a letter (perhaps *p*) which had the effect of hardening the dental. Initial *d*, however, must have

[1] The two words stand for *dam-mâla* and *dam-gâla* "mistress of the house." There is, perhaps, a connexion between *dam(a)* "mistress" or "wife," and *dumu* "son."

had a somewhat sharp sound, since the Accadian *Dumu-zi* is represented by *Tammuz* in the Semitic dialects, although the Assyrian equivalent is *Dūzu*. At the beginning of a word original *t* not unfrequently becomes *d*, as also when it is flanked on both sides by *u* (e.g. *sutul* and *sudun* "yoke"). *Dh* bore the same relation to *d* that *k* did to *g*. It could be followed only by *u* (*ü*) and *i*, and before *i* very often passed into *d*. Possibly it had something of the sound of the Hungarian *gy*. It is noticeable that the character which has the values of *dhi* and *dhum* (i.e. *dhū*) has also the value *khi*, though this may be accidental.

(3). Accadian was poor in labials. *P* generally became *b* when followed by *u*, and so far as can be discovered there was no *f*. One of the dialects spoken in Chaldea, perhaps in Sumer or Shinar, was characterized by the substitution of *m* or rather *w* for *b*, as in *ma-n-śun* "he gave," instead of *ba-n-śun* (W. A. I. ii. 40, 76).[1] We may notice that before *b* the negative *nu* appears as *nam*.

(4). No distinction was made between the sounds of *m* and *v* (*w*), at all events in writing, though it is certain that in some cases (as before *b*) the sound of the *m* predominated. Final *m* (as in Latin) formed with the preceding vowel a nasalized vowel-sound; thus while we have *tumma* "going" and *dudumu* "constantly made to go," the usual form of the root is *dun*, i.e. *dū*, which is still further reduced to *du*, unless a vowel follows as in *daduná*. Other instances will be *cimmu* (*cimū*) and *cin* "message," *śemmu* (*sōmmū*), *śunnu*, and *śe* "to give," *dumu*, *dū* and *dū* "son," etc. Between two vowels *m* became *ng* as in Mongol; thus by the side of the earlier *dimir* "god" stands the later *dingir*, and the Accadian *Sūmeri* (*Sūngōri*) is represented by the Hebrew שנער, where the same attempt is made to express the Accadian guttural by the Semitic ע as in לעמר for Lagamar. Sumer or Sungir was called *cengi* or *ciengi* "the land" *par excellence*, and I would connect with the latter another name of the country, Came (*Cāmō*), which occurs in an old geographical

[1] The same dialect also seems to have used *ir* in the sense of "going" instead of the Accadian *ara*.

list. *Cäme* would naturally become *cengi*, the final vowel being shortened and the first intensified, and the suggestion is confirmed by the fact that before *cala* "strong" *cengi* becomes *can* in *cancal* "strong place" or "height." It must be added that the change of medial *m* into *ng* is not always expressed in the writing, simple *n* sometimes standing in the place of *ng*. Before *u*, *m* seems almost invariably to have had the sound of *w*, which, like the Greek digamma or our *Woolwich*, was very often dropped. Thus we find *mus* and *'us* "a male," *müs* and *is* or *es* (*ös*) "three," *mul* and *'ul* "a star," *muru* (in *murub* "the city") and *'uru* "a city," *mur* and *ur* "the liver." It is possible that *man* by the side of *in* and *ana* "king" (literally "exalted one") may show that the same loss of the consonant could take place before *a*. The plural affix *mes* "many" dropped its initial letter when attached to the verbal stem in the plural of the aorist, the vowel (which was probably *ö*) being assimilated to that of the verb. Thus we get *in-śunn-us* "they gave," *in-gen-es* "they established," *in-läl-es* "they weighed," *mu-gag-as* "we made." In Protomedic and Susianian, where the plural of the noun may be expressed by the contracted *me* as well as by *mes*, the initial is similarly always dropped in the plural of the verb; e.g. *turnas* "(they) knew," *cusis* "(they) built," *battus* "(they) obtained."

(5). There were several nasals in Accadian, one of them, I believe, being *mouillé;* but as they are all written alike, with the exception of *ng*, it will be necessary to treat them as a single sound. We have already seen that final *m* or *w* (for the Assyrians represented it by both sounds) became a nasal, and the final nasalized vowel might itself disappear, leaving a long syllable. Thus to take the common root which means "to go," we have the series *dum*, *dū*, *dun*, *dū*. The nasal might be dropped before another consonant, especially if this were a guttural or a dental. Thus *ga-gar* stands for *gan-n-gar* "may he make," *an-ta-dudumu* "he is constantly made to go," for *an-tan-duddumu*, *in-da-gal* for *in-dan-gal* "he caused to exist." I suspect, however, that the nasal sound, though unex-

pressed in writing, was not altogether lost in these cases. Before the labial *b*, the precative suffix *gan* becomes *ga* or more often *kha* and even *ha*, while we find the demonstrative pronoun *gan* becoming *khu* before *mu-n-rú* "I built it" (W. A. I. i. 4, xiv. 1). There is also a strong tendency for *n* to pass into *l*. This is regularly the case before a guttural or a dental, when the nasal is not lost altogether; e.g. *al-gubba* "he fortifies" for *an-gubba*, *al-galla* "he exists" for *an-galla*, *al-dunna-s* "when he comes" for *an-dunna-s*. Similarly by the side of *sudun* "a yoke" stands *sutul;* though this may be an example of dialectic variation, as in the case of *nad* and *lad* "a country." It is probable that to the same cause of dialectic variation is due the varying pronunciation of the name of the Tigris as *'Idikna* and *'Idikla*. The latter was further corrupted into *Diglat* and *Tigris* on the one side and *Dalla* on the other (W. A. I. iii. 70, 47), while the Hebrew transcription חדקל shows that the word once began with an aspirate *h*, if not with *kh*. It is more difficult to suggest a meaning for the name than in the case of the Euphrates, which is written in Accadian *Pur-rat* or "winding water." It is probable that *gan* and *gal*, both meaning "to exist," were originally the same word. I would also suggest the equivalence of *enūm* "high," "lord," *enim* "height," *ana*, *enna*, "high," and *anunna* "spirit," as well as of *elim* or *elūm* "lord," *alam* "master," and *ili* "high." M. Lenormant[1] has shown that *til* and *tin* "life" are both one and the same word. In this case the final *l* of *til* was dropped and compensation made by nasalizing the vowel *tī*, the nasalized vowel hardening into a distinct nasal before a following vowel.

(6). *R* had a markedly rough sound, and we sometimes find it interchanging with *l* at the end of a word. Thus the root which means "to burn" has the double form *gibil* and *cibir*, *gibil* being the one most in use in the standard (Accadian) dialect, and *mal* and *mar* "to dwell," like *śagar* and *śagalum* "a judge," stand side by side. Similarly in

[1] *Etudes sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes*, p. 103.

Susianian we find the divine name Lagamal as well as Lagamar. *R* would seem to be more original than *l* in these words, and in the case of *cibir* its strength has caused the preservation of the stronger *c* (instead of *g*) in the first syllable.

(7). There were several distinct sibilants. I believe there was no sibilant, however, corresponding to our *sh*, as the Assyrians had no means of marking a distinction in writing between *s* and *sh*, though several facts make it clear to me that that distinction existed in pronunciation. On the other hand, the Accadian alphabet possessed *s*, *z*, and two other sibilants, one of which, conventionally transliterated *ts*, could only precede *u* and *i*. This sibilant, therefore, corresponded with the guttural *k* and the dental *dh*, and belonged to the same class of sounds. *Z* was probably sounded like our *z*, and the sibilant conventionally represented by *ś* like the hissing Magyár *sz*. Before certain consonants *s* became *z*; thus we have *ciz-lukh* and *ciz-makh* "a high place," and I am inclined to think that *gis* "wood" or "tree" became *'iz* in Accadian partly through the influence of the Semitic *ets* (עֵץ), partly through the analogy of those cases in which *gis* (*khis*, *'is*) stood before a liquid. *Güski* shows that the change in question did not take place before a guttural. That *z* and *ś* were not far apart in sound may be seen from *śigiśśe* "sacrifice" (*śigiśe*) by the side of *gaza* and *caś* "to sacrifice," as well as from the equivalence of *serzi* and *serśi* "a ray."[1]

(8). The aspirates now alone remain. We have already had occasion to notice *kh* in speaking of the common change of initial *g* into it. As has already been mentioned *kh* in its turn was reduced to *h* and even lost altogether. Thus the precative particle *gan* takes the various forms of *gã*, *kha*, *ha* and *'a*. So, too, *cuba* "clothed" stands by the side of *'ukhba* "clothing," where the participle has lost *kh*, though preserving the initial *c*, and the Hebrew *Khiddekel* by the side

[1] I believe that the Assyrian *cuśśu*, Heb. כִּסֵּא "a throne," was borrowed from the Accadian *guza* with the same signification. The Aramaic *corsai* (Syriac *curs'ya*) and Arabic *curs'ya* which insert *r* seem to imply a pronunciation of *s'* which was hard to Semitic mouths. We may compare the case of the Assyrian *manzu* which is borrowed from the Accadian *metsi*.

of the Accadian *Idikla* is another case in point. *Kh* also fell away at the end of a syllable, *nitakh* "man," for instance, becoming *nita* and even *nit*, *Serakh* "the god of corn" *ser* (W. A. I. ii. 59, 21). In one case we may have an interchange of final *kh* and *p* (like that of *k* and *p* in Finnic), since the same ideograph was pronounced *dikh* when it signified "stone" or "signet," and *dip* or *dup* when it signified a "clay tablet." *Tak*, however, was also "stone," and *takh* (also *dukh* and *dū*) was "brickwork."

In giving this sketch of Accadian phonology, I have often had to notice the extent to which phonetic decay had proceeded in the language before the earliest texts of which we know were composed. This is a point to which M. Lenormant has called special attention,[1] and it is brought out very clearly in the glosses of the Assyrian scribes. There was no letter or syllable which was secure from weakening and loss, and no part of the word from which it might not disappear. As Accadian words, however, were accented rather at the beginning than at the end, final syllables and letters suffered more severely than any others from the action of phonetic decay. I have already alluded to the loss of the final vowel in the larger number of originally polysyllabic roots, as well as of the final *kh*, *m* and *n*. A dental might be dropped, as in *u* for *ud* or *udu* (*utu*) "a day," or in *usû* "sunset" for *ut-su* (*ussu*), as it is still ideographically written. *Uddu* "to depart" was even reduced to *e*, and *ad* or *ada* "father" to *a*. The guttural fared no better. *Gie* or *ge* for *gig* (*gigä*) has been previously noticed, and *khi* for *khig*(*ä*) "good" or *dû* for *duk* "to have" are other instances of the fact. A final *l* or *r* was treated similarly. Thus *tila* first becomes *til*, then *tī* or *tin*, and finally *ti*, while *r* regularly disappeared before a following consonant. *Gargig* "the doer of evil," for instance, was pronounced *gagig* and was sometimes written phonetically, *garnam* "everything" was sounded *ganam*, and *ner* "foot" became *ne*. Even the sibilants were equally subject to the action

[1] *Les Principes de comparaison de l'accadien et des langues touraniennes*, p. 22, and *Etude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires cunéiformes.*

of decay. *Güski* "gold," a compound of *gi* "dark" (for *gig*) and what is usually written *cû* "precious metal," shows us that the latter word originally possessed a final sibilant. So, too, *ciz-lükh* "high place," implies that *ci* "place" once ended in *z*, and *es* "house" usually appears as *é*. The vowel of *ci* becomes *a*, or rather *ã*, in *cancal* "strong place," as a gloss (W. A. I. ii. 52, 72) tells us what is written *ci-cal* should be read. M. Lenormant has been the first to call attention to the fact that the primitive final consonants can be recovered by observing the form assumed by a word when the suffix of declension or conjugation is attached to it; the final consonants being dropped when the word stands by itself, but reappearing before an affix. Thus the primitive form of *kha* "fish" is found in *khana-cu* "to the fish," which M. Lenormant compares with the Finnic *kala*, Lapp. *guolle* and *kuele*, Tcheremiss *kol*, Ostiak *khut'* and Mongol *kal*; the singular *in-sö* "he gave" becomes *in-sümmüs* "they gave" in the plural (W. A. I. ii. 11, 22) and *sümmü-nin* "he gives" in the older postpositive conjugation (W. A. I. ii. 12, 26); and the same primitive conjugation furnishes us with the roots of *khi* "to be good" and *śi* "to keep up" in the forms *khiggi-nin* and *śiggi-nin* (W. A. I. ii. 12, 32). The name of the king who has been compared with the Biblical Arioch is variously written Erim-Acu, Eri-Acu, Rim-Acu, and Ri-Acu, "the servant of the Moon-god," where the varying action of phonetic decay is particularly to be noticed. I would also draw attention to the words borrowed by the Semites from the Accadians at an early period, before Accadian began to borrow in turn from Semitic. These are invariably taken from the fuller forms of the Accadian terms; thus we have *dînu* "to judge" by the side of the Accadian *di* (W. A. I. ii. 7, 32) and *śamu* or *śihamu* "blue" or "brown" by the side of the Accadian *śa* (W. A. I. ii. 1, 178). To M. Lenormant, again, we owe the formulation of the law of broken reduplication in Accadian. *Bar* "to be white," for example, though written *barbar* in its reduplicated form, was pronounced *babbar* and *bábar*, *gargarra* was sounded *gaggar* and *gágar*, and reference

has already been made to the avoidance of a double consonant in an Accadian word.

But though phonetic decay chiefly attacked the final sounds and double consonants within a word, it also affected initial sounds, as may be seen from such instances as the royal name Erim-Acu, the loss of initial *m*, or the transformation of *gan* into *kha* (or *khu*), *ha*, and *'a*. As M. Lenormant has shown, the Accadian *hidu*, "the moon," connects itself with the Finnic *kuu*, the Vepse *kudai*, the Vogul *kolita* and the Hungarian *hold*, and *ukhba* instead of *cukhba* has already been referred to. *Sigiśśe* "a sacrifice," again, can hardly be disconnected from *gaza* "to sacrifice," and *minnäbi* "twice" appears frequently after another word in the contracted form *näbi*. What M. Lenormant calls a "prosthetic vowel" is, I believe, part of the root which has been lost in the greater part of the derived forms; thus the Elamite *esrit* makes it clear that the Accadian *usar* "bank" is more original than the shortened *sar*, and the same must be said of *eme* "tongue," by the side of *me*, or of *rā* "to go" by the side of *ara* and *ir*. *Ugude* "an announcing" (W. A. I. ii. 7, 46) shows that *ügü* is an earlier form of *gü* "to speak," of which *ca* is another form, and the series *enüm*, *inim*, *nüm*, *ana*, and *nd*, all meaning "high," together with the allied *ana* and *na* "sky," *anunna*, *nun*, *nin*, and *ni* "lord," can only be explained on the supposition that *enüm* (*önüm*) or *anam* is the primary form. M. Lenormant's *adu* "a going," is not a case in point, as the correct reading is *ara*, from which was derived *arig* (*örig*) "a foot."

We must, therefore, conclude that Accadian did not make use of prefixes in the formation of its isolated words. In the case of the final letters, however, it is not always certain whether we are dealing with an example of phonetic decay, or whether the longer form is a derivative created by the help of affixes. On the one hand the varying forms *mal*, *mar* and *ma* "to dwell," all go back to an original *mar*; but on the other hand, *dimirä* or *dingirä* "a god," is proved by the cognate words *dimme* "spirit," *dimmeä* "spectre," *dimma* "king," and *dim* "feeble" or "vain," to be a derivative

formed by means of the suffix *-ra*. Our difficulties upon this point can only be removed by further acquaintance with the Accadian vocabulary and careful comparison of allied words.

Before concluding this paper, I ought to draw attention to the fact that Accadian should be studied in connexion with the dialects of ancient Susiana (Susian, Amardian, Cossæan, and Protomedic), along with which it forms a single group. They not unfrequently cast light one upon the other. And though our monuments of Accadian reach back beyond B.C. 2000, they show that the language was already an old one and largely affected by phonetic decay, while the differences existing between it and the kindred dialects of Elam presuppose a long period of separation. We must never forget the extent to which the ideographic character of the writing conceals the real nature of Accadian phonology and at first sight inclines the beginner to fancy he is dealing with a language that resembles Chinese. The influence exercised by the encroaching Semitic dialects had no doubt much to do with the widespread action of phonetic decay.

Modern scientific philology rests upon phonology, and until we have ascertained the main features of the phonology of a language, dogmatic assertions in regard to its nature and relationship are worth very little. Unfortunately a certain class of scholars has been too apt to form hasty conclusions as to the linguistic position of Accadian, and to base an assertion or a denial of its Ural-Altaic character upon a scanty and inaccurate acquaintance with its grammar and a still more scanty and inaccurate acquaintance with its phonology. So far as I can see, the larger knowledge of both grammar and phonology which is continually being acquired goes wholly to confirm the truth of M. Lenormant's hypothesis that the Accadian group of tongues is to be added to the others which make up the Ural-Altaic or Turanian family of speech. Only those who have worked in the same field can properly appreciate the value of that scholar's indefatigable researches, and if some of his statements may require correction from time to time, it is only what must happen with all honest work in a progressive branch of study.

III.—THE GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET. By Frederic Thomas Elworthy, Esq.

This outline of the Grammar is intended as a sequel to the paper on the West Somerset Dialect previously published by this Society, which treated chiefly of the pronunciation and vowel sounds of the district; it will be followed by a Glossary, with which it is my purpose to complete the subject.

The system of Glossic spelling now adopted is the same as that used in the previous paper, to which there appeared a complete key, kindly drawn up by Mr. Ellis, the inventor, and to which all who may find any difficulty are referred.[1]

[1] The following brief abstract of the system will be found convenient. The *Consonants b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n, p, t, v, w, y, z*, and the digraphs *ch, sh, th*, have their usual values; *g* is always hard, as in *gig*; *h* initial as in *ho*! (only used for emphasis in this dialect); *s* as in *so*, never as in his; *r* is reversed or cerebral, not dental or alveolar, and ought properly to be written ,r, but for convenience simple *r* is printed; *ng* as in si*ng*, thi*n*k=thingk; *ngg* as in a*ng*er=a*ng*·*g*ur; *zh* is used for French j, the English sound in vis*i*on=vizh·un; and *dh* for the *voiced* form of *th*, as in *th*at=*dh*at. The *Vowels*, found also in English, are *a* as in m*a*n; *aa*· in baz*aa*r; *aa* short, the same in quality, but quantity short; *ai*· in *ai*d; *ao*·, like *o* in bore; *au*· as in l*au*d; *au* the same short as *a* in w*a*tch; *ee* in *ee*; *ĕe*, the same short, as in French fi*ni*; *i* as in fi*nn*y; *oa* as in m*oa*n; *ŏa*, the same short (not found in English); *oo*· in ch*oo*se; *u* in *u*p, carrot; *uo*, *u* in b*u*ll. Dialectal vowels are *ae*, opener than *e* in n*e*t, French *è* in n*è*tte; *èo*, French *eu* in j*eu*ne, or nearly; *èo*· the same long as in j*eû*ne; *ùe*, French *u* in d*u*c or nearly; *ùe*· the same long, as in d*ù*; *uu*, a deeper sound of *u* in *u*p than the London one, but common in England generally; *ua*, a still lower and deeper sound; *ù* (now used for Mr. Ellis's *oe* No. 28, and *ì*, *èo*, *ŭo*, No. 30—see Dr. Murray's note at the end of this paper) is the *natural vowel* heard with *l* in kind-*le*=kind·*ùl*. It lies between *in* and *un*, and etymologically is a lowered and retracted *i*, as *tùm·ur*, *zùl*=timber, sill. The diphthongs *aa·w* as in Germ. *haus*; *aa·y* long *aa*, finishing with ĭ, as in Ital. *mai*; *aay* the same with shorter quantity (a frequent form of English *I*); *aew*, *ae* finishing in *oo*, sometimes heard in vulgar London pronunciation as *kaew*=cow; *auy* as in b*oy* (nearly); *au·y* with the first element longer or drawled; *uw*=*ow* in

The extreme importance of one uniform system of phonetics is so thoroughly well understood, that there seems to be little need of any apologetic explanation to the general reader for the use of an orthography which may appear a little strange to unaccustomed eyes, but which is, nevertheless, by far the simplest and most easily acquired system yet introduced.

Whenever it is found that the same word is spelt in two or more different ways, it is to be understood that each mode of spelling represents a variety of pronunciation common in the dialect.

As in the former paper, so in this, the advice and suggestions of Mr. Ellis upon the best symbols to be used in writing the peculiar sounds of the dialect, have been invaluable; and, moreover, he has bestowed an amount of pains and labour upon the analysis of these sounds which is beyond my power adequately to acknowledge. Unfortunately, in the present instance, Mr. Ellis has had no opportunity of revising the proofs under the guidance of the living voice; but Dr. Murray has kindly availed himself of an opportunity of carefully

h*ow*; *uy*, as in *buy*=*i*, *y* in b*i*te, b*y*; *uuy*, the same a little wider, under influence of a preceding *w*, as *pwuuy·zn*=poison. *Imperfect diphthongs*, and *triphthongs*, or *fractures* formed by a long vowel or diphthong finishing off with the sound of *ŭ*, or the natural vowel, are numerous; thus *aeŭ* (nearly as in f*air*=fae·ŭ); *ao·ŭ* (as in m*ore* =mao·ŭ); *ee·ŭ* (as in id*ea*, n*ear*); *oa·ŭ* (barely distinct from ao·ŭ, say as in gr*ower*=groa·ŭ); *oo·ŭ* (as in w*oo·er*=woo·ŭ); *aaw·ŭ* (as in *our* broadly; *aay·ŭ*; *aew·ŭ*; *uw·ŭ* (as fl*ower*=fluw·ŭ); *uy·ŭ* (as in *ire*=uy·ŭ). Of the imperfect diphthongs *ee·ŭ* and *oo·ŭ*, from the distinctness of their initial and terminal sounds, are most distinctly diphthongal to the ear, the stress being also pretty equal on the two elements. The turned period after a vowel, as *oo·*, indicates length and position of accent; after a consonant it indicates shortness of the vowel in the accented syllable, as *vadh·ŭr*=vădh·ŭr. As a caution, the mark of short quantity is written over *ĕe*, *ŏa*, when short, as these are never short in English; and it is used with *ŭ* when this has the obscure unaccented value found in *ă*-bove, mann*ă*, nati*ŏ*n, etc. The peculiar South-western *r* must be specially attended to, as it powerfully affects the character of the pronunciation. It is added in its full strength to numerous words originally ending in a vowel, and *whenever written it is to be pronounced*, not used as a mere vowel symbol as in Cockney *winder*, *tomorrer*, etc. *That* sound is here expressed by *ŭ*, as *win·dŭ*, *maar·ŭ*.

going through them, during a visit to the district, in which he studied the pronunciation on the spot; and he has thus been able to decide conclusively as to the physical basis of one of our difficult vowel sounds, about which Mr. Ellis was in doubt. (See Mr. Ellis's notes on the subject, pp. 58, 77, 78, Dialect of West Somerset.)

In preparing this outline, the same order of the various parts of speech has been followed as that in Dr. Murray's "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland:" and it will be found in many points that the West Somerset is brought into direct contrast with the Scotch, by which method, it is hoped, a comparison of these two widely diverging dialects may be more readily made. To the assistance I have experienced from Dr. Murray, and to the hints and suggestions received from him, is due any measure of completeness that may be found in this outline; for without them much of value and of interest must of necessity have been omitted. Dr. Murray has also kindly contributed the notes bearing his initials which compare the West Somerset with Old English forms and expressions, or with those found in other dialects to which he has given particular attention.

In dealing with the Grammar, and in compiling the various lists of words necessary to illustrate it, it would have been very desirable to have rendered those lists complete and exhaustive, by including in their proper places in them all the verbs (conjugated with their past tenses and past participles) which are archaic or provincial; but this could only be achieved by reference to the Glossary, which, at present, is in a fragmentary state, and it has been thought better not, on that account, to delay the publication of this outline for an indefinite time.

It should be borne in mind that when positive general rules are laid down as invariable, they are only intended to apply to the dialect pure and unadulterated—a stranger coming among the people would at once hear all the rules broken, in the "fine" sentences addressed to him; but long experience enables the writer to maintain with confidence all that is here put forward.

NOUNS.

The Plural Number.

In the district of West Somerset we have eight forms of plural terminations, viz. *s*, with its varieties *z*, *ez*, and *ezez*; *n*; *r*; plurals the same as the singular; and plurals formed by a change or modification of the root vowel of the singular.

Plural in *s*

is found with all words ending in the sounds of *k*, *t*, *th*, *p*, *f*; also in *l*, when it is found in unaccented syllables; as in the following examples:—

rùemaat·ik[1]	rùemaat·iks	rheumatic
raat	raats	rat
zmúth	zmúths	smith
traap	traaps	trap
uuf·	uuf·s	hoof
an·vèol	an·vèols[2]	handful
lae·ŭgl	lae·ŭgls	label

Plural in *z*

All nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant, as *b*, *d*, *g*, *l* (in accented syllable), *m*, *n*, *r*, *v*, have their plurals in *z*, as—

pai	pai·z	pea
klaa	klaa·z	claw
skĕet·ĕe	skĕet·ĕez	moorhen
bai·dtuy	bai·dtuyz	ticking of a bed (also the entire bed, not the bedstead)
tuur·ŭ	tuur·ŭz	turf
rúb	rúbz	rib
èo·d	èo dz	wood (silva)
koa·ŭrd	koa·ŭrdz	cord
pai·g	pai·gz	pig
zaung	zaungz	song
buun·l	buun·lz	bundle
gurd·l	gurd·lz (*s* sometimes)	girl
vèo·l[3]	vèo·lz	fool
uul·um	uul·umz	elm

[1] This is always a substantive—*uur·v u-gau·t dhu rùemaat·ik.* The adjective would be *aay bee u-rùe·matuyz· tuur·bl.* The term *rheumatic pains* would not be used.

[2] Combinations of *vèol* have their plurals sometimes in *s* and sometimes in *z*, depending on the stress laid by individuals on the last syllable.

[3] This word is often pronounced *fèo·l.*

chaa·yn	chaa·ynz	chain
púch·ur	púch·urz	pitcher
loa·v	loa·vz	loaf

Plurals in *ez*

are found in those nouns which end in the sounds of *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh* or compounds of them, as *x* (=*ks*), *j* (=*dzh*); also those in *st* or *sk*.

s	fae·ŭs	fae·ŭsez	face
ps	aa·ps	aa·psez	hasp
x	fau·ks	fau·ksez	fox[1]
ts	au·rts	au·rtsez	orts, *i.e.* leavings
z	noa·ŭz	noa·ŭzez	nose
	aewz	aewzez	house
sh	buursh	buur·shez	brush
ch=*tsh*	buurch	buur·chez	breech[2]
zh	een·zh	een·zhez	hinge
j=*dzh*	vúl·ij	vúl·ijez	village
st	vrau·s(t	vrau·stez	frost[3]
sk	kaa·s(k	kaa·sez *or* kaa·skez	cask

Words in literary English which change the final *f*, or *f* sound of the singular, into *v* in the plural, are pronounced by us with *v* in the singular, and consequently, as before shown, their plurals are all in *z*, as

luyv	life	nuyv *or* nai·v	knife
wuyv	wife		
lee·v	leaf	shee·v	sheaf
thee·v	thief	loa·v	loaf
klee·v	cliff	stae·ŭv	staff
aa·v	half	kyaa·v	calf

(See West Somerset Dialect, p. 71.)

except nouns in *lf*—which are very few. These have their plurals in *lfs* instead of the *lvz* of literary English, as

wuolf	wuolfs	*not* wuolvz	wolf
shúlf	shúlfs	*not* shúlvz	shelf

[1] Fox is pronounced by us with the *f* sharp, and the word *vixen* is never used except as an epithet for a woman of bad temper. A female fox is a *búch faw·ks*.

[2] This word in the singular is used to express the hinder part of both men and animals—also technically to the coarse wool in a fleece which grows near the tail of a sheep. In the plural it signifies a garment as elsewhere.

[3] The *t* is only sounded when followed by a vowel. We hardly ever sound *k* after *s*, except when followed by a vowel, and not always even then—as *vlaa·s* (flask), *maa·s* (mask). *Kaa·sez* is more common than *kaa·skez* (see post).

In *self* and its compounds (see Pronouns) the *f* being always dropped, thus becoming *zuul*, the plural follows the rule for words ending in *l* with final syllable accented, and is therefore always in *z*, as *dhai dùe·d ut dhur-zuul·z* (they did it themselves).

It is curious to observe that even those people who have learnt a little better than to talk of *ur-zuul*, *ur-zuulz* (ourselves), would nevertheless follow the rule given above for words in *lf*, and always say *ur-sael·f*, *ur-sael·fs*, *dhae·ŭr-sael·fs*, etc. So also *health*, pronounced *uulf*, follows the same rule, and always becomes *uulfs* in the plural. The ordinary toast before placing the drinking vessel to the lips is *yuur-z au·l yur uulfs* (here is (to) all your healths). This may be heard daily as well in the village tavern as in the harvest-field.

On the other hand, received words, which ending in *th* in the singular, make *dhz* in the plural, as *lath*, *path*, *bath*, in our dialect retain the hard *th*, and make their plurals in *ths* instead of *dhz*, as *maa·ths*, *paa·ths*, *baa·ths*, or else change the *th* into *f* in the singular, and then, as before shown, for words in *f*, they make their plurals in *s*, not *z*, as

laa·f[1]	laa·fs	lath
maewf	maewfs	mouth

Very often this *th*, when it follows *a*, is altogether dropped, and then the plural is formed in the way before shown for words ending in a vowel, *i.e.* in *z*, as *baa·z* (baths). A man informed me—*Dhai-v u-kuut· paa·z rai·t drùe dhŭ kau·ps*, "They have cut paths right through the copse."

Not only do we sound the full syllable *ez* after words ending in *st*, but very frequently we add a second *ez*, as—

bee·ŭs(t	bee·ŭstez	*and often*	bee·ŭstezez	beast
bris(t	bris·tez	,,	bris·tezez	breast
kris(t	kris·tez	,,	kris·tezez	crust
vuys(t	vuy·stez	,,	vuy·stezez	fist

Some individuals use this form habitually, others

[1] The verb *to lath* is with us *laa·ft—Dhu juy·s wuz su ruuf, kèod·n laa·ftĕe* (The joists were so rough (one or I) could not lath, *i.e.* nail on the laths). Observe the omission of the nominative case to the verb (see post).

(especially *vuy·stezez*) emphatically. I have not remarked it as used peculiarly by children or by the most ignorant adults. I do not give it as the rule for these words, but it is decidedly common in ordinary sober talk.

In all these cases the plurals are several and not collective (see Plurals without Change).

A double plural is very frequently used when speaking of several articles which have the form of plural nouns in the singular, as *buul·ĕes* (bellows), *bran·dĕes* (see page 154), *taw·ngz*, *sta·aps*, etc. These become *buu·lĕesez*, *bran·dèesez*, *taungz·ez*, *staa·psez* or *staap·sez*, etc. So also *ae·ûmzez*, *wuop·ensez* (which see after, among *plurals without singular*.)

A few years ago I saw on a board over a door in Exeter—

"Here liv'th a man what don't refuse
To mend
Umbrellases, bellowses, boots and shoes."

Plural in *n*

is seldom heard. We do not use this form so frequently as Dorsetshire *voaks*. Indeed *au·ksn* (oxen), *chik·ĕen*[1] (chicken), (the plural of *chick*—we know no such word as *chickens*), *chûl·urn* (children, see below), and *vraek·sn*[2] (rushes), are all the examples known to me, as in daily use, though I have heard that *uyn* (eyes), *shûen* (shoes), and *oa·zn* (hose), were used in this district quite within "the memory of the oldest inhabitant." We do not use brethren, but *bridh·urz* as the plural of *bridh·ur* (brother). I never heard of either *tree·n* or *houzen*.

Plural in *r*.

The only certain example of this form is in *chûl·ur*, singular *chee·ûl*, which is the commonest form of *children*

[1] Ags. *cicen*, pl. *cicenu*, later *cicene*, *chickene*. When the final *e* became mute, and the plural would have been left the same as the singular, they were differentiated in the Northern and Midland dialects by adding *s* to the plural; but in the Southern the singular was contracted to *chick* and the plural remained *chicken* = *chickene* = *cicene* = *cicenu*. This is a modern repetition of what occurred in much older times in *oxen*, and the German *-n* declension generally.—M.

[2] *Vraeksn* (Ags. *rixan*, pl. of *rixe*, *risce*, Chaucer *rishe*, Gower *resche*, Ayenb. *resse*) is a true *-n* plural. The change of initial *r* into *vr* occurs in several words in the dialect, as *vrak·n*, reckon.—M.

amongst the farm labourer class. Among those slightly above them, with a little culture, *chúl·urn* is the usual form; but the *d* (in *children*) is dropped by every one. *Poo·ŭr blid uur-v u-ae·ŭd sŭ múněe chúl·ur, uurz u-kaum tu lèok maa·yn weesht,* "Poor blood (thing), she has had so many children (that) she has come to look very sad" (? bewitched). With us *doa·ŭn ĕe bleev·ut, chee·ŭl* (don't believe it, child), might be said to any person of whatever age—even to a grandparent; it simply betokens familiarity. Besides this we have the word *toa·kŭr,* which signifies "the wherewithal," either money or food. We have also *toa·k,* which means bread simply. Whether our *toa·kur* is the plural of *toak,* or whether it be allied to the Scotch *tocher,* I leave to others to decide. *Toa·kur,* however, like *money,* would be construed as a singular noun.

Aay shŭd luyk t-ab·m,[1] *neef uun·ee aay-d u-gaw·ŭt dhu toa·kur,* "I should like to have it, if only I had got the wherewithal."

Plurals made by Modification of the Vowel.

Of this form we have no more than in literary English, *i.e.*:

mae·ŭn	mai·n	men
uum·un	wuom·ĕen	women
tèo·dh	tai·dh	teeth
vèot	vĕet	feet
gèo·z	gee·z	geese
muwz	muys	mice
luws *or* laews	luys	lice

From the latter comes a very common adjective, *luw·zĕe.* This is almost invariably the quality attributed to a rogue; so that it may be said to be his own proper adjective.

Plurals without Change from the Singular.

These are again few—

shĕep,	dee·ŭr,	graews (grouse),
pae·ur (pair),	puyp, (draining pipe),	snuyp (snipe).

All nouns, however, when used collectively, keep the plural

[1] Some individuals would say *taeŭn.* For change of *n* into *m* see West Somerset Dialect, p. 17; observe also the change of *v* into *b* in *t-ab·m.*

unchanged, as *U múnˑĕe uulˑum bee gwaaˑyn tu droa?* "How many elms are you going to throw?" *i.e.* fell. *Dhu vrauˑs-l dùe gèoˑd, tl chekˑ dhu buud,* "The frost will do good, it will check the buds." *Baewd u feeˑtĕe puyp,* "About (of) fifty pipes." This last expression uttered alone would convey a definite idea to a native—no vision of Broseley or Meerschaum would confuse his brain, nor would a thought of luscious port occur to him, but only common draining pipes. Other kinds, as *baakˑĕe puyp, brandˑĕe puyp, hauˑrgĕen puyp* (organ pipe), *lidˑn puyp* (lead pipe), would have their regular plurals. *Dree uunˑdid u brik,* "Three hundred bricks." *Aay núvˑur daedˑn noa uurˑĕen su skeeˑŭs,* "I never knew herrings so scarce." *D-ĕe wauˑnt únˑĕe kaaˑs?* "Do you want any casks?" The ordinary plural of cask is *kaaˑsez,* if used severally. *Dhur waud-n bud tùe kaaˑsez u-lafˑ,* "There were only two casks left." *Dhur wuz u suyt u beeˑŭs tu faeˑŭr,* "There were a great many beasts, *i.e.* bullocks, at the fair." But severally *Aav ee zeeˑd dree beeˑustez* (or *beeˑustezez*) *gwaaˑyn ulawˑng?* "Have you seen three oxen going along?" In the advertisements in local papers is nearly always to be found, "a lot of cask," "a prime lot of 400 cheese," "20 cord of hardwood," pronounced *twainˑtĕe koaˑŭrd u aaˑrd èoˑd.* This last example may be taken as a measure of quantity, and therefore it would be according to strict rule that nouns of measure keep their singular form in the plural, as *puynt, kwauˑrt, gyaalˑun, pakˑ*[1] (peck), *paaˑk* (pack, 240 lbs.[2]), *loaˑŭd, aukˑeed* (hogshead), *stĕech* (ten sheaves of corn, Northern *stook*). *Dhaiˑd u-kaaˑrd aul dhu veeˑŭl eenˑtu baewd u vaawˑŭr skoaˑŭr*

[1] Peck is a measure of liquids as well as grain, etc. *Vaawˑur shuulˑĕenz un aeˑŭkur n tùe pak u suyˑdur,* "Four shillings an acre and two pecks of cyder," —the usual price for mowing meadow grass.

[2] The pack (240 lbs. weight) is now almost confined to wool; *teazles* are, however, still sold by the pack. The load for a pack-horse was always 240 lbs., or *twuulv skoaˑŭr wauˑyt.* It is well within the recollection of the writer, when no other means of carriage than pack-horses existed in considerable districts. The pack-saddle was a curiously contrived appliance, to which sometimes long wooden crooks, sometimes small wooden boxes with hinged bottoms, called *duung-buuts,* were attached—the former for carrying hay, corn, faggots, etc, the latter for manure, stones, or other heavy material. The load for a horse, of any heavy material, was called a *zeeˑŭm* (seam), and was always understood to be 240 lbs. In many leases the farmer is still bound to apply "two hundred seams of good rotten dung per acre" before a corn crop. Compare *sumpter-horse.*

steech, haun duwn kau·m dhu raa·yn, "They had carried, *i.e.* harvested, all the field except about four score stitch*es*, when down came the rain." To this rule of measures keeping their singular form in the plural, there are many exceptions; but upon a close inspection it will be found that there is an indefiniteness as to the quantity signified by these exceptions, and hence the words, though undoubtedly measures, take ordinary plural forms, as *vuur·kĕenz* (firkins, small kegs of various sizes to carry the allowance of cyder), *bai·gz* (bags). A bag is sometimes three bushels and sometimes a quantity determined by weight: *u bai·g u aa·plz* (a bag of apples) is six score pounds, while *u bai·g u tae·ŭdĕez* (bag of potatoes) is eight score; *bèo·shlz* (bushels, these are sometimes four and sometimes eight pecks, according to the kind of produce to be measured; a bushel of either lime or green peas is understood to be eight pecks), *an·vèols, aat·vèols, kaap·vèols, paug·utvèols* (handfuls, hatfuls, capfuls, pocketfuls), and all combinations of *full.*

Nouns of space, weight, and number are unchanged in the plural, whether used collectively or not, except *únsh* (inch), which always becomes *únsh·ez,* unless it is used adjectively, as in *u dree-únsh plangk* (a 3-inch plank); *vèot, yaa·rd, muy·ŭld*[1] (mile), *ae·ŭkur, vadh·um, paewn* (pound), *uun·did-wau·yt* (hundred-weight, *i.e.* 100 lbs.), *tuun.* Our ordinary weights are *wau·n tu nai·n paewn* (one to nine pound), *aa·fskaor-wau·yt* (10 lbs.), *labm*[2] *tu nai·ntĕen paewn, diz·n paewn* (12 lbs.), *skao·r wau·yt* (20 lbs.), *wau·n-un-twai·ntĕe, tu nai·n-un-twai·ntĕe paewn, aur wau·yt*; *wau·n-un-thuur·tee,* etc., *wau·yt, aur paewn*; *fau·rtĕe wau·yt, aur tùe skao·r wau·yt* (40 lbs.); *fee·tĕe wau·yt* (50 lbs.), *dree skao·r wau·yt*;[2] *zab·mtĕe wau·yt* (70 lbs.), *vaaw·ur skao·r wau·yt, aur aa·ytee wau·yt* (80 lbs.; see post, Adjectives of Number and Quantity), *pae·ŭr, kuu·pŭl, brae·ŭs, lai·sh* (leash) *aa·fdiz·n* (6), *aa·fskaor, diz·n, bae·ŭkurz diz·n* (baker's dozen =13), *skao·r, uun·did, laung uun·did* (120), *thuw·zn* (1000), *muul·yun* (million). We know nothing of the hundred-

[1] The adjective mild is pronounced *muy·ŭl,* as *u glaa·s u muy·ul ae·ŭl* (a glass of mild ale), see p. 67, West Somerset Dialect. So, in Shakspere, *vilde* always for *vile*; "The King is mad: How stiffe is my *vilde* sense."—Lear, iv. 6.

[2] See West Somerset Dialect, p. 17.

weight (112 lbs.). All these, however, have ordinary plurals in *s* or *z* when used emphatically or severally. For instance, *Aay-v u-zee·d uun·didz oa-m*, "I have seen hundreds of them." *T-l kaw·s skao·rz ŭ paewnz*, "It will cost scores of pounds." *Ur waud-n uun·ĕe bŭ dree un twai·ntĕe yuur oa·l, haun ee duyd*; *bud ur bún maa·rĕed ugee·ŭn uz yuurz*, "She was but twenty-three years old when he (*i.e.* her husband) died; but she has been married again for years," *lit.* these years (see Distinguishing Adjectives).

None of these nouns would be used in the plural after definite numerals, as *tai·n kuup·ul u duuks* (10 couples of ducks). *Vaaw·ur diz·n u brai·d* (4 dozen of bread, *i.e.* 52 loaves). After indefinite numerals or nouns of quantity plurals would sometimes be used, as *Siv·ur pae·ŭrz u shùe·z wuz u-stoa·ŭld* (see post, Strong Verbs), "Several pairs of shoes were stolen." *U brae·ŭv law·t ŭ kuup·ulz wuz u-aar·mĕen oa ut ubaew·d*, "A brave lot of couples were arming of it about," *i.e.* walking arm in arm.

Month always becomes *muuns*[1] in the plural, except when in *twuul-muunth* it stands for a year. *Aay yuur·d um zai· uz ww· u wuz u zab·m muuns chee·ŭl*, "I heard them say as how he was a seven months child." *Twuz twuul muuns ugaw·n, vèol aw·p*, "It was fully twelve months ago." *Een ubaew·d ŭ twuul-muunth wur-l bee aw·m ugee·ŭn*, "In about a year she will be at home again." *Dree muuns ugaw·n kaum Vruy·dĕe*, "Three months ago next Friday."

Of yards we have three kinds, signifying different measures. The *dree vèot* one is seldom used except by drapers; when that length is spoken of as a yard, it is called a *klaa·th yaa·rd*.

A farmer said to me lately in reference to a distance of three hundred yards, *Kèod·n bee su vaa·r*, "It could not be so far." *Bud waw·t yaardz dee mai·n?* "But what yards do you mean?" The farmer was *u beet uv u skaw·lurd*, and so it flashed upon him that I had been speaking of the cloth yard.

We mean a "pole" of 16½ feet by a yard simple, and we

[1] Month is an exceptional word—dropping the *th* in the plural and keeping the hard *s* as above.

often call that space a *lan·yaard*. The same measure squared, *i.e.* a perch, we call a *yaa·rd* or a *yaa·rd u graewn*, the latter most commonly. An acre measures *aa·yt skao·r yaa·rd*, and portions of acres are *tai·n, twai·ntee, fee·tee* (50), etc., *yaa·rd*. A rood of land is always either *ŭ kwau·rturn ae·ŭkur u graewn*, or else it is *fau·rtee yaa·rd u graewn*. *Uw muuch ez dhik·ee vee·ŭl u graewn?* "How much is that field?" *Wuul, ee du mizh·ur vaaw·ur ae·ŭkur n dree skao·r yaa·rd, bud wee au·vees kyaa·ls-n dhu vuy·v ae·ŭkurz,* "Well, it measures four acres and sixty perches, but we always call it the *Five-acres.*" So that when a measure becomes a proper name, it takes the *-z*, just the contrary of ordinary English usage. Yard in the sense of an inclosure is not used; we speak of the *baa·k kyùe·ŭrt* (back-court), while a farmyard is simply a *kyùe·ŭrt*. A stackyard is the *muw-baa·rtĕen* (mow-barton). As in Scotch and English dialects generally, we always construe *broth* as a plural noun. *U vùe braw·th wai liks een um,* "A few broth with leeks in *them,*" is a favourite mess. *Dhai braw·th bee u-bwuuy·ŭl laung unuuf',* "Those broth are boiled long enough."

Of plural nouns we have many without singulars: *buul·ĕes* (bellows), *bran·dĕes* (an iron tripod for holding a pot over a wood fire), (*bran·dĕes-faa·rshĕen*, brandees-fashion, means triangularly), *buu·rchez* (breeches), *tau·ngz, shee·ŭrz, siz·ez* (scissors), *staa·ps* (pair of steps), *skidz* (a strong ladder for loading casks), *pún·shez* (pincers), *wau·yts* (scales, not the weights, these are *wau·yt stoa·ŭnz*), *ae·ŭmzez* (hames, part of harness), *wuop·unsez* (whipple-tree), *kridz* (curds), *wae·ŭjez pún·yunz* (refuse of combed wool), *skemps* (flax tow), *skyuur·ĕenz* (the long grass left in pasture by cattle), *spaa·rtikulz* (spectacles), *au·dmunts* (odds and ends), *ting-kurmunts* (make-shifts), *shaa·rps* (bran pollard, also shafts of a carriage or cart), *au·ŭrtz* (orts or leavings), *rae·ŭmz* (skeleton, also the broken framework of any constructed article). *Poa·ŭr oal rae·ŭmz, ee kaa·n aar·lee skraa·lĕe baewt,* "Poor old skeleton, he can hardly crawl about." *Dhur wau·d-n uun·ĕe dhu rae·ŭmz u dhu gee·ŭt u-laf',* "There was only the wreck of the gate left." *Dhu shúlf' wuz pur·tĕe aa·y*

—*dhur wau·d-n noa·ŭrt bud dhu rae·ŭmz uv ŭ gèo·z twiks dree oa us*,[1] "The shelf was pretty high—there was nothing but the bones of the body of a goose (*i.e.* minus legs and wings) between three of us."

Many diseases are spoken of only in the plural, as *mai·zlz* (measles), *muul·igruubz* (stomach-ache), *strang·lz* (horse quinsy), *muumps*, *chaul·iwaubulz* (diarrhœa), *fŭt·s* (fits), *uy·tumz* (restless antics), *fŭj·uts* (fidgets), *yuur·buurz* (a kind of swelling in the ear), *skraa·chez* (sores in horses' heels), *mai·grumz* (megrims), *wuytz* (whites), *wuy·ul skwuurts* (excessive diarrhœa), *skwŭt·urz* (looseness in cattle), *wau·shurz* (a soreness in horses' mouths), *gyaaps* (gaping, disease of chickens).

Possessive Case.

The possessive case of nouns in West Somerset is formed and used as in ordinary English, and therefore requires little remark. Excepting in those nouns which make their plurals by a change of vowel, as in *mae·ŭn mae·ŭnz*, *mai·n mai·nz* (man), there is no difference in sound between the possessive singular, nominative plural, and possessive plural, *i.e.* three forms having the same sound. *Bwuuy·z huuv* (southernwood) may be either "boy's love," or "boys' love," or "boys love" (fun!) But the word *voaks* people, makes *voak·sez: uur·nèen oa·vur uudh·ur voak·sez gee·ŭrdnz*, "running over folk's gardens." There is, however, a great fondness for the forms *u* (*oa* or *uv* before a vowel) (=of), and we should much prefer to say *dhu ai·d oa un*, *dhu au·rnz u dhu buul·ik*, *dhu taay·ŭl u dhu au·s*, to *his head*, *the bullock's horns*, *the horse's tail*.

This rule would apply to persons as much as to animals; *Dhee-s u-skwaut· dhu ving·ur oa un*, "Thou hast squeezed his finger;" but would not apply to proper names. "His father," speaking of an inferior, would be *dhu faa·dhur oa un*, but we should say "Jim's father," *Jaak·s ai·d*, "Jack's head." It should be noted that the form *oa*, when used with persons, would imply familiarity and something more. It would imply decided inferiority, and would never be used in speak-

[1] "The shelf was pretty high" is a very common saying—to express inhospitality. The writer heard the above sentence quite recently.

ing of a superior, unless it were intended to show marked disrespect.

Two nouns are often placed together without inflexion when one of them is understood to be possessive. This occurs in literary English, though not to the same extent. Example: The *mee·ül-ai·d* (the mill-pond), the *mee·ül-taay·ül* (the stream as it flows out from the mill-wheel), *ween·dur zúl* (window sill), *duurn-blae·ud* (door-post), *strai·t kau·ndur* (street corner), *ruw puch* (the pitch of the roof), *taewn gee·üt, pik* [illegible] (handle of a hayfork), *bruy·dl ai·d* (bridle-head). The use of these forms is quite regular, and conveys to a native a very definite idea, differing from that which he would have if the same nouns were used with the ordinary possessive. Thus the *taay·ül u dhu mee·ül* is the part whence the *mee·ül taay·ül* flows out. The *duurn blae·ud* is the door-post *in situ*, but the *blae·ud ur u duurn* implies that it is detached from the door-frame or *duurnz*. We should always go into a shop and ask for a new bridle-head, but on the other hand it would be as much the rule to say *dhu ai·d u dhu bruy·dl-z u-bruu·kt*, "The head of the bridle is broken."

Again, it would be nearly always said, *dhu ween·dur-zúl du lau·k u beet u paa·yut*, "The window-sill wants a little paint;" but *puut·n au·p pun dhu zúl u dhu ween·dur*, "Put it up on the sill of the window."

This form of the possessive is by no means so general as in the Northern dialect, and the juxtaposition of two nouns would with us only occur in one instance of all those given by Dr. Murray, in his Scotch Dialect, p. 165. We should say *taewn gee·üt*, but *taa·p u dhu ee·ül* (hill-head), *moo·ür u dhu tree* (tree-root), *ai·nd u dhu aewz, taa·p u dhu tree, bau·k u dhu doa·ür, kai u dhu doa·ür, zuyd u dhu aewz, fae·us u dhu klau·k, taay·ül u dhu koa·üt, zlee·v u dhu koa·üt*, etc.

Sometimes the form of the possessive is literally a matter of life and death. *Aay zeed u shëeps ai·d tu dhu doa·ür* (I saw a sheep's head at the door) implies a dead sheep; but the *ai·d oa u shëep* implies a living animal.[1]

[1] In Scotch, on the contrary, a "scheip's heid" is the head of a living sheep: a "scheip-head," that of the dead animal."—M.

When the noun in the possessive has an attributive adjunct, the *s* is very often taken from the noun to which it applies, and tacked on to the adjunct, as *Jan Snèo·k uwt tu Lang·vurdz duung·kĕe*, "John Snook out to Langford's donkey." *Mr. Buurj tu Shoal·dur u Muut·unz pai·g*, "Mr. Bridge of the Shoulder of Mutton's pig."

Sometimes even the *s* is appended to a relative clause, as *dhat-s dhu uum·un waut wuz u-laf· bee-uy·nz chee·ül*, "That's the woman what was left behind's child," *i.e.* that is the child belonging to the woman who was left behind.

ADJECTIVES OF QUALITY.

These are most commonly formed and derived as in ordinary English, and, except in their degrees of comparison, have not much peculiarity in their terminations; but the way in which they are used is often most remarkable, belonging, perhaps, rather to the region of slang than of dialect.

Drai·dfèol (dreadful) is a very common adjective, and used alone expresses the very opposite of dread, *i.e.* close attachment. A servant-girl said in my hearing, *Aay wuz drai·dfèol wai mús·us*, meaning, that I was very fond of her and she of me. The adjunct *-ful*, when used to form an adjective, is pronounced with the *f* sharp, as *drai·dfèol*, *paa·ynfèol*, *aa·rmfèol* (harmful), *shee·ümfèol*, *pai·sfèol*, etc. When it forms a noun of measure or quantity, it is pronounced *vèol*, as *aa·rmvèol* (armful), *aa·tvèol* (hatful) *buul·ĕevèol* (bellyful). *Skan·lus* (scandalous) always means filthy, befouled, but has no moral significance. I was complaining to a man, to whom I had lent a clean cart, of the very foul purpose to which he had applied it. His reply was, *Ee shaan· bee u-zai·n oa·m skan·lus*, "He (the cart) shall not be sent home scandalous," *i.e.* filthy.

Gyaa·sli (ghastly) would be used to express anything unsightly or dangerous; even to a ragged coat or a shabby hat. An unfenced hole by the roadside would be a *gyaa·sli plae·üs*; the look down from any giddy height is almost always described as *maa·yn gyaa·sli*. *Grai·t* (great) is used only in the sense of close friendship. *Dhai bee tuur·bl grai·t* means, "They

are very thick, close friends."[1] The adjective of size is always *guurt* (great).

Much is not often used as an adjective, except without the noun to which it applies, as *dhur waud-n muuch u-laf'*, "There was not much left." *Ee aa'-n u-gau't muuch*; "He has not got much," *i.e.* money. *Smaa'l* is the opposite of *guurt*, and *lee'dl* (little) of *beg* (big). It is difficult to give any rule by which to determine the cases in which these words would be used respectively, and yet their several uses, as employed by natives, are definite and nearly invariable. For instance, we should always speak of a *guurt pĕes u buurd n chee'z* (great piece of bread and cheese), and a *lee'dl bee't u mai't* (little bit of meat); *smaa'l pees u mai't* means a small joint; *lee'dl pees* is never heard. A small man is generally a *lee'dl bee't uv u fuul'ur* (little bit of a fellow). Small and big would generally be used predicatively, as the *rúv'ur wuz smaa'l* (*i.e.* the water was low), the *kau'rk-s tu beg* (the cork is too big). In this way *small* would be used with general or impersonal nouns, like water, crop, sample, measure, lot, etc.; while *little* would be used with all definite nouns, as *boy*, *cup*, *bag*, etc. *Small* and *big*, when used directly to qualify nouns, would usually be strengthened, or in a way doubled. We should never speak of a small boy, and very seldom of a big horse, but nearly always of a *lee'dl smaa'l bwuuy* or a *guurt beg au's*. *Large*, too, is in the same way seldom used alone, as a *laa'rj wuyd bai'd* (large wide bed). A numerous progeny is never a large family, but invariably a *lau'ng faam'li* (long family). *Dhaiv u-ae'ŭd u lau'ng aa'rd faam'li*, "They have had a long hard family," is a very frequent expression of sympathy. *Thick* and *thin* mean dense and sparse, and would not be generally used as in conventional English. The literary *thick* and *thin* would be expressed by *beg* and *lee'dl*, when applied to any such article as string, rope, wire, or rods of any kind. "The thread is too thick" would be *dhu draed-z tu beg*. "The lines are too thin," *Dhu lai'ns bĕe tu lee'dl*. In speaking, however, of any membranous substance,

[1] So in the North, the distinction between "grytt," intimate, and "grait" or "gert," great.—M.

as paper, parchment, cloth, etc., *thik* (not *dhik*, which is a demonstrative) and *theen* would be used, as in ordinary English. They would not be used in description of such substances as glue, cement, mortar, clay, etc., but *dhù glùe id-n stuf unuf*, (the glue is not stiff enough), *dhu maur·turz tu saw·f* (the mortar is too soft). As applied to liquids, *thick* only describes want of clearness or transparency. If it were desired to describe a liquid as having become thick in consistency, *i.e.* in the direction of losing its liquid condition, it would be necessary to use some simile, and in that case thick would be used, as *thik-s trae·ŭkl* (thick as treacle), *thik-s moa·ŭrt* (thick as lard). So of the opposite, *theen-z skil·ĕe*, (thin as workhouse milk and water), *theen-z waw·dr* (thin as water). A thin man is *spae·ŭr*, a thin animal *poo·ŭr*. The true use of thick and thin is seen in the following examples:

Zoa yur zee·ŭd thik, nee·f ĕe muyn vur tae·ŭ[1] *u kraa·p*, "Sow your seed thickly if you wish to have a crop." *Dhu fae·ŭr wuz thik u vŏaks, twuz aw·l tùe u dring·ut*, "The fair was thick of folks, it was quite a throng." *Twuz u thee·n maar·kut, un maw·s aw·l dhu puynz wuz lee·ŭrĕe* (Germ. *leer*), "It was a thin market, and almost all the pens were empty."

Some adjectives are used in a quaintly literal sense. A tenant said to me of his hilly farm, *taez tuur·ubl*[2] *paa·ynfèol graewn, taez su klaef·ti*, "It is terribly painful ground, it is so steep."

Those adjectives which are derived from common nouns have almost always their terminations in *ĕe* or *lĕe* as in ordinary English, as *ai·dĕe* (heady=strong), *vèo·tĕe* (footy, *i.e.* full of dregs), *ween·turlĕe* (winterly), etc.; while those derived from abstract nouns usually end in *fèol*, as *shee·ŭmfèol, kee·ŭrfèol, wae·ŭsfèol* (see p. 157). Derivatives from verbs usually terminate in *ĕen* or in *lĕes*, the former being nearly the same as the ordinary present participle, as *drung·kĕen* (drunken), *zwae·ŭrĕen* (swearing), *slaam·ikĕen* (slovenly), *waum·lĕen* (un-

[1] In this instance *tae·ŭ* (to have) is rather emphatic and implies *to be sure of*. Simply *to have a crop* would be *tav u kraa·p*.

[2] This word is ordinarily pronounced *tuur·bl*, but in this instance for emphasis it was drawn out to three syllables. The same often occurs with nouns.

steady, going from side to side), *vai·nturlĕes* (venturesome), *yuum·urlĕes* (humoursome), *kuum·burlĕes* (cumbersome, impeding). We have an adjective in *l* which is probably derived from a verb, *shuut·l* (shuttle, *i.e.* very active, quick in movement as a shuttle). *Su shuut·l-z u rab·ut*, "As quick as a rabbit," is a very common expression, and might be applied to a man, a dog, or any animal. The termination *lĕes* is not very often used, but in the few cases where it is heard, it by no means signifies the want of the attribute described, as in *heedless*, etc.; but, as shown above in *vai·nturlĕes*, etc., the termination rather corresponds to *full*. I know of only two adjectives in the dialect ending in *sum*: *an·sum* (handsome) and *lis·um* (lithe); *tiresome*, *wholesome*, etc., are not used.[1] We are very fond of the termination *ĕesh*, when we wish to denote an inclination, or a quality short of the positive. This can scarcely be called a diminutive so much as an approach or inclining to the quality described; as *gèo·dĕesh* (goodish), *bae·ŭdĕesh* (badish), *oa·ŭldĕesh* (oldish), *beg·ĕesh* (biggish), *smaa·ldĕesh* (smallish; note the insertion of the *d* after a liquid, see p. 161, Degrees of Comp.), *lee·dldĕesh*, *skee·ŭseesh* (scarcish), *smaa·rtĕesh*, *tau·ldĕesh*, *zauw·urĕesh* (sourish). The same termination, when given to nouns, has the same effect, as *au·sĕesh* (horsy), *roa·gĕesh* (roguish), *bwuuy·ĕesh* (boyish); we should rather prefer, however, in these cases, to use the termination *luyk*, as *gur·dl-luyk* (girlish), *bwuuy·luyk*, *yaal·urluyk* (yellowish). The termination *n*, *en*, or *ĕen*, is very common with us, and is almost invariably added to a noun to denote the material of which the article described is made, and it may be used with any constructive substance whatever, as a *klaa·thĕen koa·ŭt* (cloth coat), *oa·kn kaa·s* (oak cask), *pae·ŭpurn kaa·p* (paper cap), *ladh·urn up·urn* (leathern

[1] The following adjectives would either be expressed by the equivalent set opposite to them, or by some other form of speech, probably a simile, if a superlative absolute were intended:

frolicksome	vraul·ikeen
troublesome	truub·leen
meddlesome	mad·leen
wholesome	uul·thĕe (wholesome seems quite lost)
tiresome	tuy·ŭreen, paa·ynfèol, as u paa·ynfèol daiz wuurk
quarrelsome	quau·rdlĕen

apron), *ladh·urn buurd* (bat), *túm·urn èop* (wooden hoop), *glaa·sen juug*, *kloa·měen pae·ŭn* (coarse earthenware), *uy·urněen bai·dstai·d* (iron bedstead), *au·rněen lan·turn* (horn lantern), *woet·n shee·v* (oat sheaf), *wai·tn brai·d* (wheaten bread), *ai·mpm hroo·ŭp* (hempen rope),[1] *stuuf·m gaewn* (stuff gown), *stoa·ŭněen waa·l* (stone wall), *waeks·n* (wax), *vlaeks·n* (flax), *boo·ŭrdn* (board), *wul·uměen kau·fěen*, *tee·něen tang·kut* (tin tankard).

Only after nouns ending in *n* or *m* is this adjectival termination lengthened out to *een*.

Degrees of Comparison.

These are formed in the usual manner, by the addition of *ur* and *ěes* (or *ěest* when followed by a vowel), except adjectives ending in *l*, *m*, *n*, in which cases a *d* is inserted, as—

tau·l	tau·ldur	tau·lděes(t[2] *before a vowel*)		tall
vèol	vèol·dur	vèol·děes(t	,,	full
kèol	kèol·dur	kèol·děes(t	,,	cool
smaa·l	smaa·ldur	smaa·lděes(t	,,	small
lee·dl	lee·dldur	lee·dlděes(t	,,	little
fuurm	fuurm·dur	fuurm·děes(t	,,	firm
ai·vm	ai·vmdur	ai·vmděes(t	,,	even
klai·n klee·ŭn	klai·ndur klee·ŭndur	klai·ndděes(t klee·ŭndděes(t	,,	clean
plaa·yn plai·n	plaa·yndur plai·ndur	plaa·yndděes(t plai·ndděes(t	,,	plain
mai·n	mai·ndur	mai·ndděes(t	,,	mean
green	gree·ndur	gree·ndděes(t	,,	
fuyn	fuy·ndur	fuy·ndděes(t	,,	fine
dhee·n thee·n	dhee·ndur thee·ndur	dhee·ndděes(t thee·ndees(t	,,	thin
kuyn	kuy·ndur	kuy·ndděes(t	,,	kind
kee·n	kee·ndur	kee·ndděes(t	,,	keen
zèo·n	zèo·ndur	zèo·ndděes(t	,,	soon
vaa·r vuur	vaa·rdur vuur·dur	vaa·rděes(t vuur·děes(t[3]	,,	far

Adjectives in *ng*, if monosyllables, sound the *ng* distinctly,

[1] Note change of *n* to *m* after *p* and *f*. See p. 17, West Somerset Dialect.

[2] When (t or (d are found written after any words in this or following lists, it is to be understood that they are sounded only when preceding a vowel or vocal consonant.

[3] With this inserted *d* compare the literary English *th* in *far-ther*, Ags. *ferre(r)*, E.E. *ferrer*, *farrer*, *ferder*, *farder*. The dialect, apparently, like Tudor-English, confounds *farther* and *further*.—M.

and add a *g* in their comparisons, while dissyllables in *ing* are pronounced *ĕen*, and have comparative *ĕenur* or *inur*, as—

lau·ng	lau·ng-gur	lau·ng-gĕes(t	long
yuung	yuung·gur	yuung·gĕes(t	young
strau·ng	strau·ng-gur	strau·ng-gĕes(t	strong
vrau·ng	vrau·ng-gur	vrau·ng-gĕes(t	wrong
wúl·ĕen	wúl·inur	wúl·inĕes(t	willing
blee·jĕen	blee·jinur	blee·jinĕes(t	obliging
kaech·ĕen	kaech·inur	kaech·inĕes(t	infectious
tae·ŭkĕen	tae·ŭkinur	tae·ŭkinĕes(t	attractive
shaam·lĕen	shaam·linur	shaam·linĕes(t	shambling
ai·lĕen	ai·linur	ai·linĕes(t	healing
slaan·tĕen	slaan·tinur	slaan·tinĕes(t	slanting
vurgiv·ĕen	vurgiv·inur	vurgiv·inĕes(t	forgiving
noa·ĕen	noa·inur	noa·inĕes(t	knowing
wik·ud	wik·udur	wik·udĕes(t	wicked
kaef·ti-an·dud	kaef·ti-an·dudur	kaef·ti-an·dudĕes(t	left-handed
bùe·zĕe	bùe·zĕe-ur	bùe·zĕe-ĕes(t	abusive
kspai·nsĕe	kspai·nsĕe-ur	kspai·nsĕe-ĕes(t	expensive
aak·tĕe	haak·tĕe-ur[1]	haak·tĕe-ĕes(t	active

Adjectives in *ive* are all compared by the inflexions as above, while *more* and *most*, even with polysyllables, are used only to supplement, perhaps intensify, the regular comparisons. The use of *more* and *most* is far less frequent than in polite English. When used with adjectives, they go with the corresponding degree, as *moo·ŭr an·diur*, *moo·ĕes fèo·lishĕes* (more handy, most foolish); but in these cases they do not seem to add any weight of expression, and are simple pleonasms. *More* is sometimes used to express *greater*, as *Moo·ŭr fèo·ŭl*[2] *ee· tùe ù dùed ut*, "More fool he to have done it." *Moo·ŭr roa·g-n fèol*, "More rogue than fool." *Dhu moo·ĕes pae·ŭrt oa-m wuz u-goo·*, "The greater part of them were gone." Again, it is used for *left*: *Dhur wau·d-n neet u beet moo·ŭr*, "There was not a bit left." A man said to me, *Dhai bee dhu mau·s kspai·nsĕe-ĕes soa·ŭrt kun ae·ŭ*, "They are the most expensivest sort (you) can have."

The following are very common expressions, to be heard daily: *Dhu ĕem·puduns fuul·ur*, "The impudentest fellow."[3]

[1] The comparisons being emphatic are very frequently aspirated, if the adjective begins with a vowel.

[2] Compare note 2, p. 159, as to drawing out words into another syllable for emphasis.

[3] Adjectives in *-nt* make superlative in *-uns* for *-untĕes*; *dhu uul·iguns kloa·ŭz*, (the most elegant clothes).

Dhu wik·udĕes luy, "The wickedest lie." *Dhu dae·ŭrshusĕes roag*, "The most audacious rogue." *Aay núv·ur dúd·n zee u moo·ŭr voa·ŭr-ai·dudur fuul·ur*, "I never saw a more wilful fellow." *Ee-z dhu mau·s vai·nturlĕesĕes yuung oa·ŭzbuurd*, "He is the most venturesome young rascal" (whore's-brood, one of the commonest of epithets).

The irregular comparisons are:

gèo·d	bad·r	bas(t
bae·ŭd	wùs	wùs(t
	wùs·ur	wùs·tees(t
mauch }	moo·ŭr	moo·ĕes(t[1]
múni }		mau·s

The emphatic forms *wùs·ur*, *wùs·tĕes*, are the most usual, and almost invariable, when used in direct comparison. *Dhee·ŭz ez u suyt wús*, or, *dhee·ŭz ez u suyt wús·ur-n dhu laas*, "This one is a great deal worse than the last." *Dhai zaed aaw·ur Jùm wuz dhu wúst*, or, *dhu wús·tĕest oa-m au·l*, "They said our Jim was the worst," *or* "the worst*est* of them all."

Ill is not an adjective in West Somerset, but a noun, with some word prefixed to denote a part of the body; it generally signifies a sore or wound, as in the well-known king's-evil. *Bris·t-ee·ŭl*, *uud·ur-ee-ŭl*, *kwaur·tur-ee·ŭl*, are common cattle ailments of a local character. People are not said to be very ill, but *vuur·ĕe bae·ŭd*. *Uur·dh u-bún· maa·yn bae·ŭd*, "She has been very ill."

Besides the ordinary comparisons, we have a kind of diminutive superlative, or something implying a little short of the superlative proper, made by adding *maus* (most) to the comparative; *bad·rmaus soa·ŭrt oa voaks aur dhingz* means not quite the highest class of people or things; *dhu vuur·dur-maus pae·ŭrt oa dhu wai* means not quite to the extreme end of the journey; *dhu huy·nurmaus*, on the other hand, would mean the last of all, as in ordinary English. *Hinder* is not used by us as an adjective, but we frequently use *uyn*, *uyn een*, *uyn pae·ŭrt*, in contrast with *voa·ŭr*; *voa·ŭr een* (fore-end), *voa·ŭr pae·ŭrt oa dhu wik* (beginning

[1] This form is that which would be used alone, as *ee·d u-gau·t dhu moo·ĕes* (he had the most).

of the week), *voa·ŭr kwaw·rtur, uy·n kwaw·rtur.* So also *Ee·stur-een·, Was·tur zuyd,* must be taken to mean the end or side more to the East or West, rather than Eastern and Western. If directly East or West, we should say the *Ee·st een,* the *Wast een.*

Our superlative absolute is formed by prefixing *maa·yn, rae·ŭl, vur·ĕe, aun·kaum·un, tuur·bl, maw·rtul, nae·ŭrshun* ('nation), *krùe-ee·ŭl, nauy·ntid,* (anointed), *shaw·kĕen* (shocking) or some other strong expletive. *Mae·ŭs bee tuur·bl plaï·ntĕe dee yuur,* "Acorns are very plentiful this year." Observe *dee yuur,* i.e. to-year, like to-day. *Rae·ŭl gèo·d tu dhu poo·ŭr voaks,* "Real good to the poor folks." *Twuz u nauy·ntud shee·ŭm,* "It was an anointed (*i.e.* very great) shame." *Dhu graas dŭ kuut shaw·kĕen bae·ŭd,* "The grass cuts very badly."

We have an equivalent of the superlative absolute which is more generally used than any of the foregoing. It is the almost constant application of simile to nearly all the actions or qualities of life. Indeed, nearly every adjective in daily use has its own special one belonging to it, and these similes are so generally used that they may be taken to be the natural superlative absolutes of the adjectives to which they belong. *Blaï·n-z u baa·tl,* "Blind as a beetle," *i.e.* a mallet, not an insect. *Daï·d-z u aa·mur,* "Dead as a hammer." ("Dead as a door nail" is never heard with us.) *An·dĕe-z u gúm·lut,* "Handy as a gimlet." This is a very common description of a quick, useful servant. *Kreo·kud-z u daugz uyn lig,* "Crooked as a dog's hind leg." *Straa·yt-s u aa·ru,* "Straight as an arrow." *Green-z u lik,* "Green as a leek." *Aa·rd-z uy·ŭr,* "Hard as iron." This is spoken of persons or animals, and means hardiness or robustness of constitution. *Yal·ur-z u gin·ĕe,* "Yellow as a guinea." *Aï·ŭrĕe-z u baj·ur,* "Hairy as a badger." *Krab·ud-z u bae·ŭr wai u zoo·ŭr aï·d,* "Crabbed as a bear with a sore head,"—a very common description of a person out of temper. *Braï·dh-z u aa·rsh ĕep,* "Breathe (*i.e.* open) as an ash heap." This latter is a very common phrase, and is said of land when thoroughly tilled and pulverized for a seed bed. *Mae·ŭz z-u shĕep,* "Mazed (*i.e.* mad) as a sheep." This is the

precise equivalent to the conventional "Mad as a March hare." We in the west, however, draw our simile from a well-known disease of sheep, which makes them keep spinning round and round, and when the animal so affected is always said to be *mae·ŭz*. *Rag·ud-z u raa·m*, "Ragged as a ram." At certain seasons of the year the fleece of the ram becomes in a state which makes this simile as apt as it is universal. *Daa·rk-s u baï·g*, "Dark as a bag." *Poo·ŭr-z u uur·ĕen*, "Poor (*i.e.* thin) as a herring,"—the usual description of any very lean animal. *Poo·ŭr-z u rae·ŭmz*, "Thin as a skeleton." *Koa·ŭl-z chuur·utĕe*, "Cold as charity." *Praewd-z u laews*, "Proud as a louse." *Zweet-s u nit*, "Sweet as a nut." *Zaaw·ur-z u grig*, "Sour as a grig." I do not know the meaning of grig, and never heard it applied to any substance or fruit; it is the most usual superlative of sour, and the very name is supposed to set the teeth on edge. *Stuf-s u strad*, "Very stiff." *Stradz* are very hard leather leggings and arm pieces worn in hedging or cutting faggot-wood. A frozen cloth would be described as *u-vree·z su stuf-s u strad·*, "Frozen as (so) stiff as a strad." *Huug·lĕe-z dhu daev·l*, "Ugly as the devil." This is the usual superlative of *ugly*, and the aspirate forms part of the comparison. *Shuut·l-z u rab·ut*, "Quick, active as a rabbit." *Nee·ŭr-z faaw·ŭrpuns ez tu u grau·t*, "Near as fourpence is to a groat." This is the climax of exactness, but it has nothing to do with distance. It would be said of any two things which exactly matched in appearance, or of two valuations which approached closely in amount; or it would be used to express a good fit, or a close joint in masonry or carpentry. *Waï·k-s wau·dr*, "Weak as water."

These similes, which are in daily use among the people, might probably be multiplied so as to include all the adjectives in ordinary use, but in the examples given above are found the most usual forms in which those adjectives here noted are compared in the superlative absolute degree. Observe that the *as* is sometimes sounded *s*, and sometimes *z*, depending on the consonant immediately preceding (cf. p. 146).

Than, after the comparative, is expressed by one form

only, viz. by the addition of *n*,[1] changeable after a labial to *m* (see p. 17, West Somerset Dialect), as *Aay doa· noa, nu moo·ŭr-n dhu dai·d,* "I don't know, no more than the dead,"—a very common asseveration. *Dhik·i dhae·ŭr-z beg·ur-n tuudh·ur,* "That one there is bigger than the other." *Aay·d zèo·ndur staa·rv-m dŭe ut,* "I would rather starve than do it." *Bad·r lae·ŭt-n núv·ur,* "Better late than never." *Dhik·ĕe-z úv·ur su muuch wús·ur-n tuudh·ur,* "That one is ever so much wors*er* than the other." Neither *as* nor *nor* is used by us in this sense, but we should say *uur-z yuung bee yùe,* "She is younger than you." The sense here, however, is clearly that she is young beside you, or, measured by you as a standard. So *ai·z taw·l bee ai·,* "He is taller than he." Neither of these expressions can be taken as a form of *than*.

ADJECTIVES OF NUMBER AND QUANTITY.

Cardinal.	Ordinal.	Cardinal.	Ordinal.
wau·n, wan·	fuus(t	aa·yteen	aa·yteenth
tùe	sak·un	nai·nteen	nai·nteenth
dree	thuurd	twai·ntĕe	twai·ntĕe-ŭth
vaaw·ŭr	faaw·urth	waun un twai·ntĕe	waun un twai·ntĕe-ŭth
vai·v, vuyv	fee·th	tùe· un twai·ntĕe	tùe· un twai·ntĕe-ŭth
ziks	zaekst	dree· un thuur·tĕe	dree· un thuur·tĕe-ŭth
zab·m	zab·mt	vaaw·ur-n faar·tĕe	vaaw·ur-n faar·tĕe-ŭth
aa·yt	aay·t-th	vuyv-m fee·tĕe	vuyv-m fee·tĕe-ŭth
nai·n	nai·nth	ziks un saek·stĕe	ziks-n saek·stĕe-ŭth
tai·n	tai·nth	zab·m un zab·mtee	zab·m un zab·mtĕe-ŭth
lab·m	lab·mth	aa·yt un aa·ytĕe	aa·yt un aa·ytĕe-ŭth
twuulv	twuul·th	nai·n un aa·ytĕe	nai·n un aa·ytĕe-ŭth
dhuur·teen	dhuur·teenth	nai·n un nai·ntĕe	nai·n un nai·ntĕe-ŭth
voo·ŭrteen	voo·ŭrteenth	uun·did	uun·didth
vee·fteen	vee·fteenth	uun·did-n wau·n	uun·did-n fuus(t
zik·steen	zik·steenth	uun·did·n twai·ntĕe	uun·did-n twai·ntĕe-ŭth
zab·mteen	zab·mteenth	tùe uun·did	tùe· uun·didth

lau·ng unn·did (120), thuw·zn, muul·yun.
skao·r (20), skao·r-n aa·f *or* skao·r-n tai·n (30), tùe skao·r (40)
tùe skao·r-n aa·f *or* tùe skao·r-n tai·n (50), dree skao·r (60)
dree skao·r-n aa·f *or* tai·n (70), vaaw·ur skao·r (80)
vaaw·ur skao·r-n aa·f *or* tai·n (90), vai·v skao·r (100), etc.
ziks skao·r (120), zab·m skao·r-n tai·n (150), aa·yt skao·r (160)
nai·n skao·r-n tai·n (190), tai·n skao·r (200), etc.

[1] This contraction of *than* into *an, en, 'n*, like the kindred *ŭt* for *that*, is common in the English dialects. Though similar forms are found in Danish (en, at) we cannot suppose Danish influence in the Wessex *'n* and *ŭt;* and, similarly, we *need* not call it in for the Northern *at*. See also *uz yuurs* for *these years* (p. 172), as another instance of the dropping of initial *th*.—M.

The reckoning by *scores*, as *vaaw·ur skao·r-n zik·steen* (= 96), *dhuur·teen skao·r-n zab·m* (= 267), is much more usual than *nai·ntée ziks*, etc. A bill would be generally made out thus—

"11 score and 14 of Reed @ 11*d*. pr *sheev* £10 14*s*. 6*d*.
3 sc. and 9 Potatoes @ 2*d*. pr lb. 11*s*. 6*d*."

In counting we do not say twenty-one, etc., always one and twenty, etc. If an old man be asked his age, he will say, *Aa·y bee ee·ntu mee aa·ytée vaaw·ur*, or *vaaw·ur-n aa·ytee*, "I am in my eighty-fourth year, or four and eightieth"—the latter to an acquaintance, the former to a *jïn·lmun*.

Waun, and its negative *noo·ŭn*, are used alone as in conventional English, and before a noun the latter sometimes becomes *noa*, though generally it is *nuudh·ur*. *Ee·d u-gaut au·n waw·n shùe, bud noa aa·t*, or if the verb is repeated, we should say, *bud ee ad·n w·gaw·t aun nuudh·ur aa·t*, "he had not got on any hat."

Noa would usually be used with general or plural nouns, and *nuudh·ur* with those of the definite or personal class, as *noa waw·dr, noa zaa·lt, noa shùe·z*, but *nuudh·ur koa·ŭt, nuudh·ur bai·d*, etc. The same distinction applies to *any*. *As u-zee·d uudh·ur kaew kaw·mĕen au·n?* "Hast seen any cow coming on?" *Deds mĕet ún·ĕe shĕep?* "Didst meet any sheep?" Sheep here would be understood to be plural. If a single one were inquired for, it would always be *uu·dhur shĕep?*

Our multiples are *zing·l* (not *zing-gl*), *duub·l, trib·l, dree·voal, vaaw·ŭrvoal*, etc.

Our fractions are more curious: *aa·f, waun pae·ŭrt aewt u dree* (one part out of three, *i.e.* one-third), *tùe pae·ŭrts aewt u dree* (two-thirds), *kwaw·rtur*, or *waun pae·ŭrt aewt u vaaw·ŭr* (fourth), *dree pae·ŭrts aewt u vaaw·ŭr* (three-fourths); *dree kwaw·rturz* would not be a fraction, but would be understood as three several quarters, as of an apple cut in four, or a carcase divided by a butcher.

The distributives are: *waun aa·dr tuudh·ur, tùe un tùe. Dhai wai·nt ulaw·ng waun aa·dr taudh·ur*,[1] "They went along one after the other," *i.e.* in single file. *Dhai vaw·leed dhu aesk tùe un tùe*, "They followed the hearse two by two."

[1] This word is pronounced both *taudh·ur* and *tuudh·ur*.

INDEFINITE NUMERALS.

Suum, zuum, or *sau·m, zau·m, ûn·ĕe, au·l, woal,*[1] *boo·ŭdh, unuuf·, unèo·* (enough), *jich, jish, jis* (such), *uudh·ur, nuudh·ur, unuudh·ur, waun ur tuudh·ur* (one another), *dhik·ĕe dhae·ūr oa-m* (that one, *lit.* that there of them), *dhik tuudh·ur oa-m. Au·l dhu laut* or *dhu woal keet* (both signify *the entire quantity*). So *aul dhu auk·saed* and *dhu woal auk·saed* both mean the entire contents of the hogshead. *Ee urnd au·l dhu wai,* "He ran the entire distance," we should never say *the whole* way. *Whole* would seem to be used with nouns denoting something actually divisible and that could be touched, and would never be used with abstract nouns. "Whole attention" would be impossible as an expression with us; but *dhu woal bwuuy·lĕen* would be a very usual phrase. *Au·l dhu taewn,* would mean all the people in the town; but *dhu woal taewn wuz uun·dur waw·dr* would refer to the streets and houses.

It is most common to place the article before *both* when used alone: *ee tèok dhu boo·ŭdh.* This form is used habitually even by better educated people, as, for instance, in making a purchase, "I'll take the both," = *tous les deux,* which of course is, analogically, as correct as "I'll take the whole." *Unuuf·, unèo·,* seem to be spoken indiscriminately; some using one form, and some the other. They do not now represent the singular and plural; if they ever did so in this dialect, the distinction is now obsolete. After a verb, and when the noun, adjective or adverb is not expressed, the usual form would be *unèo,* but this is not invariable. On the other hand, we invariably keep to the Teutonic order, and place them after the noun, as *mai·t unèo·* (enough meat). *Enough of* is never used. I overheard a man say to another, *dhee-s u-mae·ŭd smĕech unuuf· vur tu pwuuy·zn dhu daev·l,* "Thee hast raised dust enough to poison the devil." *Unuu·f vur a·it* (enough to eat), *druungk unuuf* (drunk enough), *voaks unuuf·, ee-v u-saa·rd unèo·* (he has earned enough).[2] *Jich, jis, jish,* are equally common, but one or the other is the pronunciation

[1] This word is both *woa·l* and *wŏal,* according to the emphasis. Sometimes it is very long.

[2] Compare the M.E. use of *served = deserved, merited.*—M.

of *such*. They are used in conjunction with *as*, and also without, but generally the article is omitted in a direct comparison. *Jish fuul·ur-z yùe bee aw· tu bee angd*, "Such (a) fellow as you are ought to be hanged,"—a very common expression of abuse. *Aay núv·ur daed·n zee noa jis dhing uvoa·ûr*, "I never did not see no such thing before." *Doa·n tuul aw·p ji-stuuf·*,[1] "Don't talk such nonsense." A phrase like, "I wish I had such," would never be heard; we should always complete the sentence with *thing* or the name of the article wished for, as *Aay·d gee úv·ur su mauch vur jish wuurk·s yoa·ûrz*, "I would give ever so much for such work as yours." Neither do we use *such-like*, though we might say, *Aay weesh aay-d u-gaw·t jis dhing luyk. Noa jis dhing!* is the most usual form of flat contradiction. *Jich* generally comes before a vowel, as *jich aa·plz* (such apples), *jich è·od* (such wood, *lignum*); *jich u èo·d* (such a wood, *silva*). The use of the article is decidedly emphatic. *Jich u aewz vur kwaur·dlĕen id-n tu bĕe vaewn udheen· twai·ntĕe muy·ûld oa dhu plae·ûs*, "Such a house for quarrelling is not to be found within twenty miles." Observe the pleonasm "of the place," which is nearly always added in similar descriptions of distance. *Jish bwuuy vur ai·t aa·plz, aay núv·ur daed·n zee dhu fuul·ur oa un*, "Such a boy for eating apples, I never saw his fellow." The article after *such* is wanting in this verbatim example, but it is sometimes used for emphasis even before a vowel—thus making the awkward sound of two vowels distinctly pronounced one after the other, as in *jich u aewz, jich u èo·d*, etc.

Uudh·ur, as already stated, means "any whatever, ever a one," and its negative *nuudh·ur* means "none at all, never a one"; both are construed in this sense, with singular nouns only. *As u-gaw·ût uudh·ur*[2] *paw·gut?* "Hast got ever a pocket?" *Aay aa·n u-ae·ûd nuudh·ur*[2] *draa·p uz wik*, "I have not had never a drop at all for a week." But *unuudh·ur*=*alius*,

[1] Here, where two *ss* come together, as in *jis stuuf*, one is dropped, and the word is pronounced *jistuuf·*. See also above, *aw· tu* for *aw·t tu*.

[2] I suppose these words to be corruptions of *e'er-a*, *ne'er-a*, found in other dialects. "I have had *ne'er a drop*." The interchange between *r* and *d*, *dh*, is well known. In Mr. Pulman's "Rustic Sketches," I find these words written *arry*, *narry*. The result is that in West Somerset *uudhur* represents *e'er a*, *other*, and *either* (M.E. *awther*, *other*).—M.

and *tuudh·ur*=*alter*, are true compounds of *other*. *Gi mee unuudh·ur*, "Give me another." *Wau·n ur tuudh·ur* is simply "each other." *Plai·zur*,[1] *dhai bwuuyz bee u-kik·ĕen wau·n ur tuudh·ur*, "Please Sir, those boys are kicking each other." *Dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr oa-m kaech-n, dhik tuudh·ur oa-m lae·t-n goo ugee·ŭn*, "That one caught him, that other (boy) let him go again." The *oa-m* (of them) is mere pleonasm, but is nearly always used. Observe that *tuudh·ur* is simply *other*, and not *the other*. *Lúm·ee zee· dhee tuudh·ur an*, "Let me see thy other hand." *Yuur·z wau·n, un yuur·z dhu tuudh·ur oa-m*, "Here is one, and here is the other. In the plural the adjective *uudh·ur* is used as in ordinary English, as *uudh·ur voak·sez chúl·ur*, "other people's children;" but the noun form *others* is not used.

Of the distributives *each* and *every* we use the latter only, the former is never heard. *U'v·urĕe graa·s moo·ŭt oa-m du vang ez oa·ŭn draa·p u jùe*, "Every blade of grass catches (*i.e.* holds) its own drop of dew" (compare this sentence in Dr. Murray's Scotch Dialect, p. 177). *U'v·urĕe dai* is a week-day, or *wik·ud-dai* (!) *Neef ee ded·n goo tŭ chuurch een ez úv·urĕe dai kloa·ŭz!* "If he did not go to church in his every-day clothes!"

Either and *neither* are again expressed by *uudh·ur* and *nuudh·ur;* they are, moreover, both adjectives and conjunctions. As adjectives, however, the noun or its substitute is always expressed. *Uudh·ur waun oa-m-l dùe*, "Either will do." *Nuudh·ur shùe oa-m waud-n baeg unuuf*, "Neither shoe was large enough." *Dhee kas-n dùe ut nuudh·ur*, "Thou canst not do it either."[2] *Neither* is also expressed by *noa moa·r. Noa moa·r kaa·n yùe*, "Neither can you."

We have many words and phrases by which we indicate an indefinitely large number, of which *suyt, bwuuy·ŭlĕen, keet* (kit), *mas* (mess), *lau·t*, are the most used. These would be

[1] As before explained, see note 1, p. 169, when two *ss* come together, one is dropped. So here, when two *zs* follow each other; and instead of *plai·z zur*, we say *plai· zur*.

[2] So frequently in O.E. Thus "Exposition of the Holy Rood," ed. Morris, E.E.T.S. No. 46, p. 125, l. 115:

> Þat if þaire men on *owþir* side
> Come for to help þam in þat tide.

And in conjunction:

> *Nothyr* in flesche, *nothir* in fysche.—*Babees Book*, p. 18.

But the pronoun form *owthir*, *awthir*, was more Northern than Southern.—M.

enlarged or diminished by adjectives, the meanings of which would be more or less modified if measured by standard English. *A puur·tĕe law·t oa voaks* means a crowd, or at least a great number of people. *Tuur·ubl suyt oa maw·lskraw·lz dĕe yuur*, "There are a great quantity of caterpillars this year." *Dhur wuz u fuyn bwuuy·lĕen oa-m*, "There was a fine boiling of them." *U maw·rtl keet o staw·k tu fae·ŭr*, "Great number of animals (for sale) at the fair." *Dhurz u mas u aa·plz u-raa·tĕen*, "There is a quantity of apples rotting."

DISTINGUISHING ADJECTIVES.

A, *an*, are always *ŭ*, never *ŭn*, as *aay zee·d u aum·liguus vèol oa oa·l soa·ŭjurz*, "I saw *a* omnibus full of old soldiers." *The* is *dhŭ*, tending before vowels to become *dh-*, as *dh-oa·ld uum·un*, "the old woman, the wife." After *to*, it is often omitted, as *ĕen·t-aewz*, into *or* in the house; *aw·p t-ee·ŭl* (up at the hill). *Daewn tu fae·ŭr*, "Down at the fair." *Aa·y meet-n ĕen·tu maa·rkut*, "I met him at the market." The emphatic is *dhaï·*. *Dhaat-s dhaï· bèok*, "That's *the* book."

Of the special demonstratives we have two classes, which are used according to the particular kind of noun which has to be demonstrated.

All abstract nouns; the names of all the elements or of all substances or metals of undefined shape; all raw materials, and even manufactured stuffs while in the piece; as cloth, wool, sugar, copper, corn, water, air, etc., *i.e.* all such as cannot take *a* before them, may be classed as indefinite nouns, and they have their own special form of demonstrative.

All articles or things of specific shape or purpose, which can be individualized by prefixing *a* or *an*, as *a* cloth, tree, apple, house, table, etc., may be classed as definite nouns having their own demonstratives. The distinction is as follows:—

Singular.

Definite.	Indefinite.
	uz *or* z = this
dhee·ŭz *or* dhee·ŭz yuur *or* dhee·ŭzh yuur	dhús *or* dhúsh yuur = this, near at hand
dhik *or* dhik·ĕe	dhaat = that
dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr	dhaat dhae·ŭr = that, not so near

Plural Definite.

uz *or* z *or* s	= these
dhai·z yuur *or* dhèo·z yuur	= these
dhai *or* dhai dhae·ŭr	= those

As nouns of the indefinite class have no plural, so we have no plural demonstratives for them.

In addition to the above we have *uz*[1] used in a particularly idiomatic way for *this* or *these*, to distinguish periods of time, see the example given in p. 153. *Maa·rĕed ugee·ŭn uz yuurz*, i.e. for a period extending over some years. *Aay aa·n u-zeed-n uz wik*, "I have not seen him this week." Here it is understood that *this week* does not mean the seven days commencing last Sunday, which would be *dhee·ŭz wik*, but for a period extending over a week of time. *Dhai bún u-goo· uz aaw·ur*, "They (have) been gone this hour," *i.e.* for an hour. *Wee aa·n u-kĕep uun·ĕe vaaw·ur uz lau·ng-fèol tuym*, "We have only kept four *this* long time."

The use with us of the adverbs *here* and *there*, pronounced *yuur* and *dhae·ŭr*, in combination with the demonstratives, serves to express fine shades of meaning as to the nearness or distance of the object referred to, which are perfectly understood by natives, but which are far beyond the power of expression by *this* and *that* of received English. *Puut dhis wai·t tu dhik eep*, "Put this wheat to that heap." *Gee dhee·ŭz au·s saum u dhaat aa·y*, "Give this horse some of that hay." *Maeks au·p dhaat dhae·ŭr manùe·ur een dhik·ĕe lún·ee*, "Mix up that manure in that shed." *Dhaat dhae·ŭr*, in this example, would imply that the manure was not present to the speaker. Manure is an artificial compound with a new-fangled name; our forefathers called all fertilizers *dras·ĕen* (dressing). Every kind of shed is a *lún·ĕe*, written *linhay* in local advertisements, etc., except that where horses are shod, this is always *dhu pai·ntĕes* (pent-house). *Droa dhúsh yuur múlk een·tu dhee·ŭz kan*, "Throw this milk into this can." *Tae·ŭk dhee·ŭz pik un tuurn*

[1] This *uz* is very frequently contracted into *-z*. In rapid speech many individuals would pronounce the above *ugee·ŭn-z yuurz*, *u-zeed-n-z wik*, *vaaw·ur-z lau·ng fèol*. *Long* when used with *time* is generally *lau·ng fèol*. *Uz* is often similarly contracted when it stands for the possessive *his*. See Possessive Pronouns, p. 182.

oa·cur dhúsh yuur duung. Tae·ŭk dhee·ŭz shuw·ul un muuv dhee·ŭz eep oa duurt, "Take this shovel and move this heap of dirt" (*i.e.* soil). *Dhik*, or *dhik·ĕe*, corresponds almost precisely to Latin *iste*, and *dhik dhae·ŭr*, or *dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr*, to Latin *ille*. *Lat dhu kaa·fmdur puut dhik stae·ŭl een·tu dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr maup,* "Let the carpenter put that handle into that (yonder) mop." *Wuur-s git dhik aa·pl? uwt oa dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr au·rchet?* "Where didst get that apple? out of that orchard?" *Ee-kn ae·ŭ dhèo·z yuur tae·ŭdĕes ur dhai dhae·ŭr, weech ĕe wuul,* "You can have these potatoes or those, which you will." *Dhai dhae·ŭr bwuuyz-v u-toa·ŭrd dhèo·z yuur ween·durz,* "Those boys have broken these windows." *Vach dhaat dhae·ŭr èo·d uwai· vrum dhik·ĕe èo·d,* "Fetch that (faggot) wood away from that wood." Here, of course, one *èo·d* is definite, the other indefinite. *Wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr gèo·d zee·ŭd haut ĕe puut een·tu dhik·ĕe vee·ŭl oa graewn?* "Was that good seed which (what) you put into that field?" *Dhèo·z pai·z bee fuyn·dur-n dhai,* "These peas are finer than those." *Dhúsh yuur graewn-z brai·dhur-n dhaat dhae·ŭr,* "This soil is more tilled, *i.e.* opener than that." *Dhaat dhae·ŭr* is used with anything of the indefinite sort, as corn, grass, lime, to denote its position as more remote than *dhúsh yuur*, i.e. close at hand. In speaking, however, even of any defined article, as a book, a key, or a man, if altogether absent, we should use *dhaat dhae·ŭr*. *Aa·v ĕe zeed dhaat dhae·ŭr nai·v oa muyn?* "Have you seen that knife of mine?" *Ue wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr mae·ŭn?* "Who was that man?" *Aay kèodn kaech dhaat dhae·ŭr koalt,* "I could not catch that colt." In the same manner *dhai dhae·ŭr* would be used of things absent. *V-ĕe*[1] *zoa·ld dhai dhae·ŭr buul·iks?* "Have you sold those bullocks?" referring to some that had been previously spoken of, but not now present. The same form of speech might, however, be used with reference to things present, yet, from the gesture or intonation of the speaker, he would not be misunderstood.

We never use the form *them* or *thesem* as demonstratives.

[1] *Have* and *hast* are very frequently contracted into *v* as above, and *s*—both when beginning a question and when used affirmatively, as *s-u-gaut dhee wae·ŭjez?* "Hast got thy wages?" (See Auxiliary Verbs.)

Unlike the Dorset, "I think *them* housen better than theäsem," we should say, *Aay du dhingk dhai aewz·ez bee bad·r-n dhai·z yuur·*.

In cases where *those* forms the antecedent to a relative, we always say *dhai*. *Dhai dhut dùed ut ul ae·ŭ tu paa·y vaur ut*, "Those who did it will have to pay for it." *Dhur-z dhai kun tuul ee au·l ubaew·d ut*, "There are those (who) can tell you all about it." Observe the omission of the relative (see post). When *dhis* or *dhee·ŭz*, *dhik* or *dhaat*, are used alone, the distinction between the kind of thing referred to is still carefully maintained. Of a knife it would be said, *Dhee·ŭz*, or *dhik·ĕe-z muyn*, "This or that is mine." But of a quantity of hay or corn, or any substance of undefined shape, it would be said, *dhúsh yuur-z* or *dhaat dhae·ŭr-z yoa·ŭrz*.

But when the noun, whatever be its quality or number, has been already mentioned, or is to be named, in the same sentence, it is referred to by the neuter or indefinite form of the demonstrative *dhaat*, *dhis*, and not *dhik*, *dhee·ŭz*, as *ùe·z au·s ez dhaat?* "Whose horse is *that?*" *ùe·z bèo·ts ez dhaat?* "Whose boots *is that?*" *ez dhaat dhae·ŭr yoa·ŭr chúl·urn?* "Is *that* your children?" Compare the German use of the neuter, in *Wessen Hund ist* das? *Wessen Stiefeln sind* das? *Sind* das *Ihre Kinder?* And the French invariable *cela* or *ça*: *Ces enfants sont heureux*, cela *ne fait que jouer*. Ça *n'a plus d'autre père que le bon Dieu!*

PRONOUNS.

The use of the pronoun of the third person resembles that of the demonstrative adjective, with respect to the class of noun for which it is substituted. Every class or definite noun, *i.e.* the name of a thing or object which has a shape of its own, whether alive or dead, is either masculine or feminine, but nearly always the former; indeed, the feminine pronouns may be taken as used only with respect to persons. For instance, in chaffering for a sow, it would be said, *Wuul, neef tez· u zuw, ee ul git au·n*, "Well, if it is a sow, *he* will get on," *i.e.* get fat. *Dhae·ŭr nuw! dhee-s u-taord dhu púch·ur. Noa aay aa·nt, ee-z*

uun·ĕe u-krae·ŭz, "There, now! thou hast broken (torn) the pitcher. No, I have not, *he* is only crazed," *i.e.* cracked. A tool, book, house, coat, cat, letter, etc., are all spoken of as *he*. Sometimes even for a woman the pronoun *he* is used; for example, a man said to me of his daughter, in recommending her as a servant, *Uur-z u maa·yn guurt strau·ng maa·yd, ai ai·z*, "*Her's* a main great strong maid, *he* is." But *uur ai·z* would be more common.

It is simply an impersonal or abstract pronoun, used to express either an action or a noun of the undefined sort, as cloth in the quantity, water, snow, air, etc. *Aay núv·ur ded·n noa ut zu koa·l*, "I never knew *it* (the weather) so cold." *Lat dhu haa·y buyd, t-l druw·ĕe*, "Let the hay stay, *it* will get dry." *Lat dhu koa·ŭt buyd gin ee-v u-druw·ud*, "Let the coat stay until *he* has become dry." *T-wau·dn gèo·d dringk*, "It was not good drink," *i.e.* beer. *Dhee kas-n kau·m ut*, "Thou canst not do *it*." We also frequently use *it* instead of *them* as a plural, especially when referring to a number of objects of the same kind, as *Ted·n noa yùes vur tu kĕep u paa·sl u dhingz un staa·rv ut*, "It is no use to keep a parcel of things, *i.e.* live stock, and starve *it*," i.e. them.

The Personal Pronouns are—

		1 Sing.	1 Pl.	2 Sing.	2 Pl.
Nom.	full	aa·y, aa·	wee·	dhee·	yùe
	unemphatic	aay, aa, ŭ	wĕe	dhĕe	ĕe[1]
	interrog. enclitic	ŭr, ĕes	ŭs, ŭr	dhee	ĕe, ŭr
	unconnected	mee	uus	dhee·	yùe
Obj.	unemphatic	mĕe, mŭ	us, s,	dhĕe, dhŭ	ĕe
	emphatic or prepositional	mee, aa·y	wee, uus	dhee·	yùe

		3 m. and n. def.	3 f.	3 n. indef.	3 Pl.
Nom.	full	ee·, ai·	uur	...	dhai
	unemph.	ee, ai, ŭ	ŭr, ŭ	t, ut	dhăi
	interrog. encl.	ŭ, ur	ŭr, ŭ	ŭt	ŭm
	unconnected	ee·	uur	...	dhai
Obj.	unemph.	ŭn, n(m)	ŭr	ŭt	um, m
	emphatic prep.	ee·	shee·	...	dhai

[1] The short marks here used to show clearly the quantity are not always used in the text. The second person plural has generally been written *ĕe* to distinguish it from the third person singular, inasmuch as, though alike in quality, the former is shorter.

The first two forms are used when the nominative stands before its verb, with or without emphasis, as '*you* went,' 'you went'; the third after a verb interrogatively, as 'did you?' its second variety in the interrogative ending of a sentence, as 'I am going, am not I?' 'he went, did he?'; the *unconnected* as in 'who went? I? 'you and I'; the *objective unemphatic*, as in 'I saw you'; the emphatic, as in 'I saw *you*,' or after a preposition, as 'he took it from *her*.'

The regular form of the nominative first person is *aay* (or *aa* when followed by *l*, as *aa·l git-n vau·r-ĕe, aay wuol·*, "I'll get it for you, I will"), except in interrogative phrases, or the question after an assertion, as *Aa·y kn ab-m, kaa·n ĕes?* "I can have it, can I not?" Observe the *aay* here is emphatic. *Bee gwaa·yn, bae·ŭn ĕes?* "I am going, am I not?" In this we have an example of the very frequent omission of the pronoun; when the sentence begins with a verb, the pronoun, whether personal or impersonal, is usually dropped. *Kèo·d-n dùe ut, kèo·d-n ur?* "(One) could not do it, couldn't one?" *Kaa·n tuul·ĕe*, "I cannot tell you." *Wau·dn ae·ŭbl tùe, wau·z-ur?* "*He* was not able, was he?" *Paa·s lau·ng dhik wai, ded·n-um?* "They passed along that way, did they not?" The form *ĕes* given above, in *bae·ŭn ees?* has been often written *ice*, and considered a trace of the *ich*, *utchy*, *ch*, about which so much has been said by Jennings and others; but as here used it seems to be only the plural, instead of the singular. Precisely as in ordinary school-boy talk, "let's see, let's look," is said for "let me look," so, *kaa·n-ĕes* would be "can't us." Since this paper was written, I have ascertained that in a small district containing two or three villages—among which is Kingsbury, giving its name to a very large Hundred in the old county maps—the use of *utch* for I is still common; there they still say, *uuch un uum-l goa*, "I and he will go." This very limited district is far beyond the Parrett, and lies close to Hamdon Hill, the sharp peak above Montacute.[1] Again,

[1] See the Appendix to Prince L. L. Bonaparte's paper "On the Dialects of Monmouthshire, Herefordshire," etc., read before the Philol. Soc. April 7, 1876 (*Phil. Trans.* 1875–6, pp. 570–581), proofs of which have reached me since the above was

ur is used interrogatively for the nominative *I*, both instead of *ĕes* when final, and when followed by other words, in which case *ĕes* is seldom used, as *Aa·l vach·n, shaa·l uur?* "I will fetch it, shall I?" *Shl ur zai·n vau·rn?* "Shall I send for it?" *Muus·n ur goo·?* "Must I not go?"

The objective *mee* is the most usual, but in the hill-country and towards North Devon the form *mŭ* is quite general; both these forms are unemphatic. Emphasis is usually given by intonation, and I have even heard the short *mu* emphasized. Occasionally *Aay* is used in the objective case, but by individuals only, and it is not the rule, as *Gee aay dhik*, "Give I that." *Lat aay ab-m*, "Let I have it." We should never say "give it to I," but always "to me." Again, *mee* corresponds to French *moi*. Who is there? Me. Who did that? *twau·d-n mee, twuz ee·*.

The second person singular is most generally used by seniors to their juniors, by boys to each other, and by farmers to their servants or labourers. It is used to express anger, contempt, and also endearment, but it usually implies much familiarity, and would never, except for intentional impertinence, be used by an inferior; but its form is always *dhee;* *thou* is never heard. *Dhu* (thee) is again rather more heard in North Devon than with us.

In the 3rd person *ee* and *ai* are simply individual varieties, but when emphatic, I have only heard *ee*. *Uur* or *ur* is the usual feminine third person singular, both nominative and objective, but *shee* is the emphatic objective. *Ee* and *ur* are both sometimes contracted into *u*. See example, Past Aff. of *Will*, p. 204.

Ur wid·n lat uur· ab-m, bud ur gid-n tu shee·, "She would not let her have it, but she gave it to *she*," i.e. a third female. *Ur* is constantly, indeed always, used for *he* interrogatively, except when particular emphasis is required, as *Ee oa·n dùe*

printed, in which the author gives his personal testimony to the existence of *utch*, *utchy*, in the same district; also Mr. Pulman's "Rustic Sketches," London, J. R. Smith, 1871, p. 153, the only note upon which I would make is that "*Ise try*" in the Shakspere quotation does not mean *I* try, but *I shall* try. In reference to the result of the Prince's investigations on "*ize, ise, ees*, for I," I can only repeat that in this dialect *ĕes* is only used, as shown above, interrogatively and finally, and that its connexion with *ich* is very doubtful.

ut, wuol ur? "He will not do it, will he?" *Ad-ur bin u-waw·ytěen vuur·ěe laung?* "Had he been waiting very long?" *Wuz ee· dhu mae·ŭn?* "Was *he* the man?"

Our objective *him* is always *un, n,* unless it is emphatic, when it is *ee,* and unless (see W. S. D. p. 17) it follows *p, b, f,* when it becomes *m: Tuul-n tu staa·p-m,* "Tell him to stop him." *Gee un uz muun·ěe,* "Give him his money." *Dhai núv·ur spoak tùe un,* "They never spoke to him." *Uur ded·n zai noa·ŭrt tŭ ee·,* "She did not say anything to *he.*"

Our first person nominative plural is commonly *wee,* and, unlike Devonshire, *us* is seldom used, except interrogatively, as: *Shl-uus bee-n tuym?* "Shall we be in time?" *Wee* is also the emphatic objective. *Muyn un zai·n un tu wee·,* "Mind and send it to *us.*" In an interrogative phrase, at the end of a sentence, *ur* even is used for *we,* as *Lat-s goo, shaal-ur?* "Let us go, shall we?" *Lat-s ae·ŭ-r voa·r-nèonz tu wauns,* "Let us have our lunch at once."

Yùe is emphatic, the common form being *ěe* (=ye). *Ee ded·n zai zoa, ded ěe?* "You did not say so, did you?" *Wuz ut yùe aay zeed, ur yur bridh·ur?* "Was it you I saw, or your brother?" *Ur* is also used for *you* interrogatively, as well as for *he. Yùe muyn dhaa·t naew, wŭol·ur?* "You mind that now, will you?" *An oa·vur dhik eks, wŭol·ur?* "Hand over that axe, will you?" *Yùe un mee bee dhu bwuuyz,* "You and *me* are the boys." *Dhai un uus wai·n tugadh·ur,* "They and *us* went together." *Mee! aay bae·ŭn gwaa·yn,* "Me! I am not going." *T-waw·dn ee·, twuz mee·,* "It was not he, it was me." *T-wuz uur·, twaw·dn mee,* "It was *her,* not me." (With the following compare Dr. Murray's Scotch, p. 191.) *Gi-m·ěe yur an·. Tuul měe aw·l u-baewd ut. Ee aa·t mee een dhu ai·d. Dhaa·t dhae·ŭr wuz u bae·ŭd jaw·b vaw·r ěe. Aay zeed dhu boo·ŭdh oa ěe,* or *Aai zee·d ěe boo·ŭdh. Ded ěe yuur-n? Aav ěe u-yuurd ut. Wid ěe noa· un, neef· ěe zee·dn? Puut dhu kuuv·ur paun· un. Dhur id·n noa·ŭrt een· ut. Gee ur ur jùez. Lat· ur goo law·ng. Bring us u vùe pai·ŭrz. Aa·l giv· ěe saw·m. Ee vaw·lěed um. Uur braa·t um* or *tùe· um. Ee tèo·k-um uwai· vraw·m um.* Meanings: "Give me your hand. Tell me all about it. He hit me *in* the head. That

[illegible]	emphatic	tu mee· tùe mi	vrum mee· vrau·m mi	čen mee· ee·n mi	pun mee· pau·n mi	u mee· oa· mi	wai mee· wai· mi	gimee gee· mi
thee	emphatic	tu dhee tu dhu tu dhee· tùe· dhee	vraum dhee vraum dhu vrum dhee· vrau·m dhu	čen dhee čen dhu čen dhee· ee·n dhu	paun dhee paun dhu pun dhee· pau·n dhee	u dhee u dhu u dhee· oa· dhee	wŭo dhee wŭo dhu wŭo dhee· wai· dhee	gidh·ee gidh·u gidhee· gee· dhee
him	emphatic	tùe un tu ee· tùe· un	vraum· un vrum ee· vrau·m un	čen un čen ee· ee·n un	paun· un pun ee· pau·n un	oa un u-ee· oa· un	wai un wi-ee· wai· un	gee un gi-ee· gee· un
her	emphatic	t-uur tu shee·, uur· tùe· ur	vraum· ur vrum uur·, shee· vrau·m ur	čen· ur čen uur·, shee· ee·n ur	paun· ur pun uur·, shee· pau·n ur	oa ur u uur·, shee· oa· ur	wi-ur wi-uur·, shee· wai·ur	geeur gi-uur·, shee· gee·ur
it[1]	emphatic	tùe ut tùe· ut	vraum· ut vrau·m ut	čen ut ee·n ut	paun· ut pau·n ut	oa ut oa· ut	wai ut wai·ut	gee ut gee·ut
we	emphatic	tùe-s tùe us tu uus· tu wee· tùe· us	vraum· us vrum uus· vrum wee· vrau·m us	čen us čen uus· čen wee· ee·n us	paun· us pun uus· pun wee· pau·n us	oa-s oa us oa uus· oa wee· oa· us	wai-s wi-us wi uus· wi wee· wai·us	gee-s gi-us gi-uus· gi-wee gee·us
you	emphatic	t-ee tu yùe· tùe· ee	vraum· ěe vrum yùe· vrau·m ěe	čen ěe čen yùe ěe·n ěe	paun· ěe pun yùe· pau·n ěe	oa ěe oa yùe· oa· ěe	wŭo dh·ěe wi yùe· wai·ěe	giv·ěe gi·ěe gi yùe· gee·ěe
them	emphatic	tùe um tùe-m tu mun[2] tu dhai· tùe· um tùe· mun	vraum· um vraum mun vrum dhai· vrau·m um vrau·m mun	čen um čen mun čen dhai· ee·n um ee·n mun	paun· um paun mun pun dhai· pau·n um pau·n mun	oa um oa·m oa mun oa dhai· oa· um oa· mun	wai um wai-m wai mun wi dhai· wai· um wai· mun	gee um gee-m gee mun gidhai· gee·um gee·mun

[illegible]onal pronoun is never emphasized; the stress is always on the preposition or verb.

[illegible] commonest form of "them" in North Devon and the Exmoor district of Somerset, but [illegible]ized. When emphasis is required, it is laid on the preposition or verb.

was a bad job for you. I saw you both. Did you hear him? Have you heard it? Would you know it (*i.e.* some definite object) if you saw it? Put the cover on it (definite). There's nothing in it (indef.). Give her her dues. Let her go. Bring us a few pears. I'll give you some. He followed them. She brought them to them. He took them away from them."

The objective indirect, as given by Dr. Murray, cannot be expressed so clearly in our dialect, but amongst speakers this is done by intonation or emphasis, as: *Gĕe mee yur an'. Tuul mee' aw'l u-baewd ut. Twuz u bae'ŭd jau'b vur yùe, dhaat dhae'ŭr waw'z. Aay zeed yùe, boo'ŭdh oa' ĕe. Ded ĕe yuur ee'? V-ĕe u-yuurd oa dhaat dhae'ŭr? Wid ĕe noa dhik neef ĕe zeed-n?* The emphatic form of IT has no equivalent with us. *Doa'n-ĕe bee zu aa'rd pun 'ee. Lat uur goo-law'ng. Bring zum*[1] *pai'urz tu wee. Aa'l gee yùe u vùe. U vaul'eed dhai.* Meanings: "Give ME your hand. Tell ME all about it. That was a bad job for YOU. I saw YOU both. Did you hear HIM? Have you heard of IT? Would you know IT (def.) if you saw it? Don't be so hard upon HIM. Let HER go! Bring US some pears. I'll give YOU a few. He followed THEM."

We cannot join two pronouns, as in "give it me, *or* give me it," we must say *gee un tu mee;* but we can join a pronoun and a demonstrative, as *gee mee dhik.*

Our *dhai* corresponds to French *on; dhai dŭ zai* = *on dit. Dhai bee gee'ĕen vaaw'ur-n ziks vur baa'rlĕe,* means that 4*s.* 6*d.* per bushel is the market price for barley. *Dhai zŭls suy'dur-bĕe dhu pak, un dhai vrak'nz thuur'tĕe pak tùe u auk'saed,* means that cider is usually sold by the peck, and that thirty pecks go to a hogshead.

Our indefinite personal pronouns are *dhai* and *ún'ĕe-baw'dĕe* (anybody), and these are quite as much used by us as *on* is by the French. Interrogatively we use *ur,* and inasmuch as a large proportion of the sentences in ordinary talk end in interrogative phrase, this form must not be lost sight of. *U'n'ĕe-baw'dĕe-d luy'k vur tu goo, wid-n ur naew?* "One wo

[1] *Some* is pronounced *zau'm* when emphasized, but when spoken quickly i *zum* or even *zm,* if a vowel follows.

like (for) to go, would one not now?" The distinction between *dhai* and *ún·ĕe-bau·dĕe*, as indefinite pronouns, is that the former excludes the speaker as *on dit*, while the latter includes the speaker as *on peut*. Both forms are construed as plural, although by the context it is clear that only one person is referred to. *Dù au·vĕes dùe ú·nĕe-bau·dĕe u suyt oa gèo·d*, "It always does one a sight of good." The amount of benefit received by anything whatever, from a shower of rain or a dressing of manure, to a *kuup oa suy·dur*, is invariably "a sight o' good." *Tid-n sae·ŭm-z au·f ún·ee-bau·dĕe kèod goo·, dhurzuul·*, "It is not as though one could go, *themselves*." *U·n·ĕe-bau·dĕe múd wuurk dhur ving·urz*[1] *tu boo·unz neef dhai wûol, un dhai wid-n git thang·kĕĕ vaur· ut nuudh·ur*, "One might work *their* fingers to bones if *they* will, and *they* would not get 'thank you' for it neither." The same rule applies to the other compounds, *sum·baudĕe*, *noa·baudĕe*, *ús·urĕebau·dĕe*, etc.[2]

From the foregoing, it will be seen that *ur* does duty in particular cases for six different persons, besides representing other parts of speech; *daed·ur?* may be did *I*, did *he*, did *she*, did *we*, did *you*, did *one*, according to the context. Affirmatively it is unemphatic for *uur*, she, her; also for *our* and for *or*.

[1] *Finger* is always pronounced *ving·ur*, not *ving·gur*.

[2] The 3rd person singular *ŭn* and plural *ŭm* are the Ags. *hine*, *heom*, E.E. *hin*, *hem*, *'em*, the *h* being lost, as in the singular *ee*, *ai*, *ŭ*, Old English *a*. "Let his father be what *a* will."—Shaksp. Merch. Ven. ii. 2. So, "Your charm so strong works *'em*."—Tempest, v. 1. The feminine *uur*, *ur*, is the Ags. *heo*, E.E. *ho*, *hee*, with loss of initial *h* and addition of *r*, which has left it identical with the objective *her*, although quite distinct in history. (*R*, as already observed, is added to many words which originally ended in a vowel.) The Northern *she* (so slowly accepted in Southern English) is only used as an emphatic objective. *Them* is not yet accepted, though *their* is; Chaucer used *they*, but not *their* nor *them*. My impression as to the *interrogative ĕes* for I, is that it is not derived from *ich*, though, when *ich* was falling into desuetude in the district, it may have been confounded with the plural *ŭs*, and have left *ĕes* as the resultant. The use of *us*, in the nom. plural interrogative, may be compared with Shakspere's frequent shall's: "*Shall's* to the Capitol?"—Coriol. iv. 6. 148, where I do not believe in Dr. Abbott's explanation of *shall* as an impersonal verb. *I*, *he*, *she*, are frequent as emphatic objectives, and *thee* as emphatic nominative in Shakspere: "The hand of *she* here—what's her name?"—A. & C. iii. 13. "I am not *thee*."—Timon, iv. 3. But Shakspere critics are very unwilling to admit the dialectal character of much of his language, for dialects are to most of them "vulgar," and, what is worse, *unknown* domains.—M.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The adjective possessives are *maay* (unemph. *mĕe*, *mĭ*, rarely *mŭ*), *dhaay*, *dhuy* (unemph. *dhĕe*, *dhi*, rarely *dhŭ*), *eez* (unemphatic *ez*, *z*, *s*), *uur* (unemph. *ur*), *aaw·ŭr*, *yoa·ŭr*, *yùe* (unemph. *yur*, *ĕe*), *dhae·ŭr*, *dhur*. The absolute possessives are *maayn*, *muyn*, *dhaayn*, *dhuyn*, *eez*, *uurz*, *aaw·ŭrz*, *yoa·ŭrz*, *dhae·ŭrz*.

Wuur-z mi aa·t? "Where is my hat?" *Ez ut maay tuurn?* "Is it my turn?" *Dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr-z muyn*, "That is mine." *Zeed aaw·ŭr Jan?* "(Have you) seen our John?" *Dhai bee·ŭs bee aaw·ŭrz*, "Those bullocks are ours." *Dhee-s u-broa·kt dhi buur·chez*, "Thou hast torn thy breeches." *Dhaats dhuy dùe·in*,[1] "That is thy doing." *T-wuz dhuyn*, "It was thine." *Dhae·ŭrz yur muun·ĕe*, "There is your money." *T-ez yoa·ŭr bai·g*, "It is your bag." *T-wau·d-n yoa·ŭrz*, "It was not yours." *V-ĕe gid-n-z mai·t?* "Have you given him his food?" *Uur aa·t ur ai·d*, "She hit her head." *Aay bee saa·f t-wuz eez (uur) traa·k*, "I am sure it was his (her) footprint." *Uw d-ĕe noa t-ez eez, uurz?* "How do you know it is his, hers?" *His'n*, *her'n*, *our'n*, *your'n*, *their'n*, are not heard with us. In speaking to children *yùe* instead of *yoa·ŭr* (or *ĕe* for *yur* when short), is constantly used. *Yùe an*, *yùe aa·t*, *ĕe jaa·kut*, etc., "Your hand, your hat, your jacket."

Mu, *dhu* (my, thy), are spoken in the Exmoor district and in North Devon, but they are not general in West Somerset.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

These are *ue* both nominative and objective, possessive *ùez*.

Weech, *wau·t* (or *haut·*).

Ue dùed-ut? "Who did it?" *Ue ded· ur gee· un tùe?* "To whom did he give it?" *Ue·z ez· ut?* "Whose is it?" *Aay doa·noa ùez taiz*, "I do not know whose it is." *Weech wai bee gwaa·yn?* "Which way are you going?" *Wau·t b-ĕe baewt?* "What are you about?" *Haut· b-ĕe aak·tĕen oa?* "What are you doing?"

Weech is never used quite alone, as in "which was it?"

[1] The inflexion of the present participle has generally been written *ĕen*, which represents the most usual sound; but in cases where it follows a very accented syllable, as in the above sentence, the final syllable is much shortened, and to express this it is written *in*.

but if no noun is expressed, as "which man," etc., it is always *weech oa-m?* "Which of them?" Sometimes, however, *weech·ĕe?* is heard, but this is not general except with certain individuals, and by them *weech·ĕe* is never made the nominative of a sentence, but is the simple interrogatory, corresponding to the ordinary English *which?*

The possessive *ùez* is also scarcely ever heard alone, or except before a noun, expressed or understood, as *Uez aewz ez dhaat?* (see p. 174, Demonstratives). *Uez duuks bee dhai?* "Whose ducks are those?"

Wau·t is used indefinitely, as *what?* *i.e.* "What do you say?" *Wau·t-l-ĕe gee?* "What will you give?"

In those cases where the interrogative is governed by a preposition, this latter is always placed last in the clause. *Ue wau·z-ut ĕe zaed ut tùe?* "Who was it you said it to?" *Ue wuz um tau·kĕen ubaewt?* "Who were they talking about?" *Ue ded ur git dhik dau·g vrau·m?* "Who did he (*or* she) get that dog from?" *Uez au·s ez ur gwaa·yn tu vach um wai?* "Whose horse is he going to fetch them with?" *Ue daed ĕe baay dhai tae·ŭdĕez oa?* "Whom did you buy those potatoes *of?*" *Uez kaa·rt daed um kau·m een?* "Whose cart did they come in?"

THE RELATIVE.

Our relatives are *dhut* and *waut* or *haut*; *which* and *whose* are never so used, and indeed, whenever we can, we get rid of relatives altogether, as *Dhurz dhai kn tuul ĕe. Aay noa·ŭs u mae·ŭn l-dùe vau·r ĕe,* "I know a man (who) will do for you." *Dhur wuz moo·ŭr-n fau·rtĕe kèod·n git een,* "There were more than forty (who) could not get in." *Aa·l shoa· ĕe dhu voa·ks l-man·ij ut,* "I will show you the people (who) will manage it (see p. 176, Indefinite Pronouns). With us *as* is never used as a relative. We could not say "the man as did it;" we should say, *dhu mae·ŭn waut dùed ut. Waut* is used rather for stress, and in all cases *dhut* might be substituted. *Dhu aewz ĕe kn-zee· dhu ai·nd oa,* "The house you can see the end of." In East Somerset *as* is used for the relative, thus, *Dhu maan uz aad ut,* "The man who had it;" but not in our district.

We have no short method of expressing the relative possessive. To convey the idea that "the man, whose house was burnt, lives here," we should say, *dhu mae·ŭn waut ud u-gaw·ŭt ez aewz u-buurnd du lee·v yuur. Dhu maa·yd dhut ad ur yuung mae·ŭn u-kee·ŭld,* "The girl whose lover was killed." *Dhu uum·un ĕe du noa dhu zún oa,* "The woman whose son you know." *Dhu dau·g haut ud u-gaw·ŭt ez lag u-uurnd oa·vur,* "The dog whose leg was run over." *Dhu tree ĕe zoa·ŭld dhu aa·plz* (or *pai·chez*) *oa·f-oa,*[1] *z dai·d,* "The tree from off which you sold the apples, is dead." Observe that fruit is not a noun with us, and that its particular sort must be specified. To fruit is a verb neuter. *Dhik·ĕe tree du frùe·tĕe wuul.*

We should use *what* and *which* indefinitely, without their nouns, as *kaa·n zee waut ún·ĕebaud·ĕe-z ubaewt,* "One cannot see what one is doing." *Doa·noa weech tai·z,* "I do not know which it is." Notice the omission of the nominative pronoun (see p. 176).

Waut·sumdúv·ur is seldom used except as an intensitive, as: *Uur wúd-n gee· un nuuf·ĕen waut·sumdúv·ur,* "She would (not) give him nothing whatsoever."

COMPOUND PRONOUNS.

Compound Personal Pronouns are made by the addition of *zuul* or *zuulz* to the possessive pronouns, as

mizuul·	dhizuul·	ez- *or* urzuul·
muy·zuul (emp.)	dhuy·zul (emp.)	ee·z-*or* uur·zuul· (emp.)
urzuul·z	yurzuul·z	dhurzuul·z
aaw·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)	yoa·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)	dhae·ŭrzuul·z (emp.)

The use of either *zuul* or *zuulz* in the plural seems to be a matter of individual choice. *Aa·l dùe ut mizuul·,* "I will do it myself." *Shaa·n baw·dhur muy·zuul,* "I shall not bother myself." *Ee-d núv·ur uur·ĕe ez-zuul·,* "He would never hurry himself." *Dhai oa·n uurt dhae·ŭrzuul·z* or *-zuul,* "They will not hurt themselves." Any of these possessives can be

[1] *Off* is spoken in two ways—where it would mean in received English *off from*, as in this example, it is always *oa·f*. So also *left off* is *laf oa·f*, but *off side* is *aw·f zuyd*.

still further strengthened by the insertion of *oan* (own), as *Aay dùed ut au·l mi-oa·n zuul·*, "I did it all my own self." *Dhai aa·n u-gau·ŭt ṇoa·baudĕe uuls bud dhur oa·n zuulz*, "They have nobody else besides *their own selves.*" This is a common description of a married couple without incumbrance.

VERBS.

If we were to classify the verbs in the West Somerset Dialect according to their actual tense-inflexions, irrespective of historical considerations, they might be arranged in four divisions, viz.: 1. verbs which add *t*, *d*, or *ud*, for the past tense, to which *u-* is prefixed for the participle; 2. verbs which drop this *t* or *d* (except in special cases) in the past tense and participle, and then have the past the same as the present; 3. verbs which form the past tense and participle by vowel change (the participle still having the prefix *u-*); 4. verbs which at the same time change the vowel and add *-t* or *d*. Comparison with the older forms of the language shows that the first two divisions contain the originally *weak* verbs, those in division 2 having in this dialect dropped the *t* or *d* of the past; the two latter contain originally *strong* verbs, division 4 having the peculiarity that *the termination of the weak verbs has been added to the original strong past.*

This fondness for the weak inflexion is a remarkable characteristic of the dialect; it will be seen in the sequel that the number of strong verbs which it retains either in their original strong form, or with the addition of *-t*, *-d*, is very small; all the remainder, as far as they continue in the dialect, have become weak.

Weak Verbs.

I. Verbs ending in a vowel or in *r* add *-d* for the past tense, as—

lai·, laa·y	lai·d, laa·yd	u-lai·d, u-laa·yd	*to lie* or *lay*.[1]
paa·y	paa·yd	u-paa·yd	,, *pay*

[1] We make no difference between the intransitive *to lie down* and transitive *to lay down*. But *lie = mentiri*, is not used as a verb; a liar does not *lie*, but *tuulz luy·z*.

duy	duy·d	u-duy·d	*to die*
ae·ŭ	ae·ŭd	u-ae·ŭd	,, *have*
zee	zee·d	u-zee·d	,, *see*
groa, grao·ŭ	groa·d, grao·ŭd	u-groa·d, u-grao·ŭd	,, *grow*
kroa, krao·ŭ	kroa·d, krao·ŭd	u-kroa·d, u-krao·ŭd	,, *crow*
noa·, nao·ŭ	noa·d, nao·ŭd	u-noa·d, u-nao·ŭd	,, *know*
baur·ĕe	baur·ĕed	u-baur·ĕed	,, *borrow*
maar·ĕe	maar·ĕed	u-maar·ĕed	,, *marry*
yuur	yuurd	u-yuurd	,, *hear*
shee·ŭr	shee·ŭrd	u-shee·ŭrd	,, *shear*
zwae·ŭr	zwae·ŭrd	u-zwae·ŭrd	,, *swear*
wae·ŭr	wae·ŭrd	u-wae·ŭrd	,, *wear*

Rarely the vowel of the past tense is contracted or modified, as—

gee	gid	u-gid
zai·	zaed	u-zaed

II. In verbs ending in a consonant, the *-d* of the past tense and past participle (which after *k, sh, ch, s,*[1] *p, f,* becomes *-t*) falls away, except when followed by a vowel; in that case it is pronounced as the initial of the following word, as: *Uur kaech dhu bwuuyz,* "She caught the boys;" but *Uur kaech·t u bae·ŭd koa·l,* "She caught a bad cold." *Dhai wee·sh Mae·ŭrĕe-d u-kau·m,* "They wished Mary had come." *Dhai wee·sh-t uur ad-n,* "They wished she had not" (or "had *him*"). *Ee laa·rf boo·ŭdh zuydz uv ez maewdh,* "He laughed both sides of his mouth." *Ee laa·rf-t oa-ur,* "He laughed at her" (literally *of* her; we never laugh *at* a person or thing). *Aay wai·v tai·n yaa·rd u-voa·ŭr brak·sus,* "I wove ten yards before breakfast." *Uur wai·v-d au·l dhu pĕes,* "She wove all the piece." *Ee lee·v tu Taa·nŭn,* "He lived at Taunton." *Ee lee·v-d au·p t-ee·ŭl,* "He lived up at (the) hill."

After *t* or *d*, and sometimes after *n*, no inflexion is added, even before a vowel, as *ee wau·n t-ab·-m,*[2] "He wanted to have him *or* it." *Jan wau·nt au·l dhu laut,* "John wanted all the lot." *Dh-oa·l mae·ŭn wid dhu paa·z au·l oa·vur,* "The old man weeded the paths all over." *Ee·v u-wid· um klee·ŭn,* "He has weeded them clean." *Ee·v u-spai·n úv·urĕe vaa·rdn*

[1] *th* would come here, but I do not know of any verb in the dialect in *-th*.

[2] Here the final *t* in *wau·nt* is dropped, in consequence of the next word beginning with *t*, as before shown, p. 169.

ee·v u-gaut·, "He has spent every farthing he has." In dissyllabic verbs, such as *vras·l* wrestle, *zad·l* saddle, *rak·n* or *vrak·n* (*vr*=Ags. *r*) reckon, *drat·n* threaten, *snaa·rdl* snarl, *baal·uns* balance, *vaa·rnĕesh* varnish, *baw·dum* bottom, the inflexional *-d* is not generally pronounced in rapid speech before a consonant, especially in familiar words, though at times it may be heard. But in all these consonantal verbs the *-ud* is sometimes pronounced as a distinct syllable, especially when the meaning is emphasized; as *bae·ŭk*, *bae·ŭk-ud*, baked. Indeed, in the hill district, this appears to be the usual form with verbs in *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *v*. Again, this full form has a kind of frequentative force, when the verb is used simply intransitively, or as a "verb of complete predication" without an object, as *Ee bae·ŭkud dree tuy·mz u Zún·di*, "He baked three times a (=on) Sunday." *Dhai aw·sez pluw·ud zab·m aaw·ŭrz*, "Those horses ploughed, *i.e.* kept on ploughing, seven hours." *Aay groa·pud gin aay vaewn un*, "I continued groping against (=till) I found him." The past participle follows the same rule; thus, *Aay-v u-draash·ud aw·l-z wik*, "I have been threshing all this week." *Uur-v u-wai·vud aw·l ur luyv*, "She has woven, *i.e.* been a weaver, all her life."

The following verbs, of the strong conjugation or weak and irregular in Standard English, are weak in our dialect: bear, bite, blow, crow, grow, come, draw, drink, fall, fight, fly, fling, forsake, freeze, give, go, hang, hide, hold, know, lead, lie, read, ring, run, shake, shrink, shoot, see, sing, sink, sling, spin, spit, spring, stink, swear, swim, swing, throw, wear, weave, win, wring.

Do, as a technical verb (see p. 213), is thus conjugated: *dùe*, *dùe·d*, *u-dùe·d*, *u-duun·d*, in which the originally reduplicated past, *dede*, *dyde*, is treated as a regular weak past of *dùe*.

III. The modified weak verbs existing in the dialect are:

bring	braa·t	u-braa·t	to bring
buy	bau·t boa·ŭt	u-bau·t u-boa·ŭt	,, buy
dhingk	dhoa·ŭt dhau·t	u-dhoa·ŭt u-dhau·t	,, think
zúl, súl	zoa·ŭl(d)	u-zoa·ŭl(d)	,, sell

tuul	toa·ŭl(d)	u-toa·ŭl(d)	to tell
mae·ŭk	mae·ŭd	u-mae·ŭd	,, make

To these add the preteritive verbs:

kan	kèo·d	can
wúl	wid	will
shaa·l	shèo·d	shall
mid, múd	mid, múd	may

Wuurk has past *wuurk(t)*, *-ud*, while *vroa·ŭt* is used only as an adjective in *vroa·ŭt uy·ur*, "wrought iron."

The following list contains the strong verbs and modified weak verbs of Standard English, which in the West Somerset dialect are treated as regular weak verbs:

	Present.	Past.	Past Participle.
bear	bae·ŭr	bae·ŭrd	u-bae·ŭrd
begin	bĕegee·n	bĕegee·n(d	u-bĕegee·n(d
beseech	bĕesai·ch	bĕesai·ch(t	u-bĕesai·ch(t
bleed	blid	blid	u-blid·
blow	bloa	bloa·(d, bloa·ŭ(d	u-bloa·(d
breed	bree·d	bree·d	u-bree·d
build	bee·ŭl	bee·ŭl(d	u-bee ŭl(d u-bee·ŭldud
catch	kaech	kaech(t	u-kaech·(t
cleave, *i.e.* adhere	klai·v	klai·vud	u-klai·vud
clothe	kloa·ŭdh	kloa·ŭdh kloa·ŭdhud	u-kloa·ŭdh u-kloa·ŭdhud
come	kau·m kúm	kau·m(d kúm(d	u-kau·m(d u-kúm(d
crow	kroa	kroad, kroa·ŭd	u-kroa·d, u-kroa·ŭd
deal	dae·ŭl	dae·ŭl(d, dae·ŭlud	u-dae·ŭl(d, u-dae·ŭlud
do	dùe	dùe·d, daed[1]	u-dùe·d, u-duun·d
draw	draa· drae	draa·d drae·ŭd	u-draa·d u-drae·ŭd
drink	dringk	dringk(t	u-dringk·(t
eat	ai·t	ai·t	u-ai·t
fall	vaa·l	vaa·l(d	u-vaa·l(d
fling	vling	vling(d	u-vling·(d
fly	vluy	vluy·d	u-vluy·d
forsake	vursae·ŭk	vursae·ŭk(t	u-vursae·ŭk(t

[1] This form is used in negative or interrogative phrases, as *Aay daed-n zai zoa*, "I did not say so." *Daed yùe gee oa·ŭrt tùe ut?* "Did you give ought to it?" *i.e.* did you subscribe? It may be taken as the periphrastic form of the past tense; while if a definite action is implied in the verb *do*, the past tense is *dùe·d*, as: *Wuy daed-n ee dùe muy biz·gee ee·ns yùe praw·mees? Ee ul bee u-dùe·d um-buy*, "Why did you not do (*i.e.* repair) my mattock as you promised? *He* will be repaired by and bye." It will be found spelt both *dĕd* and *daed*, representing varieties of pronunciation, the latter being most common.

freeze	vree·z	vree·z(d	u-vree·z(d
grow	groa·	groa·d, groa·ud	u-groa·d, u-groa·ud
hang	ang	ang(d	u-ang·(d
hew	yao·	yao·d	u-yao·d
hit	aa·t	aa·t	u-aa·t
hold	oa·l(d	oa·l(d	u-oa·l(d, u-oa·ldud
keep	kĕep	kĕep(t	u-kĕep·(t
kneel	nee·ŭl	nee·ŭl(d	u-nee·ŭl(d
know	noa-ŭ, nao·	noa·ŭd, nao·d	u-noa·ŭd, u-nao·d
leave	laef·	laef·(t	u-laef·(t
lose[1]	lau·s	lau·s(t	u-lau·s(t
	lèo·z	lèo·z(d	u-lèo·z(d
may	mid	mid	
	múd	múd	
meet	mĕet	mĕet	u-mĕet·
ring	ring	ring(d	u-ring(d
run	uurn	uur·n(d	u-uur·n(d
see	zee·	zee·d	u-zee·d
shed = spill	shaud	shaud	u-shaud·
shoe	shùe	shùe·d	u-shùe-d[2]
shoot	shuut	shuut	u-shuut·
shrink	zhringk	zhringk(t	u-zhringh·(t
	zringk	zringk(t	u-zringk·(t
sing	zing	zing(d	u-zing·(d
sink	zingk	zingk(t	u-zingk·(t
slide	zluyd	zluy·d, zluy·dud	u-zluy·d, u-zluy·dud
sling	zling	zling(d	u-zling·(d
slink	zlingk	zlingk(t	u-zlingk·(t
sow, sew	zoa·	zoa·d, zoa·ud	u-zoa·d, u-zoa·ud
spend	spai·n	spai·n(d	u-spai·n(d
spin	spee·n	spee·n(d	u-spee·n(d
spring	spring	spring(d	u-spring·(d
sting	sting	sting(d	u-sting·(d
stink	stingk	stingk(t	u-stingk·(t
strive	struy·v	struy·v(d	u-struy·v(d
sweep	zwĕep	zwĕep(t	u-zwĕep·(t
swim	zwúm	zwúm(d	u-zwúm·(d
swing	zwing	zwing(d	u-zwing·(d
teach	tai·ch	tai·ch(t	u-tai·ch(t
throw	droa·	droa·ŭd, droa·d	u-droa·ŭd, u-droa·d
weave	wai·v	wai·v, wai·vud	u-wai·v, u-wai·vud
win	wee·n	wee·n(d	u-ween·(d
wring	vring	vring(d	u-vring(d

[1] *loose* is not used as a verb; *lùe·s* is a common adjective, and generally expresses diarrhœa, rarely the ordinary meaning.

[2] We use in addition the participial adjective *shaud* and *u-shaud·*, as *wat·shaud* wetshod, *druy·shaud* dryshod. *Ee wuz vur·ĕe wuul· u-shaud·*, "He was very well shod."

To drown is peculiar; it is conjugated thus, both forms being equally common:

draewn	draewn	u-draewn
draew·nd	draewndud	u-draewndud

Strong Verbs.

I. The following are the only strong verbs retained in their simple form:

bee	wau·z, wuz	u-bún	to be
buyn	baewn(d	u-baewn(d	,, bind
gruyn	graewn(d	u-graewn(d, u-graewndud	,, grind
vuyn	vaewn(d	u-vaewn(d	,, find
vruyt	vroa·ŭt	u-vroa·ŭt	,, write
hruyd	hroa·ŭd, hraud·	u-roa·ŭd, u-raud·	,, ride
trai·d	troa·ŭd	u-troa·ŭd	,, tread
git	gau·t, goa·ŭt	u-gau·t, u-goa·ŭt	,, get
vurgit·	vurgau·t, -goa·ŭt	u-vurgau·t, -goa·ŭt	,, forget
zit	zau·t, zoa·ŭt	u-zau·t, u-zoa·ŭt	,, sit *or* set
stan	stèo·d	u-stèo·d	,, stand
goo	wai·nt	u-goo·, u-gau·n	,, go

U-gau·n is used adverbially for *ago*, sometimes for *gone*, i.e. *deceased; zoa dhu poo·ŭr oal dau·ktur-z u-gau·n* (dead).

II. The following verbs, originally strong, have the weak termination superadded in the past participle, and also in the past tense when a vowel follows, or when the verb ends in *r*:

brai·k	broa·k(t	u-broa·kt	to break
drai·v	droa·v(d	u-droa·vd	,, drive
spai·k	spoa·k(t	u-spoa·kt	,, speak
klai·v	kloa·v(d	u-kloa·vd[1]	,, cleave, *i.e.* to split
stae·ŭl	stoa·l(d	u-stoa·ld	,, steal
tae·ŭr	toa·ŭrd	u-toa·ŭrd	,, tear
tae·ŭk	tèok(t	u-tèokt	,, take
kree·p	kroa·p(t	u-kroa·pt	,, creep
klúm	kloa·m(d	u-kloa·md	,, climb
ruyz	roa·ŭz(d	u-roa·ŭzd	,, raise

To these may be added the past participles . . . . *u-bau·rnd*, born, from *bae·ŭr*, not used in this sense actively, and *u-duun·d*, another form of *u-dùe·d*, from *do*, see p. 213. *Ee wuz u-bau·rnd u-voa·ŭr uz tuym*, "He was born before his time." A labourer would say to his employer, *Haut mus ĕes goo baewd nuw·, plai·z?*

[1] Also weak *claef, claef(t), u-klaef·tud.*

aay-v u-duun·d dhik·ĕe aj·, "What must I go about now, please? I have done (*i.e.* finished) that hedge."

The foregoing lists are believed to contain all, or nearly all, the verbs used in the dialect, which do not fall under the regular division of weak verbs.

The formation of the past participle by the prefix *u-* is common to all verbs alike.[1]

Formation of the Simple Tenses.

Transitive verbs have a distinct form to express the performance of the action, without an object, which may be called the intransitive form or form of complete predication; thus, transitive, *he digs the garden, he wrote a letter;* intransitive, *he digs for a livelihood, he wrote with vigour.*

The intransitive form adds the termination *-ee* (or *-i*) to the present infinitive[2] with all tenses in which it is used. In the dialect the use of the periphrastic form with *do*, and of the auxiliary verbs generally, is so much the rule that the infinitive of the principal verb is the part most used in ordinary sentences, while the tense, state, etc., are formed by the auxiliaries.

[1] This *ŭ* (usually written *a-* in dialect works) is the Old English (and German) *ge-*, contracted soon after 1100 to *i-*, *y-*. It was lost from the Northern dialect very early; in the Midland it was disappearing in Chaucer's time, though he frequently uses it:

Hath in the Ram his halfe cours *i-ronne*,

but

At Alisaundre he was whan it was *wonne*.

With the widening into *ŭ-*, compare the occasional use of *a* for *i'* = *in* in Tudor English.—M.

[2] This *-ĕe* or *-i* (often written *-y* in Western dialect works) is understood to be the last vestige of the Anglo-saxon infinitive *-an*, *-ian*, retained in a special construction. This termination disappeared from the Northern dialect soonest, and was preserved in the Southern much longer even than in the Midland. In the North it had become *-a*, *-e*, before the tenth century, and was totally lost before 1250. But in the Southern dialect the *Ancren Riwle*, about 1200, has always the full form in *-en*. In the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 1340, this is mostly *ie*, *i*, *y*, or *e*, "his hous mid greate strengþe wolde *loky*." Data for connecting this with the "free infinitive" of the modern South-western dialects are not forthcoming; but the probable course was, that as the final vowel was already by Robert of Gloucester, 1298, elided before a word beginning with a vowel, it came at length to be dropped before any word, and retained only when the infinitive was not followed by an object. Its history would thus be analogous to that of *mine*, *my*: *mis* was first used in all positions, then contracted to *mi* before a consonant, then finally before a vowel also, leaving *mine* as an absolute or independent form. In both cases a contraction, originally euphonic, has developed a syntactical distinction: my house, the house is *mine;* so *tŭ dig graewn, tu draa·shĕe un dig·ee.*—M.

Verb *DIG*.

Indicative.

	Transitive.	Intransitive.
Pres. Habitual	aay, ee, *etc.* dŭ dig aay, ee, *etc.* digz (dhu graewn)	aay dŭ dig·ĕe aay dig·us
Pres. Actual	aay bĕe u-dig·ĕen	(*the same as the Transitive*).
Past General	aay, ee, *etc.* dig (dhu graewn) aay, ee, *etc.* dig·d (au·l dhu laut)	aay dig·ud aay dúd dig·ĕe
,, *Emphatic*	aay daed· dig	aay daed· dig·ĕe
Imperfect	aay wuz u-dig·ĕen (dhu graewn)	(*same as the Transitive*).
Past Habitual	aay yùe·z tŭ dig (dhu graewn)	aay yùe·z tŭ dig·ĕe

Subjunctive.

Pres. Habitual	neef aay digz (dhu graewn) neef aay dŭ dig	neef aay dig·us neef aay dŭ dig·ĕe
,, *Actual*	neef aay bee u-dig·ĕen	(*same as the Transitive*).
Past General	neef aay dig (dhu graewn) neef aay dúd[1] dig	neef aay dig·ud neef aay dúd[1] dig·ĕe
Imperfect	neef aay wauz u-dig·een	(*same as the Transitive*).

Imperative.

Present	dig (dhu graewn)	dig·ĕe!

Infinitive.

Pres. Habitual	tŭ dig (dhu graewn)	tŭ dig·ĕe
,, *Actual*	tŭ bee u-dig·ĕen	(*same as the Transitive*).

Participle and Gerund.

Present	dig·ĕen, u-dig·ĕen, u-dig·ĕen oa.	
Past	tùe u-dig (dhu graewn) tùe u-dig·d (ut) tùe-v u-dig	u-dig·ud[2] tùe-v u-dig·ud

It will be seen from the above, and from the following examples, that we add the *ĕe* termination to the imperative as well as the infinitive when used intransitively.

Examples. *Aay du wuur·k tŭ kaa·fmdurĕen*, "I work at carpentering." *Aay graewn dhu grĕes·*, "I ground the grist."

[1] This is really equivalent to *if I should dig*, i.e. pure hypothesis.

[2] It should be noted here that the *u* is not the participial prefix, but is the contraction of *have*, i.e. *to have dug*. The prefix is here dropped for euphony.

Neef aay dŭ vach-n au·m, "If I fetch him (it) home." *Neef aay dŭd draa·sh dhu wai·t,* "If I should thrash the wheat." *Aay dŭ wuur·kĕe tuur·ubl aa·rd,* "I work terribly hard." *Aew· dhu dringk dŭ wuur·kĕe!* "How the beer works (ferments)!" *Ee graew·nud au·l nai·t,* "He kept on grinding all night." *Neef uur dŭ múl·kĕe zèo·n unuuf·,* "If she milk soon enough." *Neef aay draa·shud vaa·stur-n dhai,* "If I thrashed faster than they." *Wee wuur·kus, muyn!* "We *work,* remember!" *Yùe daed-n gruyn un vút·ĕe,* "You did not grind it properly." *Neef aay vach·ez-n, aa·l ai·t-n,* "If I fetch it, I'll eat it." *Neef yùe wuz vur draa·shĕe lig ee·, yùe-d bĕe u mae·ŭn, shoa·ŭr ŭnuuf·!* "If you were to thrash like him, you would be a man, sure enough!" *Dhee zing dhik zau·ng! shuur?* "Sing thou that song! dost hear?" *Kau·m naew! zing·ĕe lig u mae·ŭn,* "Come now! sing like a man." *Lèok shaa·rp! dig·ĕe vur dhee luyv,* "Look sharp! dig for your life." *Ee aa·ks mĕe vu-ruyt u ladr· vau·r-n,* "He asked me to write a letter for him." *Aay waud-n ae-ŭbl tu vruyt mĕe-zuul·,* "I was not able to write myself." *Tŭ vruy·tĕe wuul·, muyn, -z maa·yn aa·rd,* "To write well, remember, is *main* hard." *Ee·z u kaa·pikul skau·lurd—muy bwuuy; ee-kn fig·urĕe lig u mae·ŭn,* "He's a capital scholar—my boy; he can cipher like a man." *Aay wuz jist u-weesh·ĕen vaur· ĕe, un dhae·ŭr yùe bee!* "I was just wishing for you, and there you are!" *Aa·v-ĕe braa·t dhu plaa·ns? aay zee·d ĕe dig·ĕen oa-m au·p,* "Have you brought the plants? I saw you digging (of) them up." *Wau·t dùe ur dùe·? Ee wai·vus. Doa·ŭn! dùe· ur? Ee dùe·; ee du wai·vĕe daewn taewn mee·ŭlz·,* "What does he do? he weaves. Doesn't! does he? He does; he weaves down (at the) town mills." *Uul·oa dhan, soa·ŭs! haut bĕe aa·ktĕen oa?* "Holloa then, my mates! what are you doing?" *Draa·shĕe uwai, mĕe bwuuy!* "Thrash away, my boy!"

The nominative pronoun is often omitted, as: *Dŭ zing·ĕe, doa·ŭn ur?* "(He) sings, does he not?" *Du kaech wauns, doa·n ur?* "(He) catches wants, does he not?" (*i.e.* he is a mole-catcher).

The inflexions given above, *digz, dig·us, dig(d, dig·ud,* are common to all persons, in both numbers. But instead of the

form in *-s*, the old inflexion in *-th* is also found, not only in the 3rd person singular and plural, but even in the 1st, as: *ee wau·kth, dhai zaeth, dhai lee·vth, ee uurnth* (he runs), *dhai gruynth, ee uundurstan·th, dhai wuur·kth, aay lee·vth, aay zaeth·* (I says). This form is still common in our hill-country district, but throughout the great vale of West Somerset it is becoming rare, except with old people, so that the periphrastic (*I dŭ wau·kĕe*, etc.) is now the most usual form of expression for the unemphatic indicative and subjunctive moods. The form of the principal verb in *-th* is unemphatic; but the emphatic assertions *he has, he does*, which in the vale district are *ee aa·v, ee dùe·*, would be, in the hill district and throughout North Devon, *ee aa·th, ee dúth·*.

The inflexions of the auxiliaries for the various persons are given further on, and at the end of these will be found the full conjugation of the verb in all the moods and tenses, by the aid of auxiliaries.

The infinitive is used without any preposition after auxiliaries, etc., as in ordinary English: *Dhai wúd-n wai·rĕe noa moo·ŭr*, "They would not weave any longer." *Lat um zee*, "Let them see." *Aay yuur·d um zai·*, "I heard them say." Also with *to*, as: *Aay shúd luyk t-ab-m*, "I should like to have it (him)." The infinitive of purpose is expressed by *vur* (like French *pour*), as: *Ee daed-n goo· vur dùe ut*, "He did not intend to do it." *Dhai aa·n gau·t noa·ŭrt vur ai·t*, "They have not got anything to eat." Both infinitives are often expressed by *for to*, as: *Uur wau·ntud vur tu buyd au·m tŭ-maa·ru, an yùe plai·z*, "She (*i.e.* my wife) would wish to stay at home to-morrow, *an* you please." *Dhai aa·n u-gau·ŭt noa kloa·ŭz vur tŭ goo· wai*, "They have not got any clothes (for) to go with," *i.e.* to wear.

The gerund, or verbal noun, and participle, or verbal adjective, have the same form, as: *Ee-z u noa·ĕen fuul·ur, bud wau·t-s dhu gèo·d tùe un oa noa·ĕen?* "He is a *knowing* fellow, but what's the good to him of *knowing?*"

[The form used with the verb *to be* seems to be that of the verbal noun. *Aay bee u-zing·ĕen*, is really "I am *at* or [illegible] singing." *Ego sum in cantando*, not *ego sum cantans*. Th[illegible]

the gerund is so derived in ordinary English is well known: "I found it *in ploughing* the field," being a late contraction of, "I found it *in ploughing of* the field," or more fully, "I found it *in the ploughing of* the field." Compare the Somerset *Aay zee·d-n u-pluw·ĕen oa dhu vee·ŭl.* In Scotch and some Northumbrian dialects, on the contrary, it is the true participle in *-and* which is used with the verb *to be*, "I am *singan(d)*, he was *plewan(d)* the field," quite distinct from "I found it in *pleuw-ĕen* the field." The English participle in *-ing* is a compromise between the two, for it has dropped the prefix of the Southern, and the distinctive termination of the Northern.—J. A. H. M.]

The prefix *u-* (*ŭ*) of the present and past participles is generally preserved, but frequently omitted for euphony's sake after a short vowel, and always when the participles are used adjectively; as: *Aay bĕe zing·ĕen*, but emphatically, *Aay bee· u-zing·ĕen*, "I am singing." *Ee·z u maa·rĕed mae·ŭn*, "He is a married man." In several verbs, in which the past participle has come to be regular and weak, there is still an adjective form like the original strong participle, as: *Dhu suy·dur-z au·l u-dringk·t*, "The cider is all drunk." *Aaw·ur Uur·chut wuz druungk-s u fŭd·lur, laa·s naĭ·t*, "Our Richard was (as) drunk as a fiddler, last night." *Dhik·ĕe jaw·b-s u-dùe·d*, "That job is done," *i.e.* complete. *Twuz u duun· jau·b vau·r-n*, "It was a done job for him," *actum erat de eo.*

The use of the historic present is extremely common; in narrating events or conversations, such expressions as the following are constantly used, even when what is related happened long ago: *Zoa aay zaes· tùe un, s-aay*, "So I says to him, says I." *U zaeth·, ur zaeth·*, "He, she says." *Zoa s-aay*, "So says I." *Zoa s-ee·*, "So says he." *Zoa s-uur*, "So says she." *Ee·n ur goo·ŭs*, "In she goes." *Aay au·ps wŭ mĕe an·*, "I up with my hand." *Aay een·z wŭ mĕe vèo·t*, "I in with my foot." *Aay een· tŭ goo·*, or *Ee·n aay goo·ŭs*, "I went in." *Aewt ŭ kau·mth*, "Out he comes."

The verb *go* is peculiar. The present participle and gerund is *gwaĭ·n*; the past participle is *u-goo·*, while the adverb "ago" is *u-gau·n.* Curious forms of the imperative *Een· tŭ goo·!* "Go in!" *Aewt tŭ goo!* "Go out!" are difficult to explain.

So *Au·p tŭ kau·m!* "Come up!" *Aewt tŭ kau·m!* "Come out!" *Baa·k tŭ kau·m!* "Come back!" These expressions are all emphatic, and would be used especially while assistance was being given—in lending a hand, for instance.

Verbs can be coined almost at will, and there is a strong tendency to convert nouns into verbs, even when a conventional verb already exists to express the action; such as to *bèoch·urĕe, faa·rmurĕe, kaa·fmdurĕe, taa·yŭldurĕe, blaa·ksmŭthĕe, uy·glurĕe* (to carry on the trade of a poultry dealer or higgler), *dau·kturĕe, múl·urĕe, shèo·maek·urĕe,* etc. The practice of nearly all trades or professions is expressed by the noun denoting the practiser being converted into an *intransitive* and *frequentative* verb, as in the examples above, by the common inflexion of the infinitive being added. A man said to me not long since, *Aay shaa·n faa·rmurĕe vuur·ĕe muuch lau·ng-gur,* "I shall not farm (*i.e.* continue farming) very much longer." Since the above was written a man said to me, *Aay dùe·s u lee·dl tu bèoch·ĕen,* "I do a little at the trade of a butcher." This latter has come to be the common word for "the butchering line."

Auxiliary Verbs.

As before stated, auxiliary verbs hold in this dialect a position much more important than in literary English; indeed very few of our sentences are without one. They are as follows: *bee* or *bŭ, ae·ŭ, aa·v* or *uv, dùe, wúl, shaa·l, múd* (may or might) and *kan;* and inasmuch as it is difficult to give any account of their various uses which shall be at all intelligible, I have thought it best, seeing how large a part they play in our speech, to collect a number of idiomatic sentences, such as are to be heard daily, in the order of the several conjugations, and so very fully to exemplify their use. I have in each case taken the simple affirmative, the simple negative, the interrogative, and the negative interrogative.

Although I may be open to the charge of having given undue space to these auxiliary verbs, yet their use is so important in the dialect that, independently of the general notion of construction to be gained by a study of these sentences, I have not felt justified in curtailing.

The Verb *TO BE.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay bee u-fee·ŭrd oa ut,	I am afraid of it.
Dhee, aa·rt (*or* dhee-rt) u muump ai·d,	Thou art a mump-head (very common phrase).
Ai·z (*or* uur-z) u-foo·ŭs vur dùe ut, . . . u ai·z,	He (*or* she) is forced (obliged) to do it, . . . he is (see p. 175).
Wee bee (*or* wee-m) au·l oa us u-wau·ytĕen, wee bee·,	We are all of us waiting, we are.
Yùe bee (*or* yùe-m) vrau·ng duraak·tud, yùe bee,	You are wrong directed (*i.e.* misinformed), you are.
Dhai bee au·l u-broa·kt (usual form in speaking of *things*)	They are all broken.
Dhai-m au·l gwai·n au·m (usual form in speaking of *persons*)	They are all going home.

Present Negative.

Aay bae·ŭn saa·f oa ut,	I am not safe (*i.e.* sure) of it.
Dhee aa·rt-n kwau·rtur-v u fuul·ur	Thou art not the quarter of a fellow (*i.e.* of a man).
Ai (*or* uur) id-n (*or* aed-n) u bee·t luyk vur tùe, noa id-n,	He (*or* she) is not at all likely (for) to (do it), no, he is not.
Wee bae·ŭn jish vèo·lz,	We are not such fools.
Yùe bae·ŭn gwai·n vur ab-m vur noa jish muun·ĕe, yùe bae·ŭnt,	You are not going for to have it for any such a price, you are not.

(The most common mode of declining a bid.)

Dhai bae·ŭn bèo dree prae·ŭrts faa·t ee·t,	They are not above three quarters fatted yet.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Bee aay u luy·klĕe mae·ŭn vur dùe· ut?	Am I a likely man for (to) do it?
Urt dhee gwai·n tu wuur·k s-mau·rnĕen?	Art thou going to work this morning?
Ez ur fút? Ez uur? shoa·r!	Is he (*or* she *or* it) fit (suitable?) Is he (she *or* it)? sure!

(The latter is the usual expletive rejoinder to any kind of information as to *persons* or *things*—ez ut? shoa·r! as to facts.)

Bee wee ae·ŭbl vur kaa·r-n? z-t-av·ĕe, aed-n ur?	Are we able to carry it? it is too heavy, is it not?
Bee yùe kŭm aa·dr-n?	Are you come after (to fetch) it (or him)?
Bee dhai kaewz u-zoa·l? bee um dee·ŭr, bee um?	Are those cows sold? Are they dear, are they?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Bae·ŭn aay t-ab-m, dhun?	Am I not to have it (*or* him) then?
Bee kau·m tu lae·ŭt, bae·ŭn ees?	I am come too late, am I not?
Aar·t-n dhee gwai·n au·m tu dún·ur tuym?	Art thou not going home at dinner time?

Aed-n ur gwai·n t-ae·ŭ noa·ŭn?	Is he not going to have any?
Bae·ŭn wee· vur t-ae·ŭ sau·m oa ut, dhun?	Are *we* not (for) to have some of it, then?
Bae·ŭn uus gèo·d nuuf vur ee·? . . . . vau·r ĕe?	Are not we good enough for *him?* . . . . for you?
Bae·ŭn yùe u lee·dl beet tùe· vaa·s, naew?	Are you not a little too fast (persuasive), now?
Bae·ŭn dhai· dhu sae·ŭm?	Are not they the same (things)?
Bae·ŭn dhai· dhu sae·ŭm voaks?	Are not they the same (persons)?
Bae·ŭn um maa·yn kùe·s?	Are they not very coarse?

Past Affirmative.

Aay wuz jis· pun gwai·n,	I was just on the point of going.
Dhee wúst u mau·rtl wuy·ŭl,	Thou wast a very long while.
Dhee wuuz· dhae·ŭr, aay zee·d dhee,	Thou *wast* there, I saw thee.
Ai (*or* ŭ) wuz (*or* uur wuz) u-tèok bae·ŭd, waud-n ur?	He (*or* she) was taken ill, was not he (she)?
Wee wuz au·l wat drùe,	We were all wet through.
Yùe wuz dhu wús·t oa-m au·l,	You were the worst of all.
Dhai wuz au·l u-kee·ŭld, ee·n tu vaaw·ur, dhai wau·z,	They were all killed, except four, they were.

Past Negative.

Aay waud-n unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs,	I was not near the place.
Dhee wús-n tau·ld unuuf,	Thou wast not tall enough.
Ee (ai, ŭ) *or* uur waud-n u beet dhu wús· vau·r ut, wauz ur?	He *or* she was not any the worse for it, was he (she)?
Wee waud-n dhae·ŭr zeo·nd unuuf·, wauz· us?	We were not there soon enough, were we?
Yùe (*or* ee) waud-n ee·n t-aewz, haun aay kau·m,	You were not in the house, when I came.
Dhai waud-n u-kaecht, noa·ŭn oa-m, dhai waud-n.	They were not caught, any of them, they were not.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Wuz aay gwai·n vur dùe· dhaat, s-dhink?	Was I going to do that, dost think?
Wùz dhee (*or* wuurt dhee) dhu maa·yd?	Wast thou the girl?
Wuz ee· (*or* uur) ee·n tŭ maa·rkut?	Was he (*or* she) at the market?
Wuz wee dhu mai·n yùe aa·ks vau·r	Were we the men you inquired for?
Wuz dhai bai·gz u-puut ŭwai·?	Were those sacks put away?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Wau·d-n aay vur tŭ vach-n?	Was I not (*i.e.* had I not) to fetch it (*or*) him?
Waus-n dhee lau·ng wai un?	Wast not thou along with him?
Wús-n dhee druungk laa·s nai·t?	Wast thou not drunk last night?
Wau·d-n ee u-lae·ŭsĕen oa un?	Was not he lacing (thrashing) him?

Wau·d-n uur· su bae·ŭd-z ee·, úv·urĕe beet-n krèom?	Was not *she* as bad as *he* every bit and crumb?
Wau·d-n wee· puur·tĕe wuul u-gyaa·lĕed?	Were *we* not very frightened?
Wau·d-n uus vur tŭ staa·p?	Were we not (*i.e.* had we not) to stop (remain)?
Wau·d-n yùe u-toa·ŭl vur tŭ git yuur zuulz een au·rdur?	Were you not told to get ready (*lit.* yourselves in order)?
Wau·d-n dhai dhae·ŭr yoa·ŭr shĕep?	Were not those your sheep?

Infinitive.[1]

Aay wau·rn un vur tŭ bĕe shoa·ŭr vur tŭ bĕe dhae·ŭr bĕe tuym.	I warned him to be sure to be there in time (betimes).
Dhai au·f tu bee u-shee·ŭmd oa ut,	They ought to be ashamed of it.

TO HAVE.

Present Affirmative.

Aay-v u-zoa·ld mĕe èo·l, aa·n ees?	I have sold my wool, have I not?
Dhee-s u-toa·ŭrd dhĕe púch·ur, as-n?	Thou hast torn (broken) thy pitcher, hast not?
Ee·dh (*or* ee·v) u-wuy·pd au·p dhu lún·ĕe, aa·nur?	He has *wiped* up the linhay, hast he not? (*i.e.* made sides to the shed, with long faggots of brushwood called *wipes*).
Uur·v (*or* uur·dh) u-saa·rd dhu dhingz,	She has served (fed) the things (live stock).
Wee·v u-shaud· au·l dhu múlk,	We have spilt all the milk.
Yùe-v u-gau·t u gèo·d plae·ŭs,	You have a good place.
Dhai·v u-fún·ĕesh dhur voa·r-nèo·nz, aa·n um?	They have finished their forenoons (lunch), have they not?

Present Negative.

Aay aa·n u-zee·d noa·ŭrt oa un,	I have not seen anything of him.
Dhee as-n u-bún urad·ĕe,—as·?	Thou hast not been already—hast?
Ee (*or* ai) aa·n (*or* aa·th-n) u-gau·t u bee·t,—aa·v ur?	He has not any—has he?
Wee aa·n u-tèo·kt ut, naut ee·t,	We have not taken (hired) it yet (*i.e.* land—of a house would be said *u-tèo·k-n*, taken *him*).
Yùe aa·n u-zoa·ŭd noa dhaach·ez eet,—aa·v ur?	You have not sown any vetches yet, have you?
Ee aa·n u-dùe·d ut, bee shoa·ŭr!	You have not done it—to be sure!
Dhai aa·n noa·ŭr-tu[2] dùe· wai ut,	They have nothing to do with it.

[1] The infinitive of *to be* is often omitted after *will*, before an adjective or adverb—as *ee-l shoa·ŭr tu kau·m* (he will be sure to come). See other examples under *will*, *can*, etc. The infinitive is often omitted after *used to* as *ee aed-n aa·f su baa·ŭd-z ŭ yùe·z tùe* (he is not half as bad as he used to [be]).

[2] Here, again, two consonants coming together, one is dropped; uttered slowly this would be *noa·ŭrt tu dùe·*. So also p. 193, *vu-ruyt* for *vur ruyt*.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Uv aay zaed· oa·ŭrt?	Have I said anything?
Us dhee·[1] yuur·d oa ut?	Hast thou heard of it?
Uv uur u-zau·t dhu ai·n?	Has she set the hen (abrood).
Uv uus u-gau·t vur mak·[2] dhik aj·?	Have we to make that hedge?
Uv yùe (*or* v-ĕe) u-ae·ŭd yuur brak·sus?	Have you finished your breakfast?
Uv dhai (*or* uv um) u-kĕep· dhur chuurch rig·lur?	Have they attended church regularly? (compare *keeping chapels* at college).

Present Interrogative Negative.

Aa·n aay u-wuur·k aa·rd unuuf·, dhun?	Have not I worked hard enough, then?
As-n u-bún tu plaew· z-mau·rnĕen?	Hast (thou) not been ploughing this morning?
Aa·n ur u-drag· dhu vee·ŭl ee·t?	Has not he dragged (harrowed) the field yet?
Aa·n uur· u-skyaa·l dhu múlk?	Has not she scalded the milk? (technical,—milk is scalded to raise the cream).
Aa·n wee u-ae·ŭd au·l wuz u-kau·mĕen tùe-s?	Have we not had all (that) was coming (due) to us?
Aa·n uus noa·ŭrt moa·ŭr vur dùe?	Have not we any more to do?
Aa·n yùe· noa brai·d ĕen aewz?	Have not *you* any bread in (the) house?
Aa·n ĕe u-bún aa·dr-n?	Have not you been after him? (to fetch him).
Aa·n dhai (*or* aa·n um) u-laa·rn dhur bèok?	Have not they learnt their book?

Past Affirmative.

Aay-d u-zee·d-n dùe·ĕen oa ut,	I had seen him doing it.
Aay ad· u-gau·t wau·n, voa·r aay lau·s-n,	I *had* one, before I lost it.
Dhee-ds u-bún· dhur, au·l sae·ŭm tuym,	Thou hadst been there all the time (*i.e.* nevertheless).
Dhee ad·-s u-vaewn un, vur aay zeed dhee ab-m,[3]	Thou *hadst* found it, for I saw thee have it.

[1] In this instance as in some few others, the participial prefix is dropped. This is merely euphonic in rapid speech; even in this combination, if deliberately uttered, it would be *Us dhee· u-yuur·d.*

[2] *Make* is quite technical and signifies to chop down all bushes and to clear the ditches, throwing the sods on the top of the bank, etc.

[3] The verb *to have* is generally auxiliary, and in the sense of *holding* or *possessing* is most commonly supplemented by *u-gau·t.* As in received English, it implies obligation; as *I had to run for my life,* though in this case we should say *Aay·d u-gau·t tu uur·n.*

Uur-d u-kaech·t aup dhu vuy·ŭr een rad·ĕenĕes,	She had lighted up the fire in readiness?
Wee-d u-toa·ld-n wee-d zèo·ndur buyd u-dhaewt·-n,	We had told him we had sooner stay without it.
Wee ad· u-gau·t u brae·ŭv suyt oa-m, shoa·ŭr nuuf·!	We *had* a brave sight of them, sure enough!
Yùe-d bad·r lat-n u-loa·ŭn, yùe ad· aay tuul· ĕe,	You had better leave him alone, you *had* I tell you.
Dhai-d u-lau·s au·l dhur tèolz,	They had lost all their tools.
Dhai ad· shoa·ŭr, u-spai·n mau·s bud úv·urĕe-dhing,	They *had* indeed, spent almost (but) everything.

Past Negative.

Aay ad-n u-dùe·d noa·ŭrt,	I had not done anything.
Dhee ad·s-n u-moa·ŭd-n au·l,	Thou hadst not mowed it all (*i.e.* field or lawn, not *grass*).
Uur ad-n u-wau·rshd aewt dhu skúl·ut,	She had not washed out the skillet (a peculiar brass sauce-pan on three legs).
Wee ad-n u-kee·ŭl dhu pai·g gin brak·sus tuym,	We had not killed the pig by breakfast time.
Yùe ad-n u-tich· oa-m, ad· ĕe?	You had not touched (of) them, had you?
Dhai ad-n u-mae·ŭd dhu stad·l bai·g unuuf·,	They had not made the staddle[1] big enough.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Ud aay u-bún wai um, moo·ŭr-n vai·v mún·ĕets?	Had I been with them more than five minutes?
Ud-s dhee u-dhau·t oa ut?	Hadst thou thought about it?
Ud ur tèok-n ee·n?	Had he taken him in? (i.e. *taken up from grass*—tech.).
Ud ee· u-pluum·p unuuf· wau·dr vau·r um?	Had *he* pumped water enough for them?
Ud uus u-ae·ŭd, naew, bèo u puynt u pĕes?	Had we had (drank), now, above a pint apiece?
Ud yùe u-aa·t-n aa·rd?	Had you hit him hard?
Ud dhai u-zing· un wuul?	Had they sung it (the song) well?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Ad-n aay u-paa·yd-n-z muun·ĕe naew?	Had I not paid him his money, now?
Ad-s-n dhee u-plaa·yd-n uvoa·ŭr?	Had you not played him before? (*i.e.* wrestled with him, or played a bout with him at cudgels or single-stick).
Ad-n ur bad·r dùe ut tu wau·ns?	Had he not better do it at once?
Ad-n ee· u-gau·t nuudh·ur wau·n?	Had *he* not got one at all?

[1] The frame-work on which stacks of corn are piled up, also a bedding of faggots or branches upon which a stack of hay is made.

Ad-n uus au·vĕes u-wuur·k vau·r-n?	Had we not always worked for him?
Ad-n yue u-ṭuur·n dhu wau·dr ee·ns aay toa·ld ĕe?	Had you not turned the water, as I ordered you?
Ad-n dhai u-fún·ĕesh draa·shĕen?	Had they not finished thrashing?

Infinitive.

Aay shèo·d-n muuch luyk vur t-ae·ŭ vur t-ae·ŭ-r,	I should not much like to be obliged to have her (*lit.* for to have for to have her).
Aay wúd-n ae·ŭ-n een u gee·,	I would not have it (some article) in a gift.
Uur wŭol· ae·ŭ uur vling,	She will have (is determined to have) her fling.
Taez maa·yn bae·ŭd nĕet t-ae·ŭ noa·ŭrt vau·r-t,	It is very bad not to have anything for (doing) it.
Kèod-n ur ae·ŭ zau·m oa-m?	Could not one have some of them?
Wút dhee ae·ŭ-n vur zab·m shúl·ĕenz?	Wilt thou have it for seven shillings?

Imperative.

Dhee ae·ŭ dhu lau·t, kau·m naew!	Have the lot, come now! (persuasive).
Ae·ŭ sau·m aay tuul·ĕe,	Have some I tell you.
Lat-n ae·ŭ u lee·dl bee·t,	Let him have a little bit.
Lat·s ae·-ur nau·mĕet voa·r wee goa·ŭs,	Let us have our luncheon before we go.
Yùe· ae·ŭ pae·ŭrt oa ut, dùe· ĕe naew,	*You* have part of it, do now (persuasive).
Lat um ae·ŭ waut dhai wŭol·,	Let them have what (as much as) they will.
Dhai muus· ae·ŭ dhu bas·t oa ut,	They *must* have the best of it.

Verb *TO WILL.*

Present Affirmative.

Aa-l gee·ut tŭ dhee—shuur· mĕe?	I will give it thee—dost hear me? (a common threat of a thrashing).
Aay wŭol· ae·ŭ dhik·ĕe,	I *will* have that one (*emph.*).
Dhee wút (*or* dhee·ŭlt) saa·r nuuf tùe ut,	Thou wilt earn enough at it.
Ee-ul kwik-n baa·k ugee·ŭn,	He will (be) quick and (come) back again.
Uur wŭol· (*emph.*) chaa·turĕe,	She *will* chatter.
Wee-ul zeo·n dùe ut,	We will soon do it.
Wee wŭol· (*emph.*) ab-m,	We *will* have it, or him.
Yùe-ul (*emph.* yùe wŭol·) shoa·ŭr tu droa· un,	You will (be) sure to *throw* him (tech. in wrestling).
Dhai-ul (*emph.* dhai wŭol·) vaa·l daewn,	They will fall down.

Present Negative.

Aay oa-n núv·ur paa·y ut,	I will (not) never pay it.
Aay oa-n ab-m een noa· pruyz,	I won't have it at any price.
Dhee wút-n bee ae·ŭbl vur drai·v-m,	Thou wilt not be able to drive him.
Uur oa-n lai·d-n vút·ee, dhu bwuuy mus goo·,	She will not lead him properly, the boy must go,
Wee oa-n bee u-tèokt ee·n lig dhaat dhae·ŭr,	We won't be taken in like that.
Yùe oa-n git noa·ŭrt buy un,	You won't get nought by him.
Dhai oa-n klaef· dhik·ĕe mèot, udhaewt zum paew·dur,	They won't cleave (split) that moot (tree stump) without some gunpowder.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Wúl aay bee jish vèo·l z-dhink?	Will I be such a fool, dost think?
Wút dhee wuurk-n aewt?	Wilt thou work it (the field) out? (*i.e.* harrow and roll sufficiently until fit for the seed).
Ul ee· goo drùe· wai ut?	Will he go through with it?
Wŭol uus saa·f t-ae·ŭ dhu jau·b,	Will we (be) safe to have the job?
Uul yùe (*emph.* wŭol· yùe) bee ae·ŭbl vur dŭe· ut,	Will you be able to do it?
Uul dhai (*emph.* wŭol· dhai) lèok aa·dr dhu dhingz,	Will they look after the things? (*i.e.* tend the live stock).

Present Interrogative Negative.

Oa-n aay ladh·ur-n, dhaa·t-s au·l?	Won't I leather (thrash) him, that's all?
Wút-n dhee kaech ut, muyn?	Wilt thou not catch it, mind?
O-an ee· gee· un t-ĕe?	Won't he give it to you?
O-an uus zúl dhu yuung stau·k, d-ĕe aa·ks?	Won't we sell the young stock (bullocks) do you ask?
O-an ĕe (*emph.* oa-n yùe·) bee t-av·ĕe vau·r-n,	Won't you be too heavy for him?
Oa-n dhai bee·ŭs au·lturĕe, doa·n ĕe dhingk?	Won't those bullocks alter (improve) don't you think?

Wúl·ur? (will you) is a very common expletive after any request, and is almost equivalent to "If you please," as *Lai·n mee dhee nai·v, wúl·ur?* "Lend me thy knife, will you?" *Lat zee dhik, wúl·ur?*[1] "Let me see (have) that, will you?" The infinitive *be* is often dropped after *will*, as in the above examples, and in *Uul· yùe shoa·ŭr tu git-n rad·ĕe zeo·nd unuuf·*? "Will you (be) sure to get him ready soon enough?"

[1] Spoken deliberately this would be *Lat-s zee*, see notes, pp. 169, 170.

Past Affirmative.

Aay-d gee· dhu wuur·dl tùe, ee·s dhaat aay wúd![1]	I would give the world to (do it), yes that I would!
Dhee-t (*or* dhee-ts) lau·s úv·urĕe vaar·dn oa ut, dhee wút,	Thou wouldst lose every farthing of it, thou wouldst.
Uur-d su zèo·n dùe· ut-s lèok, ee·s u wúd!	She would as soon do it as look, yes she would!
Wee-d mai·n un vau·r ĕe vur noa·ŭrt, wee wúd, shoa·ŭr!	We would mend it for you for nothing, we would, sure!
Yùe-d bee u-draew·ndud ee·n dhae·ŭr, yùe wúd saa·f unuuf·!	You would be drowned in there, you would, safe enough!
Dhai-d ai·t dhur ai·dz oa·f, een u kwik stik, dhai wúd,	They would eat their heads off in a quick stick (short time), they would.

Past Negative.

Aay wúd-n kraa·y, dhae·ŭr-z u lee·dl mae·ŭn, noa aay wúd-n,	I would not cry, there is a little man (persuasive), no I would not.
Dhee wút·s-n bik·ĕe daewn, wút·s?	Thou wouldst not keep your eyes shut, wouldst? (game of hide and seek).
Ee wúd-n dùe noa·ŭrt vau·r-n,	He would no nothing for him.
Wee wúd-n taek· ut,	We would not undertake it.
Yùe wúd-n laef-m wúd-ee?	You would not leave him, would you?
Dhai wúd-n núv·ur blae·ŭkĕe zoa, dhai wúd-n, neef sauf·ĕen waud-n dhu maad·r,	They would never bleat so, they would not, if something was not the matter (spoken of sheep).

Past Interrogative.

Wúd aay bee u-fee·ŭrd u ee·?—noa· aay vraek·n!	Would I be afraid of *him*?—no, I reckon!
Wúds dhee luyk ut dhee oa·n zuul, s-noa·?	Wouldst thou like it, thy own self, you know? (lit. dost know).
Wúd ee· maek uz zuul· jish gèok·èo-z dhaat·?	Would he make himself such a cuckoo as that?
Wúd uus úv·ur u-zee·d-n ugee·ŭn?	Would we ever have seen him again?
Wúd yùe· u-lat-n goo-f yùe wuz mee·, wúd ĕe naew?	Would you have let him go if you were I, would you now?
Wúd dhai laa·k vur staa·p voa·r dún·ur?	Would they want to stop before dinner?

[1] The duplication of the verb, as in this and other examples, is so frequent that it may be called the rule; indeed, it might be applied to nearly every sentence under this verb.

Past Interrogative Negative.

Wúd·n aay maek-n paa·y vaur ut, neef aay wuz yùe?	Would not I make him pay for it, if I were you?
Wút·s-n dhee aa·t dhĕe ai·d?	Wouldst not thou hit thy head?
Wúd-n uur· maek u geo·d spuy pau·s?	Would not she make a good spy post (directing post)?
Wúd-n uus bee fuyn fuul·urz, t-aa·rkĕe tŭ ee·?	Would not we be fine fellows to listen to him? or this might mean *according to his account.*
Wúd-n yùe u-zaed· zoa, neef yùe wuz mee? wúd-n ĕe naew?	Would not you have said so if you were I, would you not now?
Wúd-n dhai u-búnjis bud wuul· u-saa·rd aewt?	Would not they have been rightly served out? (lit. just but well).

As a conditional, *daed*, or *daed-n*, is often used for *would* or *would not*, or rather *were to*. A man who was wanting a particular kind of seed said to me, *Aay daed-n kee·ŭr neef t-waud-n bèo kuup·l u bèo·shlz*, "I would not care if it was not above a couple of bushels." *Neef aay daed lat-n goo·, wúd ĕe bring un baa·k ugee·ŭn?* "If I were to let it go (lend it), would you bring it back again?" *Neef aay daed vurgee· ĕe dhee·ŭz wau·ns*, "If I were to forgive you this once." *Aay daed-n kee·ŭr* is the usual form of "I would not care."

The Verb *CAN*.

This verb is not so commonly used as its equivalent *to be able*. *Aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur tu goo·* is more general than *Aay kaa·n goo·*, which latter is a little "fine talk," though perhaps more emphatic than the former phrase. So also *Aay kan· dùe ut* is more emphatic than *Aay bee ae·ŭbl tu dùe ut*, but some individuals would always use the latter form.

Present Affirmative.

Aay· kn rae·ŭl blee·v ut,	I can quite believe it.
Dhee· kns daa·p daewn, een vai·v mún·ĕets, un baa·k ugee·ŭn,	Thou canst dap (run) down in five minutes and (be) back again.
Ee· kn vaach-n au·m turaak·lĕe,	He can fetch him home directly.
Wee· kn yuur Lang·vuurd buulz, nuy·tuy·mz,[1]	We can hear Langford bells at night (lit. night-times).
Yùe· kn kwik-n kaech·n, kaa·n ĕe?	You can (be) quick and catch him (or *it*), can you not?
Dhai· kn ab-m vur aa·ksĕen, kaa·n um?	They can have it (some article) for the asking, can they not?

[1] See note 1, p. 169, as to omission of the first of two similar consonants in rapid speech; deliberately this would be *nuy·t-tuy·mz*.

Present Negative.

Kaa·n kaa·r-n, kan ur?	(I) cannot carry it, can I?
Aay kaa·n kaa·r-n, kan· ees?	(I) cannot carry it, can I?
Dhee kas-n muuv-m, kans?	Thou canst not move it (or *him*) canst?
Ee (ai) *or* uur kaa·n ai·t-n tu twuys, kan ur?	He (she) cannot eat it at twice (*i.e.* two meals), can he (or she)?
Wee kaa·n paa·y dhu rai·nt oa un.	We cannot pay the rent of it.
Yùe kaa·n núv·ur bee saa·f oa un, kan ur?	You can (not) never be sure of him, can you?
Dhai kaa·n zee· vur smĕech.	They cannot see for smoke (or dust).

Present Interrogative Simple.

Kun aay ae·ŭ yoa·ŭr lad·r, plai·z?	Can I have your ladder, please?
Kuns dhee maek shoa·ŭr oa ut?	Canst thou make sure (*i.e.* be certain) of it?
Kun ee· buyd gin maa·ru mau·rnĕen?	Can it remain till to-morrow morning?
Kun uus staa·p tu yoa·ŭr aewz umbuy· nai·t?	Can we stay at your house to-night (*lit.* by-and-bye (at) night).
Kun yùe dùe oa·ŭrt wai un?	Can you do with it? or can you do anything with him?
Kun dhai wai·vĕe vút·ĕe urad·ĕe?	Can they weave properly already?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Kaa·n ur g-een dhee·ŭz yuur wai·?	Cannot I (or *one*) go in this way?
Kas-n dhee dhaach-n, dhun?	Canst not thou thatch it (*i.e.* the rick) then?
Kaa·n ee· droa· aewt dhik·ĕe puyn?	Cannot he throw out (*i.e.* clean out the dung) that cow-pen?
Kaa·n uus[1] ab-m voa·r buy· nai·t?	Cannot we have it until to-night? (*lit.* before by-and-bye at night).
Kaa·n yùe goo vur tu zee baewd-n?	Cannot you go to see after him (*lit.* about him)?
Kaa·n um (*emph.* dhai) spuul dhur las·ĕen?	Cannot they spell their lesson?

Past Affirmative.

Aay kud (*emph.* kèo·d) aef-m ai·zĕe luyk, kèod-n ees?	I could heave it easily, could I not?
Dhee kuds (*emph.* kèo·ds) dùe ut neef wút, kèo·ds-n?	Thou couldst do it, if thou wilt, couldst not?

[1] With the first person plural of verbs used interrogatively, *uus* is always the pronoun used; but in our district it is not heard in affirmative sentences, as it is in Devonshire.

Uur kud (*emph.* keo·d) zeo·n slaa·t-n oa·vur, kèod-n ur?	She could soon slaat[1] it over (*i.e.* wash the room).
Wee kud lat ĕe ab-m u Dhuuz·dĕe,	We could let you have (*i.e.* lend) it on Thursday.
Ee kud bring un lau·ng wai· ĕe,	You could bring it (or *him*) along with you.
Dhai kud zèo·n saa·rch ut aewt, neef uun·ĕe dhai wuz u muyn tùe,	They could soon search it out, if only they had a mind to (lit. was minded to).

Past Negative.

Aay kèod-n uulp oa ut, kèod ees?	I could not help it, could I?
Dhee kèods-n ai·mp-m dhĕezuul·, kèods?	Thou couldst not empty it (by) thyself, couldst?
Ee (uur) kèod-n tuul um,	He (she) could not tell (*i.e.* count) them.
Wee kèod-n puut au·p wai ut noa lau·ng-gur,	We could not put up with it any longer.
Yùe kèod-n muyn zu lau·ng ugau·n, kèod· ĕe?	You could not remember so long ago, could you?
Dhai kèod-n núv·ur vuyn aewt dhu rai·ts oa ut,	They could not never find out the rights of it (*i.e.* the truth).

Past Interrogative Simple.

Kud aay (*or emph.* kèo·d aay) dĕepai·n pau·n un?	Could I depend upon him?
Kuds dhee dĕepai·n pun av·ĕen oa un?	Couldst thou depend upon having it?
Kèod ur maek shuuf-m[2] puut-n ee·n?	Could he make a shift and put it in? (*i.e.* plant the garden or sow the field).
Kèod uus kĕep-m vèol?	Could we keep it full?
Kud yùe lai·n faa·dhur u baa·tl-n wauj·ez?	Could you lend father a beetle and wedges?
Kèod dhai vuyn bad·r graewn vur tu tee·ŭlĕe?	Could they find ground better (*i.e.* easier) to till?

[1] To *slaa·t* is almost the equivalent of "to do," but it rather implies a hurried doing. A farmer would say to a man, *Lèok shaa·rp-n slaa·t-n oa·vur*, as an order to be quick in ploughing a field. Again it means "to throw." *Ee slaa·t-n rai·t laa·ng drŭs· un aewt dhu aewz*, "He flung it right the length of (lit. through and out) the house" (*i.e.* the living room). Also it means "to strike," *Ee slaa·t dhu ai·d oa un*, "He hit him on the head." To *slaa·t oa·vur* any piece of work is to do it rapidly, and frequently it is understood to imply haste at the expense of quality. It has various fine shades of meaning, which a native would readily understand from the tone of the speaker. See also specimen "Jack Stone."

[2] This form of *m* for *and* is very curious—following the rule of *n* changing into *m* after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v* (see p. 17, W. S. Dial.), owing to the *t* in *shift* being dropped. In the following sentence, for the same reason, the *m* stands for the pronoun *him* or *it* (*un*), contracted into *n*. This *m*-sound signifies *on* in our well-known adverb *laa·p-m taa·yŭl* = "up-side-down," lit. *top-on-tail*.

Past Interrogative Negative.

Kèod-n aay buyd au·m maa·ru mau·rnĕen?	Could not I stay at home to-morrow morning?
Kèods-n dhee wau·yt gin Vruy·-dĕe t-aa·dr-nèo·n?	Couldst thou not wait until Friday afternoon?
Kèod-n ur kau·m tu wuurk uz mau·rnĕen?	Could he not come to work this morning?
Kèod-n uus au·rdur ee·ns[1] u múd wuur·kĕe luyk?	Could not we order (*i.e.* contrive) so that he (*i.e.* the machine) might work like?
Kèod-n yùe uulp steech·ĕe[2] u beet?	Could not you help a bit to stitch? (tech. see note).
Kèod-n dhai kĕep au·p aa·dr?	Could not they keep up after? (*i.e.* perform their work as quickly as their fellow workers).

THE VERB *SHALL.*

Present Affirmative.

Aa·y shl (*emph.* aay shaa·l) g-uup-m zee· un, shaa·n ees?	I shall go up and see him, shan't I?
Dhee shút (*or*) dhee shaet· mack-n ee·n tu èo·d,	Thou shalt make it (the tree top) into wood (*i.e.* chop up and tie into faggots).
Uur· shl (*or* shaa·l) shoa·ŭr tu bee dhae·ŭr tu mĕet ĕe	She shall (be) certain to be there to meet you.
Wee· shl (*or* shaa·l) lau·s muun·ĕe lig dhaa·t dhae·ŭr, shaa·n ur?	We shall lose money like that (*i.e.* by doing so), shan't we?
Yùe shl (*or* yùe shaa·l) pik aewt weech ĕe wŭol·,	You shall pick out (*i.e.* choose) which you will.
Dhai shl (*or* shaa·l) kuut dhik·ĕe vee·ŭl naks.	They shall cut that field next.

[1] *Ee·ns* is a word of frequent use and of wide meaning. Generally it implies, as above, *in such a manner that*. *Ee·ns múd zai*, one of the commonest expletives after any kind of sentence, merely means *as one might say*. Again, *Aa·l tuut·ĕe ee·ns taĭ·z*, might mean either *I'll tell you how 'tis*, or *even as it is*, or more rarely, *I'll tell you what 'tis*. This phrase is a very common expletive beginning to a statement, or explanation; while in the latter use it implies anger or threatening. *Ee·ns* means also *why* or *wherefore*. *Aa·l tuut·ĕe ee·ns aay dùe·d ut* means, according to intonation, *I'll tell you how I did it*, or *I'll tell you why I did it*. The word has various other fine shades of meaning, as *Yùe kaa·n zai ee·ns uur oa·n ab-m aa·dr au·l*, "You cannot say but that she will have him after all," or Cockney "*how as that* she won't," etc., or "You can't say *as* she won't have him." [It is evidently a contraction of *e'en as*, *even as*, the *even* giving emphasis, as in "even now"; and compare the German *ebenso*. The varieties of meaning here given belong not to the *even*, but to the *as*, which, as in other dialects, is used for *so*, *how*, *that*, etc. —M.]

[2] *Tu steech·ĕe* is to follow the "binders" in the harvest field, and to set up the sheaves of corn two and two on end, so that they may support each other; ten sheaves are always thus placed together in two rows, and the little group so formed is called a *steech*.

Present Negative.

Aay shaa·n saa·r mĕe wae·ŭjez, shaa·l ees?	I shall not serve (*i.e.* earn) my wages, shall I? (*i.e.* "if I undertake this at 'piece work,' I shall not earn my usual wages").
Dhee shaet-n aa·t dhu maa·yd,	Thou shalt not hit the girl.
Ee shaa·n uur·t ĕe, mĕe puur·-dĕe!	He shall not hurt you, my pretty (one)!
Wee shaa·n ae·ŭ noa·ŭn dĕe yuur,	We shall not have none this (lit. to) year (compare *to-day*).
Yŭe shaa·n tich oa um,	You shall not touch (of) them.
Dhai shaa·n zai aew[1] aay stoa·ld mun	They shall not say (how) I stole them.

Present Interrogative Simple.

Shl-aay (*or* shaa·l aay) tuul ĕe au·l ubaew·d ut?	Shall I tell you all about it?
Shaet dhee goo tu maa·rkut ŭmbuy·?	Shalt thou go to market by-and-bye?
Shl-ee· (*or* shaa·l ur) km au·p-m zee· ĕe?	Shall he come up and see you?
Shl-uus (*or* shaa·l us) zai·n daewn vau·r-n?	Shall we send down for him (or *it*)?
Shul yŭe· (*or* shaa·l ĕe) bĕe au·m ŭmbuy· nai·t?	Shall you be at home to-night?
Shul dhai (*or* shaa·l um) wau·yt gin yŭe du kau·m?	Shall they wait until you come?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Shaa·n aay (*or* shaa·n ees) zee· ĕe ugee·ŭn, voa·r ĕe du goo·	Shall I not see you again, before you go?
Shaet-n dhee bee u-foo·ŭs tu gee ee·n?	Shalt not thou be forced (*i.e.* obliged) to give in? (*i.e.* to yield).
Shaa·n ur vach· dhu poa·lĕes?	Shall he not fetch the police?
Shaa·n us mĕet-n u Zún·dĕe?	Shall not we meet him on Sunday?
Shaa·n ĕe ae·ŭ nuuf· vur fún·-ĕesh aewt?	Shall you not have enough to finish out? (*i.e.* to complete).
Shaa·n yŭe ae·ŭ tu gee aewt tŭe ut?	Shall you not have (*i.e.* be obliged) to give out to it? (*i.e.* to leave it unfinished).
Shaa·n dhai staa·p dh-au·sez?	Shall not they stop the horses?

[1] This use of *how* is very common. It does not refer at all to *manner*, but is the simple connective particle for 'that,' like the *as* or *as how* of other districts, "He says *as* he was there." Compare the French, *e.g.* "Ils disent *que* je les ai. *Que* vous êtes joli!" where *que* is both *how* and *that*.

To *staa·p* is both transitive and intransitive. In the latter sense it means *to dwell, to lodge, to wait, to remain*, but not to cease from any active operation, as *Ee·z u-staa·pĕen tu Mús·uz Vuur·ĕekurz*, "He is lodging at Mrs. Fouracre's." If two men are working together, sawyers for instance, and one desires the other to cease working, he invariably says *oa·lt!* (halt!) So a row of mowers would never be told *to stop*, but *oa·lt soa·ŭs!* (halt mates!) The use of these words is very nicely defined in speaking to man and beast. To a man walking, *oa·lt!* To a horse, *wai·ĕe-ŭ!* To an ox or cow *woa·ŭ!* I heard a man say to another who was working with him, *Oa·lt! staa·p-m buyd stee·ŭl gin aay b-ee·n au·rdur*, "Halt! wait and keep still, until I am in order (*i.e.* ready)."

Past Affirmative.

Aay shúd (*or* aay shèo·d) luyk vur tu kaech-n,	I should like to catch him.
Dhee shúds muuv·ĕe lau·ng vaa·stur,	Thou shouldst move along faster.
Uur shúd (*or* uur shèo·d) buyd au·m un neet naa·yburĕe zoa,	She should stay at home and not neighbour so (*i.e.* go about gossiping with neighbours).
Wee shúd (*or* wee shèo·d) bee wús oa·f u maa·yn sai·t, aay kaewnt,	We should be a great deal worse off, I count (*i.e.* consider).
Yùe shúd zee vur tŭ truy vur tŭ vuyn un,	You should set to and try to find it (*lit.* see for to try).
Dhai shúd staa·p-m pee·s-nĕe, bĕe gèo·d rai·t,	They should remain, and mend up, by good right (*lit.* piecen).

Past Negative.

Aay shèod-n u-dhau·rt[1] u yuur ee·mpuruns,	I should not have thought of your impudence.
Dhee shèods-n u-droa·ŭd-n uwaa·y,	Thou shouldst not have thrown it away.
Uur shèod-n[2] u-spoa·kt gin ee aa·kst oa ur,	She should not have spoken until he asked her.
Wee shèod-n u-wai·nt neef dhai ad-n,	We should not have gone if they had not.
Yùe shèod-n aa·k[3] su fèol·ĕesh,	You should not be (*lit.* act) so foolish.
Dhai shèod-n[2] gee wai· tùe un,	They should not give way to him.

[1] This is a very common expression among girls, when rudely chaffed by boys, and is equivalent to *I am ashamed at your impudence. Aay shèod-n u-dhau·rt* implies angry surprise.

[2] *Should* in this sense is less frequent than *ought*, as *Uur daed-n aw·-tùe u-spoakt, Dhai daed-n aw·-tu gee wai*, would be the more usual forms of these sentences.

[3] *Tu aa·k* simply means *to do*, and usually means no more. *Haut b-ee aa·kt̆ĕen oa?* "What are you doing?" (*lit.* what be you acting of?) is the commonest of exclamations.

Past Interrogative Simple.

Shúd aay (*or* shèod aay) bee ae·ŭbl vur gèo·?	Should I be able to go? (*i.e.* may I go?)
Shúds dhee noa· un ugee·ŭn?	Shouldst thou know him again?
Shèod ur spai·k tu mae·ŭstur baewd ut?	Should he speak to master about it?
Shúd· us lat ut au·l buyd ee·ns t-wŭol?	Should we let it all remain as it will?
Shúd yùe wee·sh vur tu git-n?	Should you wish to get it?
Shúd dhai bee u-gid wau·rnĕen tùe?	Should warning be given to them?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Shèod-n aay ae·ū maa·yn plaa·yg wai un?	Should not I have a great plague with him?
Shèods-n dhee bee u-saa·rd jis· bud rai·t, naew?	Shouldst not thou be served just (but) right, now?
Shèod-n uur u-múl·kud voa·r naew?	Should she not have milked (the cows) before now?
Shèod-n uus bee brae·ŭv-m aa·ktĕe vur tu git ut au·l u-dùe·d?	Should we not be brave and (*i.e.* bravely) active to get it all done?
Shèod-n yùe bee u-buuwd mau·s tùe·duub·l?[1]	Should not you be bent almost double?
Shèod-n dhai u-wai·nt deep·ur?	Should not they have gone deeper?

Verb *MAY, MIGHT.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay (*or* u) múd su wuul bee traa·nspoo·ŭrtúd, múd-n ees?	I may as well be transported, may I not?
Dhee múds ab-m eef[2] wút,	Thou mayst have it if thou wilt.
Ee (ai, u, uur) múd kau·m un u múd-n,	He, she, may come, and he, she, may not.
Wee múd bee u muyn tùe, praa·ps,	Perhaps we may be in the mind to (do it).
Yùe múd bee ae·ŭbl vur pèol-n aewt,	You may be able to pull it out.
Dhai múd tuurn aewt múd·lĕen luyk,	They may turn out middling.

[1] *Tùe·duub·l* is the usual form of expression for anything bent back upon itself, as a piece of iron bent so that the two ends are together. I have often heard, *Dhee·s u-buuwd mĕe zuyv puur·dĕe nee·ŭr tùe·duub·l*, "Thou hast bent my scythe pretty nearly two-double." An old man stooping very much is thus described: *Poo·ŭr oa·l fuul·ur, ee·z u-kau·m vur tu gèo mau·s tùe·duub·l*, "Poor old fellow, he is come for to go almost two-double."

[2] This is another example of the dropping of one, when two similar consonants come together—there are three changes in *ab-m eef*. 1. *v* into *b*. 2. *n* into *m*, the alternative of *ab-m* being *ae·un*. 3. The dropping of *n* in *neef*.

Present Negative.

Aay (*or* u) múd-n zee· ĕe gin u Zún·dĕe tu chuurch,	I might not see you until Sunday at church.
Dhee múds-n ae·ŭ tuym vur tu wŭom·ĕe tùe·,	Thou mayst not have time to winnow too (*i.e.* as well as thrash).
Ee, u, uur múd-n lam· ĕe tùe aa·dr au·l, múd u?	He, she, may not let me (*i.e.* allow me) to (do it) after all, may he (or she)?
Wee múd-n brùe·ĕe uz vau·rt-nai·t	We may not brew for a fortnight (*lit.* this fortnight).
Yùe múd-n soa·ŭrt um aewt vút·ĕe,	You may not sort them out properly.
Dhai múd-n voo·ŭrj-n trùe,	They may not forge it true (*i.e.* straight or round).

Present Interrogative Simple.

Múd aay zaa·lt-n ee·n[1] vaur ĕe?	May I salt (*i.e.* cure) it for you?
Múds dhee gi mĕe lúb·urtĕe tùe?	Mayst thou give me leave to (do it)?
Múd uur· zoa un au·p vaur mĕe?	May she sew it up for me?
Múd ur klúm au·p aa·dr-n?	May he climb up after it (*i.e.* to get it)?
Múd uus plaa·y ee·n yoa·ŭr vee·ŭl oa graewn, plai·z?	May we play in your field, please?
Múd yùe slúp daewn umbuy·?	May you slip (come) down by-and-bye?
Múd dhai klúp dh-oa·l au·s?	May they clip the old horse?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Múd-n aay (ur, ees) goo lau·ng u dhai (*or* wai um)?	May not I go with them?
Múds-n dhee uulp kuut-n?	Mayst thou not help (to) cut it? (*i.e.* the field of grass).
Múd-n ee (uur) git dhu wŭop an· oa un?	May not he, she, get the whip-hand?
Múd-n uus au·n-dhau·[2] dhu pluump?	May not we thaw the pump?
Múd-n yùe mau·s su wuul buyd au·m?	May not you almost as well stay at home?
Múd-n um (dhai) vaa·l pun[3] ún·ĕebau·dĕe?	May not they attack one?

[1] To *zaa·lt* and to *zaa·lt ee·n* are very different expressions; the former is simply to apply *salt*, the latter is to *cure*, as bacon or hams are cured.

[2] This is the transitive form, the intransitive is *dhau·ĕe*, as *Tl dhau·ĕe tu nai·t*, "It will thaw to-night."

[3] The expression *tu vaa·l paun* (to fall upon, *i.e.* to pitch into) is our commonest method of signifying *assault* and *battery*. *Ee vaa·l paun ur un saa·rd ur shee·ŭmfĕol*, "He fell upon her and served her shamefully," is the too-common recital of the doings of a brutal husband upon his wife. Compare *passim*. 2 Samuel i. 15, "Go near, and *fall upon* him. And he smote him that he died."

The form *may* is not used; even in the sense of permission, it is expressed by *múd* (might), as in the foregoing examples.

The Verb *DO*.

This verb is not often used except as an auxiliary, though there are some senses in which, being technical, it is always employed, as: *Tu dùe au·p u au·s*, "To do up a horse," means to give him his bed and make him up for the night. Also *tu dùe au·p* is used in the ordinary conventional sense of repairing, or making neat, as with a house, a garment, a carriage, a garden, etc. Again: *Naew aay bee u-dùe·d* is a common form of saying, "Now I am done for."

Such a phrase as "What are you doing?" is never heard, *Haut bee baewt?* "What are you about?" is the common equivalent. *Kan ur kau·m ut?* would be simply "Can he do it?" in the sense of being able to accomplish something rather indefinite. *Kan ur dùe ut?* would have rather a technical sense, and would be asked in reference to some definite work to be done, as the repair of a broken tool by a smith. Merely to express action, we seldom use the word *do*, but usually a more definite verb signifying the specific work or action going on.

Duun! is the general expression used, to accept a challenge, to clench a bargain or a bet. The past tense and past participle of *do*, when used in the limited and technical sense, are *dùed* and *u-dùed* or *u-duun·d* (see Conjugations, pp. 187 and 190).

Dùe·ĕe and *Dùe·ĕe naew* are very frequent persuasive expletives, or rather forms of emphasis to a previous petition, as *Truy wur ĕe kaa·n taek· u lee·dl bee·t, kau·m dùe·ĕe naew!* "Try whether you cannot take (*i.e.* eat) a little bit, come *do* now!" *Dùe·ĕe lèok shaa·rp-m laa·rn yur bèok, dhae·ŭr-z u gèo·d maa·yd!* "Do look sharp and learn your book, there is a good girl!"

Present Affirmative.

Asy dū aj·ĕe moo·ĕes tuymz,	I am generally a hedger (*lit.* I do hedge most times).
Dhee dús drai·vĕe shau·kĕen bae·ūd,	Thou dost drive shockingly badly.

Uur dŭ kwĕel·ĕe tŭ baeg·,[1]	She quills too big
Wee dŭ au·vĕes drai·v wau·n uvoa·r tuudh·ur,	We always drive one before the other (*i.e.* tandem).
Yùe dŭ zúl trae·ŭkl, doa·ŭnee?	You sell treacle, don't you?
Dhai dŭ maek ún·ĕebau·dĕe paa·y tuur·ubl dee·ŭr,	They make one pay very dear.

Past Affirmative Negative.

Aay daed-n mai·n tùe, shoa·ŭr!	I did not intend it, indeed!
Aay daed-n zai zoa, daed ur (ees)?	I did not say so, did I?
Dhee daeds-n dùe ut u beet luyk oa·ŭrt, daeds naew?	Thou didst not do it at all well, didst now? (*lit.* a bit like ought).
Uur daed-n au·f[2] tùe u-wai·nt unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs,	(*lit.*) She did not ought to have went aneast the place.
Wee daed-n au·-tŭ gee· su muuch, daed uus naew?	We ought not to give so much, did (ought) we now?
Yùe daed-n muyn haut aay toa·ld ĕe, daed ĕe naew?	You did not remember what I told you, did you now?
Dhai daed-n laef noa·ŭrt yuur vur mee, daed um?	They did not leave anything here for me, did they?

Present Interrogative.

Du aay (*or* d-aay) úv·ur kĕep wuurk ubaewt?	Do I ever keep work about? (*i.e.* delay to finish it).
Dús dhee muyn aew lau·ng ugau·n taez?	Dost thou remember how long ago it is?
Dùe ee· (*or* dúth u) saa·r nuuf tu maa·yntaa·yn-z zuul?	Does he earn enough to maintain himself?
Du wee (*emph.* dùe· uus) wau·n-tu chai·t ĕe, d-ĕe dhingk?	Do we want to cheat you, do you think?
Du yùe (*or* dùe· ĕe) au·vĕes kuut yuur zee·ŭd tae·ŭdĕez?	Do you always cut your seed potatoes? (*i.e.* in planting).
Du dhai puut ut au·p vuur·ĕe aa·y?	Do they put it up (*i.e.* charge) very high?

Present Interrogative Negative.

Doa·n aay (*or* doa·n ees) rai·pĕe noa vaa·stur-n ee·?	Do not I reap (no) faster than he?
Dús-n dhee zúm· taez nae·ŭrshun au·t?	Dost thou not seem (*i.e.* think) it is 'nation hot?

[1] To wind yarn by hand from a skein, or hank, on to a bobbin, or spool, for the shuttle in weaving, is called *tu kweel* or *kwee·ŭlĕen* (to quill or quilling). In the example above it means that she winds the spools too large, *i.e.* puts on too much yarn, to allow it to be placed in the shuttle. This operation is always necessary in the case of yarn that has been dyed; and, until recent times, was always performed by women or children, who were called *kwĕel·urz* (quillers).

[2] *Ought* is pronounced both *au·f* and *au·t*, most commonly *au·f*.

Doa·n ee (*or* dúth-n ee *or* ur) núv·ur tae·ŭk noa·ŭrt?	Does not he ever take anything? (*i.e.* to drink) (*lit.* never take nought).
Doa·n uus naut au· t-ae·ŭ haut-s kaum·ĕen tùe-s?	(*lit.*) Do not us not ought to have what is coming (*i.e.* due) to us?
Doa·n yùe núv·ur g-uup lau·ng wai um u Zún·deez?	(*lit.*) Do not you never go up along with them on Sundays?
Doa·n um (*or* doa·n dhai) au·vĕes puut dhu wau·rshĕen aewt?	Do not they always put the washing out?

Past Interrogative Simple.

Daed aay (*or* ees) lai·n dhee muy pik?	Did I lend thee my pick-axe?
Daeds dhee tuul dhu shĕep z-mau·rnĕen?	Didst thou tell (*i.e.* count) the sheep this morning?
Daed uur bĕespai·k dhu mau·ŭrt u bèoch·ur Truyp?	Did she bespeak the lard of butcher Tripe?
Daed uus au·-tu gee· un au·p?	(*lit.*) Did we ought to give it (or him) up?
Daed yùe paa·y au·l dhu shaup bee·ŭlz?	Did you pay all the shop bills?
Daed um (*or* dhai) mĕet wai puur·dĕe gèo·d luuk?	Did they meet with (*i.e.* had they) pretty good luck?

Past Interrogative Negative.

Daed-n aay (*or* ees) tuul ĕe aew t-wúd bee·, naew?	Did I not tell you how it would be, now?
Daeds-n dhee wau·n-tu fún·ĕesh voa·r naew?	Didst not thou want to have finished before this time?
Daed-n ee núv·ur mai·n vur kau·m noa moo·ŭr?	Did he not ever mean to come again?
Daed-n uus (*or* wee) yùe·z tu gèo· dhik·ĕe dhae·ŭr wai?	Did not we use to go that way?
Daed-n yùe zai yùe zee·d-n yuur oa·n zuul?	Did not you say you saw him your own self?
Daed-n dhai zúm dhai ad-n u-gau·t fae·ŭr plaa·y?	Did not they seem (*i.e.* believe) they had not got fair play?

Imperative.

Dŭ dhee· zee· aut ĕe kn dùe vau·r-n,	Do thou see what you can do for him.
Doa·n dhee núv·ur lat mee yuur dhaat dhae·ŭr noa moo·ŭr, sh-uur!	Do not thou ever let me hear that again, dost hear!
Dhee dùe dhee bas·, un-eet lèok aa·dr haut vŏaks du zai,	Thou do thy best, and not look after (*i.e.* never mind) what folks say.
Doa·n yùe puut yur zuul· aewt dhu wai,	Do not put yourself out (of) the way (*i.e.* do not inconvenience yourself).

VERB *TO KNOW.*

Present Affirmative.

Aay du noa· au·l baewd ut,	I know all about it.
(*Emph.*) Aay noa·us ùe· uur zaed ut tùe,	I know to whom she said it.
Dhee-s noa· wae·ŭr taez rai·t ur noa,	Thou knowest whether it is right or not.
Ee du noa· (*emph.* ee noa·us, *or* ee nau·th) dhu rai·ts oa ut, ee·ns múd zai,	He knows the rights of it, as one may say.
Wee du noa· (*emph.* wee noa·us) wuur dhai kau·m vraum,	We know where they came from.
Yùe du noa· (*or* yùe noa·us) aew aay zaed ee·ns aay wúd-n ae·ŭ noa angks wai un,	You know how I said (how) I would have nothing to do with him (*lit.* no hanks with).
Dhai du noa· (*or* dhai noa·us) t-waud-m mee dùe·d ut,[1]	They know it was not I (who) did it.

Present Negative.

[2]Aay doa-noa· noa moa·ŭr-n dhu dai·d, ĕentuy·,[3]	I do not know any more than the dead, not I.
Dhees-n (*or*) dhee dús-n noa noa·ŭrt, zuy·noa! (*or*) tuy·noa!	Thou dost not know aught, as I know! (or) that I know, (expletive).
Uur doanoa· guurt Bee· vrum u bèolz veo·t,[4]	She does not know great B from bull's foot.
Wee doa-noa aut uur-dh u-dùe·d wai un,	We do not know what she has done with it.
Yùe doa-noa een·s dhai mud·n kau·m ugee·ŭn,	You do not know but that they may come again.
Dhai doa-noa wau·n mau·sl beet[5] aew dhai bee gwaa·yn tu lee·v,	They do not know at all (*lit.* one morsel bit) how they are going to live.

Past Affirmative.

Aay noa·ŭd wuur u wauz tùe, au·l sae·ŭm tuym,	I knew where he was all the time.
Dhee-s noa· bud dhee wúts-n tuul ún·ĕebau·dĕe,	Thou knewest but thou wouldst not tell one.
Uur noa·ŭd aew mún·ĕe bee·ŭnz maek vai·v,[6]	She knew how many beans make five.

[1] Relative very frequently omitted. See p. 183.

[2] This and the preceding sentence are the commonest disclaimers in the dialect.

[3] This is a very frequent expletive after a negative affirmation—see Fielding's Tom Jones, book iv. chap. viii., "I don't know measter, un·t I."

[4] The regular stock phrase to express ignorance or stupidity.

[5] Very common phrase.

[6] The stock phrase to express sharpness or cleverness. Compare *Ee·z noa fèol, ee aed·n*, "He is no fool, he is not!"

Wee noa·ŭd vuur·ĕe wuul u kèod-n kau·m ut,	We knew very well he could not come it (*i.e.* accomplish).
Yùe noa·ŭd zu wuul-z mee dhai waud-n fút,	You knew as well as I (did that) they were not fit (*i.e.* not properly fatted).
Dhai noa·d ee·ns dhur wuz súv·ur oa-m dhae·ŭr buy·,	They knew that there were several of them there close at hand.

Perfect Affirmative.

Aay-v u-noa·d (*or* u-nau·d) u dhing· ur tùe bee muy tuym,	I have known a thing or two by (*i.e.* in) my time.
Dhee-s u-noa·ud (*or* u-nau·d) u suyt moo·ŭr-n dhee-s u-toa·ld oa,	Thou hast known a sight more than thou hast told.
Ee-v (*or* ee·dh, uur·dh) u-noa·d ut au·l drùe un aewt,	He, she, has known it all throughout.
Wee-v u-noa·d-n kuus·ĕe puur·dĕe wuul, uvoa·r naew,	We have have known him curse pretty well, before now.
Yùe-v u-noa·d wai·t au·l su[1] dee·ŭr, aa·n ee?	You have known wheat quite as dear, have you not?
Dhai-v u-noa·ud wuul nuuf wau·t dhai wuz au·p tùe,	They have known well enough what they were up to (*i.e.* intending to do).

FULL CONJUGATION OF THE VERB

TO SING.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Habitual.

	TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affirm.	Aay dŭ zing, aay zingz,	Aay du zing·ĕe *or* aay zing·us.
Emphatic.	,, dùe· zing,	,, dùe· zing·ĕe.
Negative.	,, doa·ŭn zing,	,, doa·ŭn zing·ĕe.
Neg. Emp.	,, dùe nau·t zing,	,, dùe nau·t zing·ĕe.
Interrog.	Dŭ aay zing,	Dŭ aay zing·ĕe.
Neg. Int.	Doa·n ĕes zing,	Doa·n ees zing·ĕe.
Suasive.	Dùe aay nau·t zing,	Dùe aay nau·t zing·ĕe.
Dissuasive.	Doa·n aay nau·t zing	Doa·n aay nau·t zing·ĕe.

	Present Actual. TRANS. AND INTRANS.	*Imperfect.* TRANS. AND INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay bĕe zing·ĕen,	Aay wuz u-zing·ĕen.
Emph.	,, bee· u-zing·ĕen,	,, wau·z u-zing·ĕen.
Neg.	,, bae·ŭn zing·ĕen,	,, waud·n u-zing·ĕen.
N. Em.	,, bae·ŭnt u-zing·ĕen,	,, wuz nau·t u-zing·ĕen.

[1] Compare Ags. *eal swa*, whence our *alse, als, as;* and German *all so: Es ist allso theuer.*—M.

Inter.	Bee aay zing·ĕen,	Wuz aay zing·ĕen.
N. Int.	Bae·ŭn aay zing·ĕen.	Waud-n-ĕes zing·ĕen.
Suasive.	Bee aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen,	Wuz aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen.
Dissua.	Bae·ŭn-ĕes nau·t u-zing·ĕen	Waud-n aay nau·t u-zing·ĕen.

Past General.

	TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay zing(d,[1]	Aay zing·ud, dúd zing·ĕe.
Emph.	,, daed· zing,	,, daed· zing·ĕe.
Neg.	,, daed-n zing,	,, daed-n zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	,, daed nau·t zing,	,, daed nau·t zing·ĕe.
Inter.	Daed aay zing,	Daed aay zing·ĕe.
N. Int.	Daed-n ĕes zing,	Daed-n-ĕes zing·ĕe.
Suasive.	Daed aay nau·t zing,	Daed aay nau·t zing·ĕe.
Dissua.	Daed-n aay nau·t zing,	Daed-n aay nau·t zing·ĕe.

Past Habitual.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay yùe·z	tŭ zing.	tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	,, daed yùe·z		
Neg.	,, yùez nau·t / daed-n yùe·z		
N. Em.	,, núv·ur daed-n yùe·z		
Inter.	Daed aay (*or* ĕes) yùe·z		
N. Int.	Daed-n aay (*or* ĕes) yùe·z		
Suasive.	Daed aay yùe·z nau·t		
Dissua.	Daed-n aay (ĕes) yùe·z nau·t		

Perfect Indefinite.

		TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay-v	u-zing(d.[1]	u-zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay ae·ŭ / Aay yaa·v		
Neg.	Aay aa·nt		
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t		
Inter.	Uv aay		
N. Int.	Aa·n aay (*or* aa·n ĕes)		
Suasive.	Uv aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t		

Perfect Definite.

	TRANS. AND INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay bún
Emph.	Aay yaa·v u-bún
Neg.	Aay aa·n u-bún
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t u-bún
Inter.	Uv aay bún / Aa·v-ĕes bún
N. Int.	Aa·n aay (*or* aa·n ĕes) bún
Suasive.	Uv aay nau·t bún
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t bún

zing·ĕen *or* u-zing·ĕen.

[1] The (d pronounced before a vowel; see antè, p. 161.

Pluperfect Indefinite.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay-d	u-zing(d.	u-zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay ad·		
Neg.	Aay ad-n		
N. Em.	Aay ad-n nau·t		
Inter.	Ud aay		
N. Int.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes)		
Suasive.	Ud aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t		

Pluperfect Definite.

Trans. and intrans.

Affir.	Aay-d u-bún
Emph.	Aay ad· u-bún
Neg.	Aay ad-n u-bún
N. Em.	Aay nŭv·ur ad-n u-bún
Inter.	Ud aay bún
N. Int.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) bún
Suasive.	Ud aay nau·t bún
Dissua.	Ad-n aay (*or* ĕes) nau·t bún

zing·ĕen.

Simple Future.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aa·l	zing.	zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay wúl·		
Neg.	Aay oa·n		
N. Em.	Aay oa·nt nau·t		
Inter.	Wúl-ur[1]		
N. Int.	Oa·n-ur		
Suasive.	Wúl ur nĕet		
Dissua.	Oa·n ur nau·t		

Future of Design.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay-v u-gaut	vur tŭ zing.	vur tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay aa·v u-gaut		
Neg.	Aay aa·n u-gaut		
N. Em.	Aay aa·n nau·t u-gaut		
Inter.	Uv ĕes u-gaut Bee aay		
N. Int.	Aa·n aay u-gaut Bae·ŭn aay (ĕes)		
Suasiv.	Uv aay nau·t u-gaut Bee aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Aa·n aay (ĕes) nau·t u-gaut Bae·ŭn ĕes nau·t		

[1] First person not used with *will* interrogatively.

Future Proximate.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay bee	gwai·n vur tŭ zing.	gwai·n vur tŭ zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay bee·		
Neg.	Aay bae·ŭn		
N. Em.	Aay bae·ŭn nau·t		
Inter.	Bee aay		
N. Int.	Bae·ŭn ĕes		
Suasive.	Bee aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Bae·ŭn ĕes nau·t		

Future of Obligation.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	Aay· shl	zing.	zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Aay shaa·l		
Neg.	Aay shaa·n		
N. Em.	Aay shaa·n nau·t		
Inter.	Shl-ur, shl-aay		
	Shaa·l aay, shaa·l ĕes [1]		
N. Int.	Shaa·n-ur, shaa·n aay		
Suasive.	Shl-ur nau·t		
	Shl-aay nau·t		
Dissua.	Shaa·n-ur nau·t		
	Shaa·n aay nau·t		

Future Perfects (*see Conjugation of* Shall).

Aa·y shl u zing(d, Aay shl u bún[2] zing·ĕen, etc., etc.
Aa·y shl-v u-zing·d, Aay shl-v u-bún zing·ĕen *or* u-zing-ĕen.

Subjunctive Mood of Purpose.

	Present and Past.	*Perfect and Pluperfect.*
Affir.	(Dhut) u múd zing, -zing·ĕe.	(Dhut) aay múd u-zing(d, -ud.
Neg.	(Dhut) u múd-n zing, -zing·ĕe.	(Dhut) u múd-n u-zing(d, -ud.

(*See Conjugation of* May, p. 211).

Subjunctive of Supposition.

Present.

		Trans.	Intrans.
Affir.	(Neef) aay	dŭ zing.	-zing·ĕe.
	,,	zingz.	zing·us.
Emph.	,,	dùe· zing.	-zing·ĕe.
Neg.	,,	doa·ŭn zing.	-zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	,,	doa·ŭn nau·t zing.	-zing·ĕe.

[1] *Shaa·l ĕes?* rather implies asking permission or advice. *Shaa·l aay?* asks both as to whether it is certain that "I shall," and also "Do you wish or advise me?"

[2] The *u* here, as remarked previously (see note, p. 192), is not the participial prefix, but *have*. When the *v* in *have* is sounded, the prefix is never dropped.

Past.

Affir.	Neef aay zing(d.[1]		-zing·ud.
	,,	dúd zing.	-zing·ĕe.
Emph.	,,	daed· zing.	,,
Neg.	,,	daed-n zing.	,,
N. Em.	,,	daed-n nau·t zing.	,,

SUBJUNCTIVE CONDITIONAL.

Past.

	TRANS.		INTRANS.
Affir.	Aay· shd,[2] ee wúd (*or* ee-d)	zing	zing·ee.
Emph.	Aay shèo·d, ee wúd·,	,,	,,
Neg.	Aay shèod-n, ee wèod-n (*or* èod-n),	,,	,,
N. Em.	Aay shèod-n nau·t, ee wèod-n nau·t,	,,	,,

Perfect.

Affir.	Aay·-shd, ee wúd (*or* ee-d),	u zing(d	u zing·ud.
Emph.	Aay shèo·d, ee wúd·,	,,	,,
Neg.	Aay shèod-n, ee wèod-n (*or* èod-n),	,,	,,
N. Em.	Aay shèod-n nau·t, ee wúd-n nau·t	,,	,,

IMPERATIVE.

	TRANS.	INTRANS.
Affir.	Zing!	Zing·ĕe.
Emph.	Dhee muus· zing,	Dhee muus· zing·ĕe.
Neg.	Doa·ŭn zing,	Doa·un zing·ĕe.
N. Em.	Doa·ŭn (*or*) dùe· naut zing,	Doa·ŭn (*or*) dùe· naut zing·ĕe.
	Dhee muus-n zing,	Dhee muus-n zing·ĕe.
Suavive.	Dùe· ĕe zing,	Dùe· ĕe zing·ĕe.
Dissua.	Doa·n ĕe zing,	Doa·n ĕe zing·ĕe.

INFINITIVE.

Pres. Act.	Tu zing,	Tu zing·ĕe.
Pres. Hab.	Tu bee zing·ĕen,	Tu bee zing·ĕen (*or*) u-zing·ĕen.
Pf. Indef.	Tùe u-zing·(d,	Tùe u zing·ud.
	Tùe-v u-zing·(d,	Tùe-v u-zing·ud.
Pf. Def.	Tùe u bún zing·ĕen,	*or* u-zing·ĕen. (Same as Trans.)
	T-u bún zing·ĕen,	
	Tùe-v u-bún zing·ĕen.	
Fut. Act.	Tu bee gwai·n vur zing,	Tu bee u-gwaa·yn vur zing·ĕe.
Fut. Prox.	Tu be u-gwai·n vur tu bee u-zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)

[1] *Neef aay zing dhu zau·ng* questions the statement that *I sang the song; neef aay daed zing* puts the hypothesis *If I should sing, If I were to sing*, which is also expressed *Neef aay wuz vur tŭ zing.*

[2] *Should* with 1st, *would* with 2nd and 3rd persons.

PARTICIPLES.

Present.	Zing·ĕen (*or*) u-zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)
Past.	U-zing·(d,	U-zing·ud.
Future.	Gwai·n (*or*) gwaa·yn vur zing,	Gwai·n (*or*) gwaa·yn vur zing·ĕe.

GERUND.

Zing·ĕen,	(Same as Trans.)

As has been already mentioned (see p. 194) *for* occurs both in conjunction with *to* and alone, when governing the infinitive; on the whole, I should say that in the hill country, towards Exmoor, *for* is oftener used without the usual governing preposition than with it, while in the vale district it is just the opposite. *Uur waud-n ae·ŭbl vur dùe·-t,* "She was not able (for) to do it" (Hill). A father said in my hearing to a lazy son, *Wuy·s-n goo· vur tu zee· vur tu truy· vur tu saa·r sau·mfĕen?* "Why dost not go (for) to see (for) to try (for) to earn something?" (Vale). Again, the simple present infinitive is constantly used for the gerund, as: *Dhai bee goo tu pluw,* "They are gone *to* plough," i.e. *ploughing,* not *to plough* the ground. *Ee wuz tu wuurk haun aay kau·m,* "He was to work (i.e. *working*) when I came."

The gerund in *to* is constantly used to express the act of *undertaking* the work or action signified by the verb, as: *Mae·ŭsn Uur·chuts-v u-teokt dhu aewz tu bee·ŭldĕen,* "Mason Richards has taken the house *to building,*" i.e. the contract to build. *Jan Uurd tèok muy graa·s tu kuut·ĕen,* "John Red (very common name) took my grass *to* cutting." *Ee tèok ut tu dùe·ĕen,* "He undertook it." *To take to doing* has also the particular meaning (implied by context or intonation) of *scolding.* See specimen "Lord Popham."

The perfect participle is sometimes substituted for the present, as *Ee wuz u kaa·pĕekul lai·p au·s,* "He was a capital *leapt* horse," *i.e.* leaping horse. The phrase *good leapt horse* is the regular description of a hunter; I have frequently seen it in local advertisements of horses for sale. Also a "good goer" is *U geo·d staa·pt au·s,* "A good stept horse," *i.e.* stepping. Compare "A plain *spoken* man," "A well *read* man," etc.

To a stranger much confusion would seem to exist as to ownership, in the use of the verb *belong*. A man said to me, *Bee yüe dhu jin·lmun dhut bĕelau·ngz tu dhús yuur bee·ûldĕen?* "Are you the gentleman that belongs to this here building?" In a fair, the general mode of inquiry as to ownership is—*Du yüe bĕelau·ng tu dhai·z yuur stee·ûrz?* "Do you belong to these here steers?" *Ue· du bĕelau·ng tu dhee·ûz au·s?* "Who belongs to this horse?"

THE PASSIVE VOICE.

The formation of passives is simple, and may be easily understood by reference to the examples under the auxiliary verbs. The use of the passive is comparatively rare, and to give a passive form to sentences which are at all involved in their construction or meaning, it is often necessary to go a long way round, as in the case of the complex relatives, in order to convey the idea. In such a phrase as *the dinner is being cooked*, although we might say *dhu dún·ur-z u-draas·ĕen*, the precise idea would not be conveyed. To do this we must return to the simple active: *Dhai bee u-draas·ĕen u dhu dún·ur*. To express that the cooking is just now complete, we should say, *Dhu dún·ur-z u-fún·ĕesh draas·ĕen*, or *Dhai-v u-fún·ĕesh u-draas·ĕen u dhu dún·ur*. For "It is said that we shall have war," we should say, *Dhai du zai aew dhut wee bee u-gwaa·yn vur t-ae·ŭ wau·ŭr*.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs of manner are usually formed as in ordinary English, except that, instead of *ly*, we generally sound the full syllable *luyk*. This is sometimes attached to the word to which it belongs, at others separated and placed after the verb, thus: *Ee du zing·ĕe laewd· luyk*, "He sings loudly." *Dhai-v u puur·dĕe nee·ŭr u-dùe·d luyk*, "They have pretty nearly done." *Uur kn git drùe· ut ai·zĕe luyk*, or *Uur kn ai·zĕe git drùe· ut luyk*, "She can easily finish it." *Dhaat-s vuur·ĕe wuul u-dùe·d luyk*, "That's very well done." *Uur wau·kth wuul luyk*, "She walks well." In these last examples we have

the *luyk* even after *well*, itself an adverb. Doubtless our fondness for simile has tended to the preservation of the adverbial *like*, and we have, consequently, a number of conventional similes taking the place of the superlative adverb. *Ee uur·n lig u lau·ng duug*, "He ran like a greyhound," *i.e.* very quickly. *Aay wuur·ks lig u au·s*, "I work like a horse."

Adverbs are compared in the same way as adjectives, by inserting the distinctive terminations *ur* and *ĕes* before *luyk*. *More* and *most* are not used as forms of comparison of adverbs, even when the word is polysyllabic; but they are frequently used as intensitives along with the regular comparisons, thus: *Aay zúm ee du wuurk dhu moo·ĕes au·rdurli-ĕes luyk uv ún·ĕe mae·ŭn aay noa·ŭs*, "I consider he works the most *orderliest like* of any man I know." The same rule of adding the *luyk* applies to adjectives in *ly*, when used adverbially, as: *Dhai chik·ĕen du lèok luy·vlĕe luyk*, "Those chickens look *livelily*." *Dhai zaed ee·ns uur wuz luuv·lĕe u-draas· luyk*, "They said how that she was *lovelily* dressed."

The termination *wai·z* is used to change some nouns and adjectives into adverbs, as *zuydwai·z* (sideways), *vrau·ngwai·z* (wrongways), *vruytwai·z* (rightways), etc.

Faa·rshĕen, "fashion," added to nouns or adjectives, gives them an adverbial force, thus *bran·dĕes faa·rshĕen* is "triangularly." *U oa·l yoa· u-draas·t au·p laa·m faa·rshĕen*, "An old ewe dressed up like a lamb," is the usual description of a lady in too youthful attire. So *skùe·faa·rshĕen* means "diagonally," *slúnfaa·rshĕen*, "slantingly," *treefaa·rshĕen*, "tree-like."

Also is frequently expressed by *un au·l*. Thus—*Main un bwuuyz un au·l*,[1] "Men and boys also." *Aay zaed zoa tùe un un au·l*, "I said so to him, also," *i.e.* moreover. A well-known old song has the chorus refrain ending in *Un poo·ŭr oa·l uung·kl Tau·m Kaub·lĕe un au·l*, "And poor old uncle Tom Cobley and all." Besides these may be noted—

[1] This is widely diffused in the English dialects. In Scotland also *an'a'* (un-aa·) is the ordinary equivalent of *also*, "Nichol an' Alick an' a'."—M.

astrad·l	(astride)	taa·p-m taa·yŭl	(top on tail, *i.e.* upside down)
au·l ulau·ng	(at full length)		
un ee·n	(on end)	baak-n voa·r	(back in front)
aup-m ee·n	(up on end, *i.e.* upright)	ee·n un aewt	(inside out)
		praa·ps	(perhaps)
aup-m daewn	(topsy turvy)	mĕe-aa·p	(mayhap)
bĕeluy·k	(probably)	uuls	(else, otherwise).

Adverbs of Degree are also generally formed with *luyk*, even when there is no termination in *ly* in the corresponding English word; as *after, rather, pretty much, all, quite, almost, very, very much, very well, too, too much.* The same applies to all the words such as *awful, mortal, terrible*, etc., which form the superlative absolute of adjectives.

Wuz mae·ŭstur een u yee·ŭt luyk? Wuul aay zúmd u wau·z rae·ŭdhur luyk. "Was master in a heat (*i.e.* angry)? Well! I fancied he was rather*ly*." *Uur-z u nuys yuung uum·un, uun·ĕe aay zúm uur du tau·kĕe puur·dĕe muuch luyk,* "She is a nice young woman, only I seem (fancy) she talks pretty much*ly*." *Ees! ee-v u-dik-n au·l luyk,* "Yes! he has dyked (*tech.* used in hedging) it all*ly*." *Voa·r ún·ĕebau·dĕe kèod kau·m tùe um, dh-aewnz-d u-toa·ŭrd-n au·l tu pée·sez maus luyk,* "Before one could get to them, the hounds had torn him (the fox) all to pieces almost*ly*." *Dhikĕe rik-s u-puut aup vuur·ĕe wuul luyk,* "That rick is put up very well-*ly*." *Poo·ŭr oal soa·l! uur kaa·n yuur vuur·ĕe muuch luyk,* "Poor old soul! she cannot hear very much*ly*." *Aa·l gee·ĕe waun tùe luyk,* "I will give you one, too-*ly*." *Ez ur u gèod fuul·ur tu wuurk? Wuul! dhai vrak·nz aew u úz· vuur·ĕe luyk,* "Is he a good fellow to work? Well! they reckon that he is, very." *Muuch* often means *strange, remarkable*, as: *Tez muuch yùe ad-n u-mĕet-n,* "It is strange you did not meet him." *Twuz muuch dhai kèod-n vuyn un,* "It was strange they could not find it."

In comparing, *as* is not used both before and after the adjective. We always say, like our German cousins, *Su gree·n-z u lik,* "*So* green as a leek."[1] This form is con-

[1] Compare Shaksp. Richard III. ii. 1. 83, "Look I *so* pale *as* the rest?" Romeo and Juliet, i. 1. 140, "All *so* soon *as*," etc., etc. The Ags. was *swá grén swá*, or strengthened, *eal swá* grén *swá*. This dialect retains the original form of the West Saxon in the first *so*, though in common with the other modern forms of speech it has substituted *as* for *so* in the second clause.—M.

stantly strengthened by *all* = altogether, quite. *Uur-z au·l su bae·ŭd-z ee·*, "She is quite as bad as *he*." *Dhik-s au·l su gèo·d-z tuudh·ur*, "That one is quite as good as the other." *Yoa·ŭr bèots bee au·l s-aev·ĕe-z muyn*, "Your boots are quite as heavy as mine."

The "so" of degree of received English is *dhaat* (or sometimes *dhaat dhae·ŭr*) with us, as in so many other of the English dialects. *Aay wuz u-tèok dhaat bae·ŭd, Aay wuz fút tu duy*, "I was taken so ill, I was almost dying" (lit. fit to die). *Ee wuz dhaat dhae·ŭr kau·ntrĕe kèod-n dùe noa·ŭrt wai un*, "He was so contrary (obstinately perverse) I could do nothing with him." *Tez dhaa·t un noa· mústae·ŭk*, "It is so and no mistake."

"Why" is frequently analyzed into *wau·t . . vaur*, as: *Wau·-d-ĕe dùe dhaa·t vau·r?* "Why do you do that?" *Aay kaa·n tuul wau·t ĕe dùe·d ut vau·r*, "I cannot say why you did it." *Dhaat·s wau·t ee zoa·ld-n vau·r*, "That is why he sold him." Again, *wuy? wuy·úv·ur? aew·úv·ur?* are seldom used except interrogatively, thus: *Wuy-s buyd dhae·ŭr gyaa·pĕen?* "Why dost stay there gaping?" *Wuy daed· ĕe uur·ĕe yuur zuul?* "Why did you hurry yourself?" *Wuy·úv·ur daed ur trús-n?* "Why ever did he trust him?" *Aew·úv·ur kaum ĕe vur tu lau·s yur ang·kichur?* "However came you to lose your handkerchief?"

Adverbs of Place are *wae·ŭr-vraum* (whence), *dhae·ŭr-vraum* (thence), *yuur-vraum* (hence), *wuur tùe* (whither), *thae·ŭr tùe*, (thither), *yuur-buy·* (here abouts), *thae·ŭr-buy* (thereabouts), *aedh·ur* (hither), *yaen dhae·ŭr* (yonder). *Dhee uurn yaen-dhae·ŭr, un bring aedh·ur dhu taa·klin dhae·ŭr-vraum*, "Thee run yonder, and bring hither the harness thence." *Dhai du lee·v naut vuur·ĕe vaa·r dhae·ŭr-vraum*, "They live not very far therefrom," *i.e.* thence. *Taed-n bèo dree guun shaut yuur·-vraum*, "It is not above three gun-shots herefrom," *i.e.* hence. *Neef taed-n dhae·ŭr, tez dhae·ŭr-buy·*, "If it is not there, it is close thereabouts." *Twuz jis yuurbuy· ee·ns dhai tuurn oa·vur*, "It was close by here that they turned over," *i.e.* upset. *Wuur bee gwaa·yn tùe su vaa·s?* "Whither are you going so fast?" *Wae·ŭr d-ĕe git dhik·ĕe soa·ŭrt u blaa·k gee·z*

vraum? "Where did you (or *do* you) get that sort of black geese from?"

Another very common adverb of place is *oa·m* or *aum*, "home," signifying *close, quite, quite as far as.* It is used with various prepositions both before and after it, as: *Ee du lee·v oa·m bĕezuy·d u mee,* "He lives close beside me." *Kas-n zee· un? dhae·ŭr úz oa·m bĕezuy·d u dhee,* "Canst not see it? there (it) is close beside thee." *Haun ĕe kau·m tu dhu taa·p u dh-ee·ŭl dhu gee·ŭt-s oa·m buy· pun yur rai·t an,* "When you come to the top of the hill, the gate is close by on your right hand." *Dhu wau·dr wuz aup oa·m tu mee vau·rk,* "The water was so deep as to come quite up to my fork." *Drai·v ee·n dhee·ŭz stee·ŭrt, ee·n oa·m tu dhu nak· oa un,* "Drive in this large nail in home to its neck." *Dhu buul·ĕeks-v u-baa·rk dhu yuung treez aup oa·m tu dhu twúz·lz oa-m,* "The cattle have barked the young trees quite up to their twizzles," *i.e.* to where the branches grow out from the stem. *Dhu nai·v wai·nt ee·n oa·m tu dhu aa·f oa un,* "The knife went in home to its haft." *Aaw·ŭr aewz úz aum· bĕe dhu chuurch,* "Our house is close by the church." This latter form is pronounced shorter as an adverb than *au·m*, the noun "home," while *oa·m*, both noun and adverb, is much longer than *oa-m* (of them).

"Away" is used in this dialect to express distance, as: *U·e·ur su vaa·r uwaa·y,* "Ever so far away." It is used frequently where "off" would be heard in received English: *uur·nd uwai·* is vernacular for "absconded." I heard a woman say, *Muy mae·ŭn-z uur·nd uwai·,* that is, "My husband has absconded and left me" (become a *run-away* in short).

Adverbs of Time are *tu-dai* (to-day), *dai-mau·rnĕen* (this morning, *lit.* to-day morning) *tu nai·t* (to-night), *tu voar·nèon* (this forenoon), *t-aa·drnèon* (this afternoon), *nai·tuymz* (night-times = evenings after working hours), *mau·rnĕentuymz* (mornings, *i.e.* before going to work), *tu-maa·rŭ* (to-morrow), *tu yuur* or *dĕe yuur* (this year) as in Early English, *'mbaay, 'mbaay nai·t* (by-and-bye, by-and-bye in the evening), *bĕe-naew* (just now, *i.e.* a short time ago), *maa·ru mau·rnĕen* (to-morrow morning), *laa·s nai·t, nuw, eet* (yet), *naut eet* (not yet), *urad·ĕe* (already), *sinz* (since), *zèo·n* (soon), *wai·n* or *haun* (when).

Dhain, dhan, are not used as adverbs of time, except in the sense of *immediately afterward,* as: "I went home and *dhan* I went to bed," but they are often heard as illative particles, like French *donc.* *Haun yùe kau·ms tu dhu spuy·pau·s, tuurn raewn pun yuur rai·t an·,* "When you come to the directing post, turn to the right." This last has often been said to me. *Bee shoa·ŭr yùe aa·n u-mae·ŭd-n urad·ĕe, sinz uz mau·rnĕen!* "To be sure you have not already made it, since this morning!" *Ee aa·n u-bún unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs sinz dai-mau·rnĕen, voa·r brak·sus,* "He has not been here (*lit.* aneast the place) since this morning before breakfast." This last was the answer given me to an inquiry for an absent labourer.

To these should be added, "*by the time that,*" expressed by *tee·ŭl* (compare the Northern *while*), as: *Tee·ŭl dhik-s u-dùe·d t-l bee tuym vur laef wuurk,* "By the time that (article) is finished, it will be time to leave work." *Tee·ŭl ún·ĕebau·dĕe-v u-rai·tud au·p dhik, kèod maek u nùe· wún,* "By the time that one has repaired that (gate) one could make a new one." *Ee· ul bee rad·ĕe tee·ŭl yùe du kau·m,* "*He* (the article) will be ready by the time that you arrive." Also *uun·dur waun, wai dhu sae·ŭm,* both signifying "at the same time," but used with much exactness under differing circumstances. The first implies the performance of two acts at one time, or by making one journey, as: *Haun ĕe gèos daewn baewt dhu dhingz, kaa·r u zuyv lau·ng wai· ĕe, ee·ns múd kuut aup dhu mauks au·l uun·dur waun,* "When you go down to see the cattle, carry a scythe with you, so that you may cut the tufts (of grass) at the same time, or at one journey." The second implies something instantaneous, as in the specimen "Nan Scott," p. 241, where the thunder is described as following the lightning like the report of a cannon, at the same instant as the flash. *Aay zeed-n slúp raewn dhu kau·ndur, un wai dhu sae·ŭm aay daaps raewn tuudh·ur wai, un zoa aay jis meet wai Mae·ŭstur Jin·lmun,* "I saw him slip round the corner, and at the same moment I ran quickly round the other way, and so I just met with 'Mr. Gentleman.'"

An interesting form is *dhoa* (then),[1] as: *Wai·n-s zee un?*

[1] Ags. *ða,* Old Southern Eng. *þo, tho,* the proper adv. of *time,* while *ðonne,*

"When didst see him?" *Aay zee·d-n dhoa·, neet vai·v mún·ĕets avoa·r ut aa·pt,* "I saw him then, not five minutes before it happened." *Aay toa·ld-n oa ut dhoa·, jist ee·ns ee km ee·n,* "I told him then, just when he was coming in." *Dhoa* also implies "just now," *i.e.* a short time since. *Wai·n wauz ut? dhoa, neet tùe mún·ĕets ugau·n,* "When was it? just now, not two minutes ago."

The Negative forms are made by prefixing *noa,* as before shown (see Adjectives), and by adding *-n* to verbs, thus: *Ee ad-n nuudh·ur nai·v,* "He had not any knife at all." *Wúd-n ĕe gèo·?* "Would you not go?" The usual emphatic negative is *nau·t. Wús dhee dhae·ûr? Aay wuz nau·t,* "Wast thou there? I was not." *Neet* (not) is also common: *Dhur úd-n neet ziks u-laef·,* "There are not six left." *Neet* also does duty for "nor yet." *Aay kèod-n vuy·n nuudh·ur buurd neet nuudh·ur rab·ut pun au·l dhu faa·rm,* "I could not find (never) a bird nor yet (never) a rabbit on all the farm." *Naat* and *naa·t* are also frequently heard, and are semi-emphatic—*Ee waud-n uur·tud, naat wau·n-beet,* "He was not hurt, not one bit. *Aay wúd-n dùe ut, naa·t aa·y!* "I would not do it, not I!"

The direct replies to questions are: *Noa·û* (no), *ees* (yes), *aay·ĕe, sh* (yes) (the latter *sh,* yes, sounded by *in*spiration). We have also "*ms*" as a very common form of *yes.*

PREPOSITIONS.

These are as follows:

about	ubaewt, buwt, baewt, baewd.	against	ugin·, ugee·ûns, gin, buy.
above	bèo·, ubèo·, uboo·.	along	lau·ng, ulau·ng, yaen.
across	ukraas·, kraa·s.	amid	múds.
after	aa·rtur, aa·dr.	among	mangs(t.

Panne, than, then, was more of *order, sequence,* and *inference.* So in Chaucer, of time:

"Palamon right *tho,*
With holy herte . . . he rose."

Of sequence:

"Telle us som moral thing, that we mow lere
With wit, and *thanne* wol we gladly lere."

It is interesting to find *tho* still existing in the Old West-Saxon land. From Northern English it disappeared eight centuries ago.—M.

at	tu, tùe, u.
before	voa·r, uvoa·r.
behind	bĕe-uy·n.
beneath	een uun·dur.
beside	bĕezuy·d.
besides	zuydz.
between	twiks.
beyond	bĕeyaen·.
by	bĕe, buy.
down	daewn.
except, *i.e.* all but	ee·ntùe, ee·ntu.[1]
except	buut, saep.
for	vaur, vur.
from	vrau·m, vrum.
in	ee·n.
into	een·tu.
near	nee·ŭr, nuy, unee·ŭs.
notwithstanding	vur au·l dhaat.
of	uv, -v, oa, u.
off	oa·f oa (*lit.* off of).
on	au·n, paun, u.
out	uwt, aewt.
over	oa·vur.
round	raewn.
through	drùe.
to	tùe, tu.
towards	tu-wau·rdz.
under	uun·dur.
underneath	een uun·dur.
until, till	gin.
unto	aun·tu, auntùe·.
up	au·p, uup.
upon	paun / au·p pun taa·p oa.
with	wĕe, wai.
without	udhaewt, dhaewt.

Whether the first syllable of *ubaewt*, *ubèo·*, or *ukraa·s* is sounded or not depends much upon the individual speaker; but nearly every one would sound it distinctly, when either is used adverbially—as in *au·l ubaewt*, *au·p ubèo*, *rai·t ukraa·s*. On the other hand, most people would say: *Puut dhu stik baewt dhu baa·k oa un*, "Put the stick about his back" (*i.e.* thrash him). *Aay zee·d-z ai·d bèo· dhu gee·ŭrdn waa·l*, "I saw his head above the garden wall." *Dhai km ee·n kraa·s dhu mee·ŭd*, "They came in across the meadow."

In the sense of "against the character," when *by* (see below) is not used, it is most common to say *ugin·* or *ugee·ŭns*,—as *Dhu poa·lĕes kèod-n zai noa·ŭrt ugin· un* or *ugee·ŭns-n*, "The police could say nothing against him." But on the other hand, *Aay laef dhu ladr gin dhu baa·rn*, "I left the ladder against the barn."

So also of *ulau·ng* or *lau·ng*, *Dhai wai·nt lau·ng dhu rau·ŭd*, "They went along the road." But *Ee aa·t-n au·l ulau·ng*, "He hit him all along" (*i.e.* at full length). *Aay toa·ld ĕe zoa, au·l ulau·ng*, "I told you so, all along."

Yaen has scarcely the meaning of *along*, and still less does

[1] Probably *even to*, like *just to*, *all to*, *quite to*, etc. "They were all drowned even to two or three."—M.

it mean *yonder*. *Aay zeed-n gwai·n yaen tu-waw·rds dhu kyùe·urt*, "I saw him going forwards towards the court" (farm yard). Again in *Bring yaen dhu taa·klĕen*, "Bring the tackling (harness)," it implies either *hither* or *along with you*. It is both adverb and preposition. We can say *kaa·r yaen* as well as *bring yaen*. *Kaa·r yaen dhu vuur·kĕen lau·ng wai· ĕe*, "Carry the firkin along with you."[1]

"At" is almost invariably *tùe* or *tŭ*. *Aay wuz u-lúv·ĕen tŭ Taa·nun*, "I was living at Taunton." *Aa·l dùe ut u dún·ur tuym*, "I'll do it at dinner time." Here the *tu* is contracted by the previous *t* (see note, p. 169). In speaking of persons *of* any place we always say *tu*, as *Maes·tr Baĕ·ŭl tu Brad·vurd*, "Mr. Bale *to* Bradford." *Maes·tr Gree·n tu Kaa·sl*, "Mr. Green *to* Castle" (*i.e.* of the Castle hotel). *Mr. Brèo·ks tu shau·p*, "Mr. Brooks *to* shop" (*i.e.* of the shop). *Dhai wuz au·l tu skit·lz*, "They were all *to* (*i.e.* playing at) skittles." Again, we say "to bed" for "in bed." *Aay buyd tu bai·d u vaur·tnĕet*, "I stayed in bed a fortnight." Compare "going to bed." *Wee wuz au·l au·p t-ee·ŭl*, "We were all up at the hill." "At" is frequently omitted altogether; "at home" is never heard. *Wuy-s-n buyd au·m?* "Why dost thou not stay at home?" *U'z dhee mae·ŭstur au·m?* "Is thy master (at) home?" Again, *tŭ* does duty for "out of." *Goa tu doa·ŭrz*, "Get out of doors," is always said to dogs. *Dhu lan·lau·rd puut um tu doa·ŭrz*, "The landlord turned them out of doors," is the regular expression attending such circumstances; usually the result of too much drink.

"By," in addition to its ordinary sense, preserves the old English one of *against*. *Yùe nú·vur daed-n yuur noa·ŭrt buy un*, "You never heard anything against him" (*i.e.* his character). This is a most common expression in daily use by all. Compare "I know nothing *by* myself," I. Corinthians iv. 4.

[1] The radical idea is *change of place, onward:* Ags. *ȝeond*, "*adv.* yond, yonder, thither, beyond; *prep.* through, over, as far as, after, beyond."—*Bosworth.* Compare *ȝend* in Layamon: "he sende wide . . . *ȝend* þane londe," he sent far through the land. Scotch *yont, yount*, adv. and prep., as: *sit yont* = move a little to one side, *he lives yont the streit* = along or down the street. All the instances given in the text would also be used in Scotland. The root is demonst. *yon*, Ags. *ȝeon*. *Yaen-dhae·ŭr* on p. 226 is not *yonder*, but the Sc. *yont there*, i.e. over there.—M.

Ee·ntùe and *een·tu* must not be confounded. I heard the following at Taunton market: *Wee gut um au·l een·tu dhu puynz turaa·klĕe, ee·ntùe baewd u dree ur vaaw·ur,* "We got them all (the sheep) into the pens directly, except about three or four." *Dhae·ŭr wuz u skaor oa-m, ee·ntu tùe ur dree,* "There was a score of them, all but two or three."

Noa·baw·dĕe bud mee waud-n u-kau·m, "Nobody except me had arrived." *Au·l oa-m saep aaw·ur Wee·ŭl wuz ufee·ŭrd,* "All of them except our Will was afraid." *Saep* is often used for *unless*, as: *Saep yùe du zai·n daewn, aay shaa·n kau·m,* "Unless you send down, I shall not come." *Ee oa·n dùe ut saep ee-z u-foo·ŭs tùe,* "He will not do it unless he is obliged."

Een uun·dur and *au·p pun taa·p oa* are fair samples of our pleonasms. "Until" is always *gin*. *Aay kaa·n paa·y ut gin Kuur·smus,* "I cannot pay it until Christmas." *Gin*[1] also means "by." *Ee·ul bee u-dùe·d gin Zad·urdĕe,* "It will be finished by (or against) Saturday."

"For," as in ordinary English, has sometimes the force of *considering* or *taking into account*. Very recently, on inquiring of a man as to his sister's health, his reply was, *Au·! uur-z múd·lĕen luyk vur shee·, bud, poo·ŭr dhing, ee·-z u tuur·ubl luy·ubaewt fuul·ur,* "Oh! she is middling like for *her* (*i.e.* taking her circumstances into account), but, poor thing, *he* (her husband) is a terrible lie-about fellow" (*i.e.* drunken and profligate).

Again, to "send for" or "go for," or "send after," implies to "fetch." *Zai·n daewn aa·dr-n turaa·klĕe,* "Send down to fetch him directly."

"From," when used with a relative pronoun, or with "where" or "here," is very commonly placed immediately after the adverb, or else at the end of the sentence; while "hence" is always expressed by *yuur·-vraum* (here-from), and "thence" *dhae·ŭr-vraum. Kĕep rai·t voa·r yuur·-vraum, gin ĕe kaum tu dhu vaaw·ŭr kraw·s-wai,* "Keep right on

[1] Ags. *gean*, root of *ongean*, *ongeanes*, whence *agains*, corrupted *against*. The use of *against* for time = *awaiting*, *expecting*, *till*, is common in Shakspere: "I'll charm his eyes *against* he do appear."—M.N.D. iii. 2. 99. So Genesis xliii. 25: "They made ready the present *against* Joseph came at noon." So in Scotch, "ageane Saturday," "ageane nicht."—M.

hence, until you come to the four-cross-way." *Baewd u dree muy·ŭld yuur-vraum*, "About three miles from here." In a local paper, dated Aug. 13th, 1875, I read, "She made no statement as to who she had the orders from." *Ue· daed um git dhai flaaw·urz vraum?* "Who did they get those flowers from?" *Wuur-s bring dhaat èo·d vraum?* "Where didst bring that wood (faggot) from?" Frequently "from" is expressed by *tùe=at*, especially in interrogative phrases beginning with "where," as *Wae·ŭr d-ĕe ae·ŭ dhik tùe?* "Where did you have (get) that *to?*" (=at).

It will be noticed that *of* is sometimes *u* and sometime *oa*, and before a vowel occasionally *uv*. The first two forms depend entirely on the stress laid on the preposition, the sound varies from the faintest breathing *ŭ* to the longest *oa·*. I heard a man remark upon a curious stratum of rock, *Un·ĕebau·dee-d núv·ur blee·v haut faa·rshĕen t-aez oa·*, "One would never believe what fashion it is of." Several verbs take the preposition *of* after them, as: *Aay nuv·ur tich oa un*, "I never touched him." *Uur kèod-n uulp oa ut*, "She could not help it." *Help* is used transitively without the preposition. *Haut-bee aa·ktĕen oa·?* "What are you doing?" *Dhai bee au·vĕes u-laar·fĕen oa un*, "They are always laughing at him." Many more, indeed most verbs, take *oa* (of) after the present participle, though not after the tenses.

"To" is frequently used in the sense of "belonging to," as: *Yuur-z u loa·k, bud dhur aed-n nuudh·ur kai· tùe un*, "Here's a lock, but there is no key belonging to it." *U'z ur u súl·ur tu dhik aewz?* "Is there a cellar belonging to that house?" *Noa! dhur waud-n nuudh·ur buul·ĕe tuy tùe un*, "No! there was no belly-band belonging to *him*" (the cart). Compare "No clothes *to* his back," "Not a shilling *to* his name," etc.

Nee·ŭr and *nuy* are also adjectives and adverbs, while *unee·ŭs* is the true preposition. It would not so commonly be said, *Aay waud-n nee·ŭr dhu plae·ŭs*, as *Aay waud-n unee·ŭs dhu plae·ŭs*, "I was not near the place." *Twuz nuy· dhu paewn wuur uur meet-n*, "It was near the pound where she met him." *Twuz u vuur·ĕe nee·ŭr mús·, yùe ad-n u-pik ut*

een·, "It was a very near miss, you had not picked it in," *i.e.* that you escaped a thrashing. *Aay wuz vuur·ĕe nee·ŭr pun gwai·n*, "I was very near going" (*lit.* near upon). *Núv·ur lèok aa·dr ee·, doa·n ĕe goo unee·ùs-n, un ee ul km raewn*, "Never look after (never mind) him, do not go near him, and he will come round." *Yùe mus u-wai·nt au·n vuur·ĕe nuy· aaw·ur aewz*, "You must have gone on very near our house."

"On" is sometimes expressed by *u*, as: *Dhee-s dùe ut u puur·pus*, "Thou didst do it *on* purpose." *Aay zeed-n u Zún·dĕe*, "I saw him on Sunday."

CONJUNCTIONS.

These are as follows:

an, un, n	and
au·r, ur	or
buut, bud, búd	but
uudh·ur, uudh·urwuyz	either
an, neef (eef when following *n*)	if
wúv·ur	however
-n	than
dhaat, dhut, ut	that
kuuz, kúz, ukau·z, vur kau·z, kae·ŭz wuy	because
tùe, tŭ	too
dhan	then (*i.e.* in that case)
nau·r, nur	nor
vau·r, vur	for (*i.e.* because)
nuudh·ur	neither
thau·f, au·f, oa·f	though
een kee·ŭz	in case (*i.e.* lest)
ee·t	yet
saep	except = unless
aew·sumúv·ur, aew·sumdúv·ur	nevertheless

Among these may also be classed *dhoa* (though), corresponding to the German *doch*, as *Aay bee saa·f u wuz dhae·ŭr, dhoa*, "I am certain he was there, though." In this case *dhoa* has rather the force of "notwithstanding," or "after all." On the other hand, *U wuz dhae·ŭr dhoa·*, with the stress on *dhoa*, the phrase would mean, "He was there *then*" (see Adverbs of Time, p. 228). *Dhai·n, dhan·* (then), also is frequently used like *dhoa*, i.e. German *doch*, but it is not used as an adverb of time, as: *Naew dhai·n stue·pĕed!* "Now then stupid!" *Dhan· dhee shaet-n ab-m t-au·l*, "Then thou shalt not have it at all." Compare German *denn* as distinct from *dann*.

"Too" is often pronounced very short—*tŭ : Ee·z u maa·yn suyt tŭ baeg· vur-z kloa·ŭz*, "He is a great deal too big for his clothes" (*i.e.* very conceited). This is the ordinary phrase, and quite preserves the old idea of the blown-out frog in the fable.

As will have been remarked in previous examples *nau·r, nur*, rather than *au·r, ur* (or), is used in a negative sentence, as: *Uur aa·n u-ae·ŭd noa mai·t nur dringk*, lit. "She has not had no meat nor drink."

"But" is often peculiar, as: *T-wuz au·l buut· dhu wag·ĕen ad-n u-uurnd oa·vur-n*, "It was *all but* (*i.e.* the nearest escape) the waggon had not run over him." *Uur kyaa·ld-n bud ŭv·urĕe-dhing*, "She called him *but* everything." This is a very common phrase, and implies that she abused him to the utmost of her power. *Saa·r-n jis bud rai·t!* "It serves him just *but* right." It is possible, in the last two examples, the *bud* may mean "about"; but if so, the contraction is abnormal.

Uudh·ur and *nuudh·ur* (either, neither), which are ordinarily used in negative and positive sentences respectively, are in this dialect used precisely the reverse, and moreover they are placed only at the end of sentences, where in received English they would come first, as: *Dhee kas·n muuv-m, nuudh·ur*, "Neither canst thou move it" (*lit.* "Thou canst not move it, neither"). *Uudh·ur* is scarcely ever used in this sense, but usually means "otherwise": *Uur kn ab-m uudh·ur*, "Otherwise she can have it."

An for "if" is not common, although I have heard it in ordinary talk, but *An yŭe plai·z*, "If you please," is the regular phrase of the hill country, and may be heard daily. *Kn aa·dr dhu kyaa·v an yùe plai·z, muum*, "(I am) come after (*i.e.* to fetch) the calf, if you please, madam." But *neef*[1] is the ordinary equivalent of *if*, as: *Neef aay wuz yùe*, etc., "If I were you," etc. *Ee oa·n dùe ut, neef ee kn uulp oa ut*, "He

[1] *Neef* represents the older English *An if, and if*, common in Shakspere and the Tudor writers: "Oh father! *an' if* you be my father." *If* was first strengthened by a preceding *and*, like Latin *et-si*, Greek καὶ εἰ; then the whole combination was weakened to the meaning of *if* alone. Occasionally the *if* was omitted before a subjunctive, leaving *an* or *and* apparently filling its place, whence *an' yùe plai·z* for "an 't please you."—M.

will not do it, if he can help (of) it." *Wuul dhae·ŭr naew! neef taed-n tu lae·ŭt!* "Well there now! if it is not too late!"

Thau·f and *au·f*[1] are the general forms of "though," but *oa·f* is frequently heard. All these forms are regularly used where in received English we might say "if," as *T-aed-n-z au·f ún·ĕebau·dĕe kèod voo·ŭrd ut*, "It is not as if one could afford it." *Uur lèo·kud su boa·l-z thau·f uur daed-n noa· noa·ŭrt ubaewd ut*, "She appeared as bold as if she knew nothing of it." *U gyaa·pud jis dhu vuur·ĕe sae·ŭm-z oa·f u núv·ur zeed zh-dhing uvoa·ŭr*, "He gaped just the very same as though he never had seen such a thing before." I have often heard this sentence.

"That," the conjunction, is frequently sounded *ut;* the *demonstrative* and the *relative* in this dialect never drop the *dh*. Thus: *Wee au·vĕes zaed· ut ee-d gee aewt tu laa·s*, "We always said that it would yield at last," *i.e.* break down, as of a bridge. To yield after persuasion is *Tu gee· ee·n.*

A very common expression amounting to a conjunction is *een kee·ŭz*. *Kaa·r lau·ng u lauk u haa·y*[2] *een kee·ŭz múd-n bee noa·ŭn dhae·ŭr*, "Carry along a lock (*i.e.* little) of hay, lest (there) may not be any there." "Along" here means along with you, and is also very frequently used thus. *Bring lau·ng yuur dhingz, een kee·ŭz múd bee een waunt oa-m*, "Bring along your things, in case (you) may be in want of them." In this sentence *yaen* might be substituted for *lau·ng* without change of meaning.

Kae·ŭz wuy is a very common form of "because." *Wau·t-s dùe dhaat vau·r? Kuuz Aay daed.* "What didst do that for? Because I did." Sometimes we hear *vur kau·z*, as: *Aay kèod-n gèo·, vurkau·z u wuz tu oa·l*, "I could not go, because I was too old." In a church which I know well the

[1] The change of the final guttural in *though* to *f* is very old in the north; *þof, thof*, is the regular form in the Cotton MS. of Cursor Mundi; but the *Ayenbite* has *þaȝ, þah*. It is singular that the initial consonant is *th* and not *dh*, while the concessive *dhoa* has *dh* (see above). It looks as though they were separate words like the Dutch *doch* and *toch*. In Scotch *though* has always had the *th* sound; old Scotch *thocht*, but the concessive *though* agrees with it. The dropping of the initial *th* in *though, that, than* (oaf, ut, n), is important in its bearing on the pretended Norse influence in the Scotch and North English *ăt* for *that*.—M.

[2] The *h* here is emphatic.

clerk, according to custom, gave out this notice: *Dhús úz tu gee· noa·ûtĕes! dhur oa·ûnt bee noa Zún·dĕe yuur naks Zún·dĕe, kae·ûz wuy·, Mae·ûstur-z gwaa·yn Dau·lĕesh vur prai·ch,* "This is to give notice! there will not be any Sunday here next Sunday, because Master is going to Dawlish to preach." In country parishes the *paa·sn* is generally called *Mae·ûstur.*

INTERJECTIONS.

Of these we have many, depending much upon intonation for their significance. *Oa·!* (Oh!) may be either an exclamation of wonder, of delight, or of terror. So *Aa·* (Ah) may be a cry of shame, an exclamation of incredulity, a sigh of pain, or a sign of assent. There are some interjections whose meaning is certain. *Poo! poa·!* mean contempt. *Oa aa·y!* doubt, opposition. *Ps! sh! ts!* vexation; *ae·ûkh! ae·ûks! ee·ks!* disgust; *uloa·!* surprise; *haa·y! wuop!* calling after another.

With us interjections often run into long sentences, such as *Zing oal roa·ûz -n buurn dhu buul·ĕes!* "Sing old rose and burn the bellows!" *Daewn vaa·l dhu shaam·lz, wai· uurn dhu bèoch·ur!* "Down falls the shambles, away runs the butcher! These are both very common exclamations. The first is merely an outbreak of joviality; the last an exclamation of fun at any grotesque catastrophe. There are, moreover, all the well-known exclamations, but it is doubtful whether to treat them as dialect or slang.

We have, however, a number of expletives, which rather take the form of exclamations, and which are invariably placed at the end of a sentence or clause; such as: *Wauns!* (once!) *gèod naew!* often *gèon·ur!* (good now!) *muyn!* (remember!) *s-noa!* (thou knowest! or dost know?) *faa·y (? foi), faa·th!* (in faith!) *eentuy·!* (not I!) *tuy· noa!* (that I know!) *zuy· noa!* (as I know!) The last three are negative only. *Ee·s shoa·ûr!* (yes sure!) *shoa·ûr nuuf!* (sure enough!) *dhaat-s au·l!* (that's all!) *dhae·ûr naew!* (there now!) *waut-s dhingk u dhaat· naew?* (what dost think of that now?) *ee·ns múd zai!* (as one might say!) *èen u man·ur u spai·kĕen!* (in a manner of speaking!).

DIALECT SPECIMENS.

As connected examples of the dialect, I add the following specimens, the first of which, referring to a well-known local superstition, was written down from the account of one of the patriarchs of the valley.

In the various specimens it will be found that *u* sounded very short does duty for no less than ten or twelve distinct meanings, depending of course on the context. All are pronounced precisely alike, and hence the same symbol must be used; viz.: 1. *a* (the article); 2. the participial prefix; 3. *of*; 4. *at*, as *u dún·ur luym*; 5. *on*, as *u Zad·urdĕe*; 6. *he*; 7. *she*; 8. *I*; 9. *one* (impers. pron.); 10. *have*; 11. the present participial prefix, as *u-zee·ĕen*, which may be *on*; 12. *there*, as *ee·s u wauz*, "Yes! there was."

LAU·ŬRD PAU·PUM.

Aay spoo·ŭz yùe-v u-yuurd baewd dhu guurt oa·kn tree aup tu Wuul·itn Paa·rk èo·d, waut dhai yùe·z tŭ zai Lau·ŭrd Pau·pum wuz u-kuun·jurd ee·ntùe? Wuul, doa·ŭn ĕe zee·, aup dhae·ŭr, yùe noa· zr, dhur-z u guurt dĕep bau·dum gèos daewn zu dĕep-s dhu taaw·ur, maa·yn stee·ŭr luyk, ee·ns múd zai, sae·ŭm-z dhu zuyd gwai·n aup oa·vur Wuul·itn ee·ŭl, un dhee·ŭz yuur oa·kn tree, ee wuz u tuur·ubl guurt tree shoa·ŭr nuuf, ee wau·z, un ee groa·ŭd een dhu zuyd oa un, un dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs ez u-kau·l Wúls·km bau·dum. Yùe muyn dhu poo·ŭr oa·l Taum Aa·lway, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? dhaats dhu oa·l Taum Aa·lwayz faa·dhur, yu noa· zr, uulp tu droa· un, un wai·n dhai droa·d-n, neef ee daed-n tuurn rai·t taa·p-m taa·yŭl — ee·s shoa·ŭr, un dhu ai·d oa un wuz rai·t daewn uun·dur, un dhae·ŭr ee buyd, un dhai wuz au·l o-am

LORD POPHAM.

I suppose you have heard about the great oak tree up at Wellington Park wood, which they used to say Lord Popham was conjured (transformed) into? Well, don't you see, up there, you know, Sir, there is a great deep bottom (ravine) goes down as deep as the tower, very steep like, as one may say, the same as the side going up over Wellington Hill, and this here oak tree, he was a terrible great tree sure enough, he was, and he grew in the side of him (*i.e.* of the ravine), and that place is called Wilscombe bottom. You mind (recollect) the poor (*i.e.* deceased) old Tom Alway, don't you, Sir? that is, the old Tom Alway's father, you know, Sir, (he) helped to throw (fell) him, and when they threw him (the oak), if he did not turn right top-on-tail (head over heels)—yes sure, and the head of him was right down under, and there he abode (remained), and they was all of them

u-fee·ŭrd vur tu goo· u-nee·ŭs-n, un dhai zaed uw ee·ns u wuz u-kuun·jurd noa·baudĕe kèo·d-n núv·ur druug-n aewt; un dhae·ŭr ee buyd; un tu laa·s, aay wai·nt au·p, kuuz dhai zaed dhu au·sez-ud shoa·ŭr tu bee u-kee·ŭld, wai tai·n au·ksn, un aay ee·cht um au·p tùe un, un dhu buul·ĕeks pèold-n aewt, un druug-n ee·ntu dhu ang·ĕen kloaz, un aay núv·ur zeed noa·ŭrt, un dhai wuz au·l oa-m u-wau·ytĕen un u-lèok·èen ee·ns aay shúd ubún u-kee·ŭld, un kau·lĕen oa mee u fèo·ŭl vur tu goo·, bud aay nùv·ur zeed noa·ŭrt, nĕet noa·baudĕe tau·l. Un yùe noa·ŭs Wuul·itn Paa·rk aewz, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? Aay muyn haun aay yùe·z tu lee·v dhur, au·p-m dhu gyaa·rut, dhur wuz u plae·ŭs dhur dhoa·luyk u oa·vm luyk, un aay zeed zum bèoks wai rai·dĕen ee·n um, ee·n un, un dhai zaed dhaa·t wuz Lau·ŭrd Pau·pumz bèoks, un dhai zaed uw u mae·ŭn wai·nt au·p un zau·t u-struyd pun dhu rèo·f wai u buy·bl, ee·ns ee· múd-n kaa·r-n uwai·. Ee·s! un tez u tuur·ubl oa·l aew-zr, bud aay núv·ur daed-n zee noa·baudĕe dhae·ŭr, noa wús-n mĕezuul·, ee·ns múd zai. Aew·sumúv·ur aay-v u-yuur·d um zai uw dhu saa·rvun chaa·p wuz gwai·n vur tu lat· aewt dhu aa·kn-ĕe aa·dr-z mae·ŭstur-d u-kumd au·m vrum maa·rkut, un dhur wuz u mae·ŭn u-stèo·d ee·n dhu gee·ŭt wai, un ee kèo·d-n oa·pm un, un haun dhai tèok-n tu dûe·ĕen naks mau·rnĕen, vur kau·z ee ad-n u-puut aewt dhu au·s, doa·ŭn ĕe zee· zr? u zaed, s-ee·, uw u kèo·d-n puut-n aewt, kuuz dhur wuz u mae·ŭn u-stèo·d rai·t ee·n dhu gee·ŭt wai, ee·ns ee kèo·d-n

afraid for to go aneast (near) him, and they said how he was so conjured nobody could not never drag him out; and there he remained; and at last I went up, because they said the horses would (be) sure to be killed, with ten oxen, and I hitched them up to him, and the bullocks pulled him out, and dragged him into the hanging-close, and I never saw nought, and they was all of them a-waiting and a-looking how I should have been killed, and calling of me a fool for to go, but I never saw nought, nor yet nobody at all. And you knows Wellington Park house, don't you, Sir? I mind when I used to live there, up in the garret, there was a place there then like a oven like, and I saw some books with reading in them, in him (the oven), and they said that was Lord Popham's books, and they said how a man went up and sat astride upon the roof with a bible, in order that he (the devil) might not carry him (the roof) away. Yes! and 'tis a terrible old house, Sir, but I never did not see nobody there, no worse than myself, as (one) might say. Nevertheless I have heard them say how the servant chap was going for to let out (*i.e.* into a pasture) the hackney after his master had come home from market, and there was a man stood (standing) in the gate-way, and he could not open him (the gate), & when they took him to doing (scolding) next morning, because he had not put out the horse, don't you see, Sir? he said, said he, how he could not put him out, because there was a man stood right in the gate-way, so that he could not open

oa·pm un, un dhai au·vĕes yùe·z tu zai uw dhai au·vĕes kunsúd·urd dhaat dhaeŭr wuz Lau·rd Pau·pum.

him (the gate), and they always used to say how they always considered that there was Lord Popham.

The same old man recounted the following, and I subsequently visited the spot, which I well knew, and found the riggle, and very evident marks of the attempt to dig the stone out, as narrated. It is a boulder of *Chert* or *Flint* of very unusual size.

Yùe-v u-yuurd um tuul, aa·n ĕe zr? baewd dhu Kauk-krau·stoa·ŭn. Aa·n ĕe shoa·ŭr? Wuul, t-ez trùe aay shoa·ŭr ĕe; un dhai au·vĕes du zai dhut dhik·ĕe stoa·ŭn úv·urĕe tuym ee dû yuur dhu kauk krau·, ee du git aup-m tuurn raewn. Ee·s shoa·ŭr! un tez u tuur·ubl guurt stoa·ŭn, un dhai au·vĕes kunsúd·urd uw dhur wuz u pau·t u muun·ĕe een uun·dur-n: ee·s, un aay uurd-n au·l raewn moo·ŭr-n dree vèot dĕep, un dhur wuz u rig·l een un; ee·s u wau·z, un yùe kn zee un naew, un dhai puut u chaa·yn raewn un, un ee·ch dhu pluw u au·sez tùe un vur tu tuurn un oa·vur, bud dhai waud-n ae·ubl vur tu muuv-m, un dhae·ŭr ai·z tu dhee·ŭz vur·ĕe aaw·ur. Oa·! aa·l tuul ĕe dhu wai tu goo tŭe un zr. Yùe nau·s dhu Kyat-n Fúdl, doa·ŭn ĕe zr? Wuul, dhuur-z a paa·th goos een u leedl vuur·dur au·n, daewn tuwau·rdz Km Puy·n. Wuul, dhik dhae·ŭr guurt stoa·ŭn-z een pun dhu ee·ŭl, un-eef yùe vau·lĕes dhikĕe paa·th yùe-l kau·m tùe un.

You have heard them tell, have you not, Sir? about the Cock-crow stone. Have you not sure? Well, it is true I assure you; and they always do say that that stone every time he do hear the cock crow, he do get up and turn round. Yes, sure! and it is a terrible great stone, and they always considered how there was a pot of money in under him: yes, and I rid (dug) him all round more than three feet deep, and there was a riggle (groove) in him; yes there was, and you can see him (the groove) now, and they put a chain around him, and hitched the plough (team) of horses to him for to turn him over, but they were not able for to move him, and there (he) is to this very hour. Oh! I will tell you the way to go to him, Sir. You know the "Cat and Fiddle," do you not, Sir? Well, there is a path (which) goes in a little further on, down towards "Culme Pyne." Well, that great stone is in upon the hill (*i.e.* common), and if you follow that path you will come to him.

The following, told me by a rough carpenter who makes coffins, illustrates, like the incident of the oak tree in "Lord

Popham," the popular belief that the devil turns things topsy-turvy. The husband had died long before the wife.

Ded yùe noa· dh-oa·l Nan Scott, zr? Mau·s úv·urĕe bau·dĕe wuz u-fee·ŭrd oa ur, kuz dhai noa·d aew ur kud oa·vurlĕok· um neef ur wúd·. Wuul, aay mae·ŭd dhu kau·fĕen vaur ur, un su trùe-z aay bee yuur, twuz jist u-kau·m wee ad·n au·l oa us u-bún u-kee·ŭld. Twuz su fuyn u dai-z úv·ur yùe zeed, un dhu zún-d u-bún u-shai·nĕen su bruyt-s ún·ĕedhing, haun jis ee·ns wee wuz gwai·n een tu dhu chuurch doo·ŭr dhur kau·md u vlaa·rsh u lai·tnĕen fút tu tae·ŭr aup dhu vuur·ĕe stoa·ŭnz, an· wai dhu sae·ŭm dhu thuun·dur buust aewt luyk a kan·un. Wuul, haun wee kau·m tu puut ur een dhu kee·ŭv, neef dh-oa·l mae·ŭn waud-n u-tuurnd rai·t raewn. Aay noa· u wauz, vur aay uulp puut-n ee·n. Oa·! wee noa·d waut twauz ud u-dùed ut. Wee noa·d vuur·ĕe wuul dh-oa·l fuul·ur-d u-bún dhur lau·ng wai un. Trùe-z yùe bee stan·ĕen dhae·ŭr.

Did you know the old Nan Scott, Sir? Almost every body was afraid of her, because they knew how she could overlook them if she would. Well, I made the coffin for her, and so true as I am here, it was just come (*i.e.* a near miss) we had not all of us been killed. It was as fine a day as ever you saw, and the sun had been shining as bright as anything, when just as we were going in at the church door, there came a flash of lightning fit to tear up the very stones, and[1] with the same the thunder burst out like a cannon. Well, when we came to put her in the cave (vault), if the old man (her husband) was not turned right round. I know he was, for I helped to put him in. Oh! we knew what it was (that) had done it. We knew very well the old fellow (the devil) had been there along with him. (It is as) true as you are standing there.

A woman, questioned by the *paa·sn* as to the reason which had induced her, a respectable woman, to marry a disreputable man, replied—

Doa·n ĕe zee·, zr, aay-d u-gau·t su muuch wau·rshĕen, un aay wuz u-foo·ŭs tu zai·n ut au·m, un ee·f aay ad-n u-ae·ŭd ee·, aay mus u-boa·ŭt u duungk.

Don't you see, Sir, I had got so much washing, and I was forced to send it home, and if I had not had *him* I must have bought a donkey.

Not long since, a man, whose wife had very recently died, came and asked me to buy two hives of bees from him. Well knowing the old superstition, I suggested that the man

[1] Much emphasis on *and*.

wished to sell the bees at once, lest they should die. His reply was: "*Au! noa·ŭ zr! aay-v u-toa·ld um oa· ut.*" "Told them! how so?" "*Au! aay aa·v zr.*" "Nonsense! how could you tell your bees?" "*Au! bud aay daed· zr, aay shoa·r-ee.*" "Well, but how?" "*Au! aay wai·n daewn pun mee nee·z, ee·ns dhai kaa·rd ur aewt, un aay wûs·purd ut tùe um: zoa yùe noa kizh·un tu bee u-fee·ŭrd baewd um zr,*" "Oh! I went down on my knees whilst they were carrying her (the wife's corpse) out, and I whispered it to them: so you (have) no occasion to be afraid about them, Sir."

Upon Old Christmas-day (6th January) it was a common custom, well within the writer's recollection, and it is probably still practised in some parts, to go out at night into the orchard, and to put a large pitcher of toast and cider into the *vau·rk* (fork) of one of the largest apple trees, and then for the farmer (who always has his gun) and his men to shout together in unison:

Aa·pl tree! Aa·pl tree! aay wausaa·yŭl[1] dhee!	Apple tree! Apple tree! I wassail thee!
Un wee·sh dhee gèod luuk·!	And wish thee good luck!
Tu bloa· un tu bae·ŭr!	To blow and to bear!
Aa·tvèolz! Kaa·pvèolz! dree bèo·shl bai·gvèolz!	Hatfuls! Capfuls! three bushel bagfuls!
Un muy pau·guts vèol tùe·— Ue·rau·!!	And my pockets full too! Hurrah!!

The gun is then fired and the *hurrahs* are renewed. The toast and cider are next passed round, and then the whole is repeated to another tree, and so on. I have heard that some of the cider is also thrown upon the tree, but I have not seen this done, though I have no doubt this libation is poured out to the presiding genius of the apple tree.

Boys keeping birds from corn always shout in a peculiar

[1] It will interest readers of Sir Walter Scott to know that in *wausaa·yŭl*, the accent is always on the last syllable, which is lengthened out as shown in the text. The word is in common use.

[This accentuation of *wassail*, taking us back to the Anglo-Saxon *wæs hæl!* is very interesting, and, doubtless, embodies a genuine tradition, which the conventional *wassail* = *woss'il* has quite lost.—M.]

cadence, repeated in each line, and which lays all the stress on the two first syllables in each clause, the following:

Jee· au·p aay oa·!
Yùe· rèok·, yùe kroa·!
Au·l raew·n dhu vee·ŭlz!
Aay-v gau·t tu goa·!
Au·p tùe· muy neez!

Ee·n vrau·st un snoa·!
Wuy· dùe· yùe ai·t?
Muy· mae·ŭsturz wai·t!
Wuy·l aa·y luy daewn!
Un· goo· tu zlai·p!

For the two specimens following I am indebted to Mr. Mildon of Wellington, Somerset, who kindly wrote them down in ordinary spelling. I have merely transcribed them into Glossic, and Mr. Mildon has been good enough to go over the proofs with me.

KAUN·VURSAE·ŬRSHUN TWIKS JAA·K STOO·ŬN UN BAU·B WÈOB·UR.

Wuul Bau·b! aay aa·n u-zee·d ĕe uz lau·ngfèol tuym, wuul! aew bee· ĕe? Aay aa·n u-zee·d ĕe zinz aay wai·n tu Kuur·tn fae·ŭr laa·s wik. Aay tuurnd een kaew un kyaa·v, un aa·dr dhaat, aay staa p tu fae·ŭr, un mĕet wai Júm Dhuurn, un mee un ee· ad vuyv puynts u bee·ŭr, un Júm gaut druungk, un zoa wuz aay umau·s, bud aay gaut au·m puur·dĕe wuul, bud aay vaa·l daewn wau·ns un naa·k mĕe nee·, un aa·dr aay km au·m, aay ad puynt suy·dur un wai·n tu bai·d. Naks mau·rnĕen au·p aay gau·t, un wai·n tu wuurk, un mae·ŭstur zaed, "Wuul Jaa·k! haut-s dhu maa·dr wai dhee? dhee urt lèok·ĕen bae·ŭd; naew g-uup-m dh-au·rchut slaa·tĕen eo·d, dhaat· ul taek dhu zwat·ĕen aewt u dhee, un dhee-t zèo·n bee au·l rai·t u-gee·ŭn"—ŭn zoa aay bee!

CONVERSATION BETWEEN JACK STONE AND BOB WEBBER.

Well Bob! I have not seen you this longful time, well! how are you? I have not seen you since I went to Crediton fair last week. I turned in (drove a) cow and calf, and after that, I stopped at the fair, and met with Jim Thorne, and me and he had five pints of beer, and Jim got drunk, and so was I almost, but I got home pretty well, but I fell down once and knocked my knee, and after I came home, I had (a) pint (of) cider and went to bed. Next morning up I got, and went to work, and master said, "Well Jack! what is the matter with thee? thou art looking bad (ill), now go up in the orchard chopping wood, that will take the sweating out of thee, and thou wilt soon be all right again"—and so I am!

AEW JÚMZ KÈOK TOA·L BAU·B ZAA·LTUR AU·L BAEWT DHU WUY·ĕL BEE·ĕS SHOA.

"Wuul Bau·b! aew bee· ĕe?" "Wuul, múd·lĕen, dhang·k ĕe, Júmz, uun·ĕe lee·dl beet u-krú·pŭld au·p luyk." "Wuul, daed ĕe gèo· tu Kuul·upm yús·dĕe?" "Noa·ŭ! Júmz, aay daed-n." "Wuul! neef dhee ad·s u-wai·nt, dhee wút·s-n núv·ur u-vurgau·t ut. Aay wai·nt een, un haun Aay km ee·n taa·p u dhu taewn, dhoa· Aay mĕet wai jis lau·t u voaks, kèod-n dhingk wau·t wuz au·p; bud Aay zeo·n zeed waut t-wau·z; dhur wuz u guurt huul·ĕefunt un u fuul·ur aup taa·p oa un ruy·dĕen, un dhae·ŭr ee lèok·ud nai·n vèot aay, un ee gau·t u guurt lau·ng snaewt, un dhu bwuuyz u-uur·nĕen aa·dr-n, un dhan aup kau·m tùe kaa·mee·ŭlz, wai tùe guurt uumps taa·p dhu baa·ks oa·m, ee·ns ún·ĕe bau·dee kèod ruyd twiks um. Un zoa dhai wai·n au·l raewn dhu taewn. Wuul, Aay dhau·ŭrt Aay-d g-een un zee au·l dhu lau·t, un zoa Aay staa·p gin ziks u klau·k, un dhoa Aay gau·t een vur zik·spuns. Wuul, Aay dhau ŭrt, tu mĕe zuul·, dhingks aay wautúv·ur bee um luyk! un Aay zèo·n zeed. Dhu fuus dhing Aay zeed wuz tùe guurt wuyt dhingz luyk—sae·ŭm-z u guurt dau·g, búd zu baeg-z u duung·kĕe, un dhae·ŭr dhai kĕep wag·ĕen dhur ai·d·z vuur·wurdz un baa·kwurdz, kèod-n buyd stee·ŭl u mún·ĕet, un u mae·ŭn zaed t-wuz sai· bae·ŭrz. Wuul, oa·m bĕezuy·d u dhai, wuz u laut u guurt uug·lĕe dhings shoa·ŭr nuuf! Aay doa·noa waut dhai wuz luyk aa·rlĕe, zau·mfĕen lig dau·gz dhai wauz, búd zu baeg-z u kyaa·v, t-wuz au l soa·ŭrts, un dhu mae·ŭn

HOW JAMES COOK TOLD BOB SALTER ALL ABOUT THE WILD BEAST SHOW.

"Well Bob! how are you?" "Well, middling, thank you, James, only a little bit crippled up like." "Well, did you go to Collumpton yesterday?" "No, James, I did not." "Well! if thou hadst gone, thou wouldst never have forgotten it. I went in, and when I came in (to) the top of the town, then I met with such (a) lot of people, (I) could not think what was up; but I soon saw what it was; there was a great elephant and a fellow up (on the) top of him riding, and there he looked (*i.e.* seemed to be) nine feet high, and he (had) got a great long snout, and the boys running after him, and then up came two camels, with two great humps (on the) top (of) the backs of them, so that any one could ride between them. And so they went all round the town. Well, I thought I would go in and see all the lot, and so I waited until six o'clock, and then I got in for sixpence. Well, I thought, to myself, thinks I, whatever are they like! and I soon saw. The first thing I saw was two great white things like—(the) same as a great dog, but as big as a donkey, and there they kept wagging their heads forwards and backwards, (they) could not stay still a minute, and a man said it was sea bears. Well, home (*i.e.* close) beside them, was a lot of great ugly things sure enough! I do not know what they were like hardly, something like dogs they were, but as big as a calf, it was all sorts, and the man

zaed't-wuz wuol·fs un aay-ai·nurz un blaa·k bae·ŭrz au·l tugadh·ur. Wuul! s-noa Bau·b, un u lee·dl vaar·dur daewn wuz haut Aay dhau·ŭrt dhu bas·t u dhu woa·l keet, un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u guurt ee· luy·un un tùe ur dree smaa·ldur wúnz, un dhae·ŭr dhai wau·z u-graew·ŭlĕen un mae·ŭkĕen au·p jish nauyz, wuul, Aay dhau·ŭrt, Bau·b, haut muus bee· een dhai fuur·ŭnt kuun·trĕez wuur dhai bee uur·nĕen baewt wuy·ŭl-uyk! Wuul, dhae·ŭr! Aay-d zèo·udur bee yuur wai u draap u suy·dur un u beet u buurd-n chee·z-n aewt dhae·ŭr wuur dhai du zai aew dhai du saa·r su muuch wae·ŭjez. Wuul Bau·b! naew aa·l tuul ĕe, s-noa, baewt dhu ras·t oa ut; dhur wuz tùe· guurt spau·tĕe dhingz, waut dhu shoa· fuul·ur kyaa·l lúp·urz, un dhai kĕep au·n graew·ŭlĕen un kraa·lĕen baewt dhu kee·ŭj; Aay shèod-n luyk vur tu bee lau·ng wai dhai· vuur·ĕe lau·ng; wuul, dhur wuz tùe· puur·dĕe krai·turz, au·l strae·ŭkĕe daewn u-kraa·s dhu baa·k luyk, waut dhai du kyaa·l zai·burz, dhaat-s wuy·ŭl jaa·k aa·sez, s-noa, Bau·b; wuul, un dhai wau·z puur·dĕe, shoa·ŭr! un Aay dhau·ŭrt, wúd-n dhai· lèok wuul luyk een aaw·ur skwuy·urz poa·nĕe kaa·rĕej? Wuul, dhan Aay lèok·ud tu dhu muung·kĕez, un fuur·ŭnt buurdz, un zau·m oa·m-d u-guut jich lau·ng bee·ŭlz, dhut Aay núv·ur daed-n zee· noa jish fuun·ĕe dhingz u-voa·ŭr, dhut Aay daed-n bĕeguur·j mĕe zik·spuns u bee·t. Aay núv·ur daed-n zee· dhu wuy·ŭl bee·ŭs u-voa·r naew, un Aay bee vai·v-m fee·tĕe yuur oa·l kau·m oa·l Kuur·smus dai, bĕeyaen· au·l dhu dai·z een dhu wuur·dl. Wuul,

said it was wolves and hyenas and black bears all together. Well! thou dost know Bob, and a little further down was what I thought the best of the whole kit, and that there was a great *he* lion and two or three smaller ones, and there they was growling and making up such (a) noise, well, I thought, Bob, what must (it) be in those foreign countries where they are running about wild like! Well, there! I would sooner be here with a drop of cider and a bit of bread and cheese, than out there where they do say how they do serve (*i.e.* earn) so much wages. Well Bob! now I will tell you, you know, about the rest of it; there was two great spotted things, what the show fellow called leopards, and they kept on growling and crawling about the cage; I should not like for to be along with them very long; well, there was two pretty creatures, all streaky (*i.e.* striped) down across the back like, what they do call zebras, that is wild jack asses, you know, Bob; well, and they was pretty, sure! and I thought, would not they look well like in our squire's pony carriage? Well, then I looked to (*i.e.* at) the monkeys, and foreign birds, and some of them had got such long bills, that I never did not see no such funny things before, that I did not begrudge my sixpence a bit. I never did not see the wild beasts before now, and I am five and fifty years old come old Christmas day, beyond all the days in the world. Well,

Aay-v u-toa·ld ĕe maus au·l baewt ut; dhur wuz u brae·ŭv lau·t u lee·dl dhingz uur·nĕen baewt dhu kee·ŭjez jis dhu sae·ŭm-z guurt kyat·s, ee·ns múd zai·, un wau·n puur·dĕe krai·tur wai smaa·l ligz, lig u stag—dhu shoa· fuul·ŭr zaed aew dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u han·tĕeloap. Wuul, zèon-z Aay-d u-zee·d ut au·l oa·vur, dhu luy·un tae·ŭmur kumd ee·n, un tu zee haut ee· dùed, ud u mae·ŭd yur ae·ŭr stan· un ee·n. Ee wai·nt een lau·ng wai dhu tuy·gur fuus·, un plaa·yd aup au·l soo·ŭrts u gee·ŭmz wai dhu tuy·gur, un dhan dhu tuy·gur puut au·p úz tùe· guurt pau·z taa·p dhu fuul·urz shoa·ldurz, Aay dhau·ŭrt úv·ŭree mún·ĕet ee-d u buyt úz ai·d oa·f. Wuul, aewt u kau·m, un dhan u wai·nt een mangs dhu luy·unz un dh-aay-ai·nurz un mae·ŭd um juump drùe èo·ps au·l u-vuy·ur, un dhan dhai buur·nd au·p uurd lai·ts luyk, ee·ns dhu plae·ŭs lèok·ud nuuf tu fruy·tn ún·ĕebau·dĕe, un dhu fuul·ur kumd aewt au·l uluy·v un naa·t uur·tud wau·n beet. Aay dhau·ŭrt Aay shèod u zingkt uwai·, un dhan Aay kumd aewt kuz dhai wuz gwaa·yn vur tu veed· um, un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz zik·spuns aek·stur.

Wuul, un aa·dr dhaat Aay mĕet wai Aa·rĕe Pèol, un wee ad dree kwau·rts u bee·ŭr tugadh·ur, un gaut aa·f drung·kĕe luyk, un kum au·m ulau·ng au·l ruyt gin Aay kau·m tu dhu vaaw·ur kraa·s wai, un dhae·ŭr Aay vaa·ld oa·vur u duung·kĕe dhut wuz u-luy·d ukraa·s dhu hroa·ŭd, un Aay puut mĕe an· aup taa·p dhu baa·k oa un, un vee·ŭld u wuz ae·ŭrĕe; Aay dhau·ŭrt shoa·ŭr t-wuz dhu vuur·ĕe oa·l fuul·ur úz-zuul, neef daed-n

I have told you almost all about it; there was a brave lot of little things running about the cages, just the same as great cats, as (one) might say, and one pretty creature with small legs, like a stag—the show fellow said how that there was an antelope. Well, (as) soon as I had seen it all over, the lion tamer came in, and to see what *he* did would have made your hair stand on end. He went in along with the tiger first, and played up all sorts of games with the tiger, and then the tiger put up his two great paws (on the) top (of) the fellow's shoulders; I thought every minute he would have bitten his head off. Well, out he came, and then he went in amongst the lions and the hyenas, and made them jump through hoops all on fire, and then they burnt up red lights like, so that the place looked enough to frighten anybody, and the fellow came out all alive and not hurt one bit. I thought I should have sunk away, and then I came out, because they was going for to feed them, and that there was sixpence extra.

Well, and after that I met with Harry Poole, and we had three quarts of beer together, and got half drunky like, and came home along all right until I came to the four cross way, and there I fell over a donkey that was lying across the road, and I put my hand up (on) top (of) the back of him, and felt he was hairy; I thought sure it was the very old fellow himself, if (it) did not

maek mĕe ae·ŭr stan· rai·t un ee·n! un dhaat dhae·ŭr mae·ŭd mee soa·bur, un au·m Aay goo·us su vaa·s uz úv·ur Aay kèo·d. Zoa naew Aay zúm Aay-v u-toa·ld ĕe au·l baewd ut, un naks tuym dhai kau·ms, du dhee· gèo un zee dhu wuy·ŭl bee·ŭs, dhee-t núv·ur vurgeet· ut."

make my hair stand right on end! and that there made me sober, and home I goes so fast as ever I could. So now I seem (*i.e.* consider) I have told you all about it, and next time they come, do thou go and see the wild beasts, thou wilt never forget it."

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

The following attempt at rendering the Book of Ruth into idiomatic dialect-speech may be compared with others, particularly Dr. Murray's Scotch. I am aware of the unsatisfactoriness of Scripture specimens generally, but the objection does not apply to a rural narrative like that of Ruth.

DHU BÈOK U RÈO·TH.

Chaa·ptur I.

1. Naew ut vaa·ld aewt een dhai dai·z, haun dhu jij·ez wuz u-rùe·ŭlĕen, ee·ns dhur wuz u dee·ŭrth een dhu kuun·trĕe. Un u saa·rtĕen mae·ŭn oa Bath-lae·ŭm Jùe·du, ee wai·n voo·ŭth vur tu buyd een dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub, ee· daed un uz wuyv, un uz tùe zúnz lau·ng wai un.

2. Un dhik·ĕe mae·ŭn wuz u-kyaa·l Ai·lúm·ulĕek, un úz wuyv, uur wuz u-kyaa·l Nai-oa·muy, un uz tùe bwuuyz wuz u-kyaa·l Mae·ŭlun un Chúl·yun, dhai wuz au·l oa-m Ai·fruthuy·ts aewt oa Bath-lae·ŭm Jùe·du. Un dhai kau·md ee·ntu dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub, un dhae·ŭr dhai buyd.

3. Un Ai·lúm·ulĕek, dhaat-s dh-uuz·bun u Nai-oa·muy, zoa tu spai·k, ee· duyd; un uur wuz u-laf·, uur wau·z, un ur tùe zúnz lau·ng wai ur.

4. Un dhai tèok dhur zuuiz u wuyv u-pee·s, aewt u dhu wŭom·ĕen u Moa·ub; wau·n u dhai wuz u-kyaa·l Au·rpu, un dhu tuudh·ur oa-m wuz u-kyaa·l Rèo·th. Un dhai lee·vd een dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs baewd u tai·n yuur.

5. Un Mae·ŭlun un Chúl·yun dhai duyd tùe·, dhu boo·ŭdh oa-m; un zoa dh-uum·un wuz u-laf· u-dhaewt uudh·ur waun uv ur tùe zúnz ur ee·t ur uuz·bun.

6. Dhan uur gau·t au·p wai ur daa·rtur lau·z, ee·ns uur múd gèo·baak ugee·ŭn vrum dhik·ĕe kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub: vur uur-d u-yuurd aew dhut dhu Lau·ŭrd ud u-muy·ndud úz oa n voaks, een gee·ĕen oa-m brai·d.

7. Zoa uur wai·n voo·ŭth aewt u dhik·ĕe plae·ŭs wuur uur wau·z, un uur tùe daa·rtur lau·z lau·ng wai ur; un dhai wai·nt au·n pun dhu hroa·ŭd vur tu gèo baak· tu dhu lan· u Jùe·du.

8. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe uur tùe daa·rtur lau·z, gèo·! gèo baak· ai·ch wau·n oa ĕe tu yuur mau·dhurz aewz: dhu Lau·ŭrd dae·ŭl kuy·nlĕe lau·ng wai· ĕe, sae·ŭm-z yùe-v u-dae·ŭlud lau·ng wai dhai· dhut bee dai·d, un lau·ng wai mee·.

9. Dhu Lau·ŭrd graa·nt ĕe, ee·ns ĕe múd vuyn ras·, ai·ch wau·n oa ĕe, een dh-aewz u yuur uuz-bun. Dhan· uur kee·sd um; un dhai laef·tud aup dhur vauys, un wai·pud.

10. Un dhai zaed tu uur·, Shoa·ŭrluy· wee wŭol· gèo baak· laung wai· ĕe, tu yoa·ŭr voaks.

11. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed, Tuurn yur-zuulz baak· ugee·ŭn mĕe daa·rturz; waut d-ĕe wee·sh vur gèo· laung oa mee· vaur? úz ur ún·ee moo·ŭr zúnz een muy èo·m naew, ee·ns dhai múd kau·m vur tu bee yur uuz·bunz?

12. Tuurn yur-zuulz baak· u-gee·ŭn muy daa·rturz, gèo· yur oa·ŭn wai·z; vur aay bee tùe· oa·l vur t-ae·ŭ u uuz·bun. Neef aay wuz vur zai·, aew aay-v u-gaut oa·ps, neef aay wuz t-ae·ŭ u uuz·bun tùe· (too) dhee·ŭz vuur·ĕe nai·t, un eef aay wuz vur tu bae·ŭr zúnz;

13. Wúd yùe wau·yt vau·r um gin dhai wuz u-groa·d au·p? Wúd yùe staa·p vur dhai·, vrum ae·ĕen u (having of) uuz·bunz? Noa·muy daa·rturz; vaur ut gree·vth mee tuur·ubl vur yoa·ŭr sae·ŭks, aew dhut dh-an· u dhu Lau·ŭrd-z u-gèo· aewt u-gin· mee.

14. Un dhai laef·tud aup dhur vauys, un wai·pud ugee·ŭn: un Au·rpu kee·sd ur mau·dhur lau; bud Rèo·th, uur clai·vud tùe· ur.

15. Un uur zaes, Lèok ĕe zee·, aew dhee zús·tur lau·-z u-gèo baak· tùe uur voaks un tùe uur Gau·dz: dùe· ĕe naew gèo baak aa·dr dhĕe zús·tur lau.

16. Un Rèo·th zaed, Doa·n ĕe bag oa mee vur tu laef· ĕe, ur vur tu gèo baak· vrum vaul·ĕe-een aa·dr ĕe: vur wurúv·ur yùe du gèo· aa·-l gèo tùe·; un wuur yùe du lauj·, aa·-l lau·j tùe·; yoa·ŭr voak-shl bee muy· voaks, un yoa·ŭr Gau·d muy· Gau·d:

17. Wuur yùe· du duy, aa· l duy un dhae·ŭr aa· l bee u-buur·ĕed: dhu Lau·ŭrd dùe zoa tu mee, un moa·ŭr tùe·, neef oa·ŭrt bud dath· du pae·ŭrt yùe· un mee·.

18. Haun uur zee·d aew uur wuz vèo·l muy·ndud vur gèo lau·ng wai· ur, dhoa· ur laf oa·f spai·kĕen tùe ur.

19. Zoa dhai tùe· wai·nt ulau·ng, gin dhai kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm. Un ut aa·pt ee·ns dhai wuz u-kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm, dhut dhu woa·l sút·ĕe wuz u-zau·t aup u-baewd um, un dhai zaed, úz dhúsh-yuur Nai·oa·muy?

20. Un uur zaed tùe um, doa·n ĕe kyaa·l mee Nai-oa·muy, kyaa·l mee Mae·ŭru: kuz dh-Au·lmuy·tĕe-th u-dae·ŭlud tuur·ŭbl búť·ur laung wai· mee.

21. Aay wai·nt aewt vèo·l un woa·l, un dhu Lau·ŭrd-dh u-braa·t mee au·m ugee·ŭn ai·mptĕe an·dud: wuy d-ĕe kyaa·l mee Nai-oa·muy dhan; vau·r ĕe du zee· aew dhu Lau·ŭrd-dh u-tas·tĕefuy·d ugin· mee, un dh-Au·lmuy·tĕe-th u-flaek·tud mee.

22. Zoa Nai-oa·muy wai·n baak·, un Rèo·th, dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, uur daa·rtur lau laung wai· ur, waut ud u-kum baak· aewt oa dhu kuun·trĕe oa Moa·ŭb: un dhai kau·m tu Bath-lae·ŭm jis tu dhu bĕegee·nĕen u baa·rlĕe aar·us.

Chaa·ptur II.

1. Un Nai-oa·muy-d u-gau·t u kee·nzmun-v uur uuz·bun, u mai·tĕe mae·ŭn oa wuulth, oa dhu faa·mlĕe u Lúm·ulĕek; un dhee·ŭzh-yuur mae·ŭn wuz u-kyaa·l Boa·az.

2. Un Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes zaed tu Nai-oa·muy, Lam·ĕe g-uup-m dhu vee·ŭl, vur tu lai·z dhu yuurz u kau·rn, aa·dr ee· dhut aay-shl vuyn grae·ŭs een dhu zuyt oa. Un uur zaed tùe ur, Gèo·, muy daa·rtur.

3. Un uur wai·nt un kau·m un lai·zud een dhu vee ŭl aa·dr dhu rai·purz: unuur aa·p vur tu lai·t pun u pae·ŭrt oa dhu vee·ŭl waut wuz u-beelaung·ĕen tu Boa·az, dhu vuur·ĕe sae·ŭm mae·ŭn dhut wuz ukee·n tu Lúm·ulĕek.

4. Un eef Boa·az úz-zuul· daed-n kum ulau·ng jis dhoa·, vrum Bath-lae·ŭm, un zaed tu dhu rai·purz, Dhu Lau·ŭrd bee wai· ĕe. Un dhai spoak baak· un zaed tu ee·, Dhu Lau·ŭrd blas· yùe·.

5. Dhan Boa·az zaed tùe uz saa·rvun mae·ŭn waut wuz u-zau·t oa·vur dhu rai·purz, Ue·z maa·yd-z dhúsh-yuur?

6. Un dhu saa·rvun mae·ŭn waut wuz u-zau·t oa·vur dhu rai·purz spoak baak· un zaed, Uur-z dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕesh maa·yd, waut kum baak· laung wai Nai-oa·muy aewt u dhu kuun·trĕe u Moau·b:

7. Un uur zaed, Aay du praa·y oa ĕe vur tu lat mee lai·zĕe un gaedh·urĕe aa·dr dhu rai·purz mangs dhu shee·z:[1] zoa uur kau·m, un uur-dh u-buy·d úv·ur súnz úz mau·rnĕen tee·ŭl bĕe-naew· (just now), haun uur staa·pt u lee·dl beet een t-aewz.

8. Dhan Boa·az zaed tu Rèo·th, Doa·n ĕe yuur mee, muy daa·rtur? Doa·n yùe· g-een noa· uudh·ur vee·ŭl vur tu lai·zĕe, nur doa·n ĕe gèo wai· yuur-vraum, bud buyd wae·ŭr yùe bee·, lau·ng wai muy maa·ydnz.

9. Kĕep yuur uyz pun dhu vee·ŭl dhai bee rai·pĕen oa, un muyn yùe du vaul·ĕe um: aa·n aay u-chaa·rj dhu yuung mai·n ee·ns dhai shaa·n tich oa ĕe? un haun yùe bee thuus·tĕe, taek-n gèo tu dhu vuur·kĕenz, un dringk oa dhaat dhae·ŭr, waut dhu yuung mai·n-v u-drau·d.

10. Dhan uur vaa·l daewn pun ur fae·ŭs, un baew·ud urzuul· daewn tu dhu graewn, un zaes tùe un, s-uur,[2] Aew úz ut dhut aay-v u-vaewn grae·ŭs een yoa·ŭr uyz, ee·ns yùe shud taek kaewnt oa mee·, zee·ĕen aew aay bee bud u stran·jur?[3]

11. Un Boa·az spoak baak· un zaes tùe· ur, T-aa·th u-bún au·l u-shoa·ŭd tŭ mee, au·l waut yùe-v u-dùe·d tu yur mau·dhur lau súnz dhu dath· u yur uuz·bun: un aew yùe-v u-laf· yur faa·dhur-n

[1] Sheaves, *v* often dropped in the plural.
[2] See note, p. 253.
[3] Not *strai·njur*, as in English.

yur mau·dhur-n yur kuun·trĕe wuur yùe wuz u-bau·rnd, un aew yùe bee u-kau·m tùe u laut u voaks waut yùe núv·ur daed-n noa· uvoa·ŭr.

12. Dhu Lau·ŭrd rai·kumpai·ns ĕe vur yur wuurk, un u vèol rai·waurd bee u-gid· tùe ĕe, bĕe dhu Lau·ŭrd Gau·d u Uz·rae·ŭl, vur t-aez ee·n uun·dur eez wingz yùe bee u-kau·m vur tu trús yur-zuul·.

13. Dhan uur zaes, s-uur (says she), Lat mee vuyn fae·ŭvur een yoa·ŭr zuyt, mĕe Lau·ŭrd; kuz yùe-v u-kau·mfurtud mee, un kuz yùe-v u-spoakt lig u frai·n luyk tu yur saa·rvun, vur au·l dhut aay bae·ŭn u beet luyk waun u yur oa·ŭn maa·ydnz.

14. Un Boa·az zaes tu uur, s-ee· (says he), U dún·ur tuym yùe km aedh·ur, un ai·t saum u dhu brai·d, un dúp yur mau·sl een dhu vún·ĕegur. Un uur zau·t bĕezuy·d dhu rai·purz: un ee an·dud uur sum paa·reh kau·rn, un uur ai·t ut, un uur wuz u-saat·ĕesfuy un uur wai·nt uwai.

15. Un haun uur wuz u-gau·t au·p vur tu lai·zĕe, Boa·az gid aur·durz tùe uz yuung mai·n, un zaes tùe um, s-ee·, Muyn un lat uur lai·zĕe een (*in* not *even*) man·gs dhu shee·z, un doa·n ĕe shee·ŭm (rebuke, scold) uur oa ut.

16. Un taek-n lat vaa·l saum u dhu an·vèolz tùe·, u puur·pus vau·r ur, un laef· um ee·ns uur múd lai·z um, un muyn yùe doa·ŭn shee·ŭm uur vaur-t.

17. Zoa uur lai·zud een dhu vee·ŭl gin laef wuur·k tuym, un uur bee·ŭt aewt haut uur-d u-lai·z; un t-wuz ubaewd u tùe· bèosh·lz u baa·rlĕe.

18. Un uur tèokt ut au·p, un wai·nt een·tu dhu sút·ĕe: un ur mau·dhur lau zeed· haut uur-d u-lai·z: un uur braa·t ut voo·ŭth, un uur gid ur haut uur-d u-kĕep baak·, aa·dr uur wuz u-saat·ĕesfuy uurzul.

19. Un uur mau·dhur lau zaes tùe· ur, s-uur, Wuur-v ĕe bún u-lai·zĕen tùe, tu dai? un wae·ŭr-v ĕe bún tu wuurk tùe? blas ĕed bee ee· dhut-v u-tèokt ukaewnt oa ĕe. Un uur shoa·ŭd uur mau·dhur lau, ùe t-wau·z uur-d u-bún u-wuur·kĕen lau·ng wai, un zaes, Dhu mae·ŭn waut aay-v u-bún wuur·k-ĕen lau·ng wai-z u-kyaa·l Boa·az.

20. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe ur daa·rtur lau, Blas·ĕed bee ee· u dhu Lau·ŭrd, kuz ee aa·n u-laf· oa·f úz kuyn-nĕes tu dhu lúv·ĕen un tu dhu dai·d. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tùe ur, Dhu mae·ŭn-z nee·ŭr u keen tùe-s, wau·n uv aa·wur nuy·ĕes keen·z voak.

21. Un Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes zaed, U zaes tu mee oa·vur-n ubèo·, s-ee·, Yùe muyn un kĕep vaa·s bĕezuy·d u muy yuung mai·n, gin dhai-v u-fún·ĕesh au·l muy aa·rus.

22. Un Nai-oa·muy zaed tu Rèo·th uur daa·rtur lau, T-aez u gèo·d jau·b, mĕe daa·rtur, bud yùe shud g-aewt wai úz maa·ydnz, eéns dhai múd-n mĕet wai· ĕe een noa vee·ŭl uuls.

23. Zoa uur kĕep vaa·s bĕezuy·d dhu maa·ydnz u Boa·az u-lai·zĕen gin dhu ai·nd u dhu baa·rlĕe aa·rus, un u dhu wai·t aa·rus: un uur lee·v wai uur mau·dhur lau.

Chaa·ptur III.

1. Dhan Nai-oa·muy uur mau·dhur lau zaed tùe ur, Muy daa·rtur, shaa·n aay lèok ubaewt vur ras· vaur ĕe, ee·ns[1] múd bee wuul wai· ĕe?

2. Un naew aed-n Boa·az wau·n uv aaw·ur kee·n, ee· waut bĕelau·ng tu dhu maa·ydnz yùe-v u-bún lau·ng wai? Un lèok ĕe zee·! ee·z gwaa·yn vur tu wŭom· dhu baa·rlĕe tu nai·t een dhu draa·shĕen vloo·ŭr.

3. Wau·rsh yur-zuul dhan, u-nau·ynt yur-zuul, un puut au·n yur bas· kloa·ŭz, un geet uwai daewn tu dhu vloo·ŭr: bud doa·n ĕe maek yur-zuul u-noa·d tu dhu mae·ŭn gin jĭch tuym-z ee·-v u-fún·ĕesh úz vút·lz.

4. Un mĕe-aa·p, haun ee· du luy daewn, dhat yùe· shl maa·rk dhu plae·ŭs wuur u luyth, un yùe shl g-een, un au·nkuuv·ur úz veet, un luy yur-zuul daewn; un ee· ul tuul ĕe haut yùe shl dùe·.

5. Un uur zaed tu shee·, Au·l yùe zaes· tu mĕe aa·l dùe·.

6. Un uur wai·n daewn tu dhu vloo·ŭr, un uur dùe·d koa·rdĕen tu au·l waut ur mau·dhur lau-d u-toa·ld ur tùe.

7. Un wai·n Boa·az ud u-ai·t-n u-dringk, un úz aa·rt wuz muur·ĕe, u wai·n tu luy daewn tu dhu ai·n u dhu eep u kau·rn: un uur kau·m sau·f luyk, un au·nkuuv·urd úz veet, un luyd ur-zuul· daewn.

8. Un ut aa·pt ubaewd u twuulv u klauk u nai·t, dhut dhu mae·ŭn wuz u-fee·ŭrd, un tuurnd úz-zuul, un dhae·ŭr! neef u uum·un waud·n luy·ĕen tu dhu veet· oa un.

9. Un u zaed, Ue bee yùe·? Un uur zaes tu ee·, Aay bee Rèo·th yur an·maa·yd: sprad aewt dhan yur skuurt oa·vur yur an·maa·yd; vur yùe bee u nee·ŭr kee·nz-mun.

10. Un u zaed tu uur·, Blas·ĕed bee yùe· u dhu Lau·ŭrd, muy daa·rtur: vur yùe-v u-shoa·ŭd moo·ŭr kuyn-nĕes een dhu laa·tur ee·n dhun een dhu fuus· bĕegeen·ĕen, kae·ŭz wuy, yùe aa·n u-vaul·ĕed dhu yuung mai·n, wae·ŭr (whether) dhai bee poo·ŭr ur reech.

11. Un naew, muy daa·rtur, doa·n ĕe bee u-fee·ŭrd; aa·l dùe· tùe ĕe au·l dhut yùe du waunt vaur mee tùe·: vur dhu woa·l sút·ĕe u muy voaks un au·l, du noa· dhut yùe bee u au·nĕes uum·un.

12. Un naew t-úz trùe, shoa·ŭr nuuf·, dhut aay bee nee·ŭr kee·n tùe ĕe: aewsumdúv·ur dhur aez· u mae·ŭn nee·ŭrur u kee·n tùe ĕe-n aay bee.

13. Buyd yuur tu nai·t, un zoa shl bee·, neef ee· ul dùe vaur ĕe dhu pae·ŭrt uv u kee·nzmun, wuul: lat-n dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt: bud un eef ee oa·n dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt buy ĕe, dhan aa·l dùe dhu kee·nzmunz pae·ŭrt buy ĕe, zoa shoa·ŭr-z dhu Lau·ŭrd du lee·v: luy daewn gin dhu mau·rnĕen.

14. Un uur luyd tu dhu veet· oa un gin dhu mau·rnĕen: un uur roa·ŭzd aup uvoa·r kèod zee tu noa· waun ur tuudh·ur. Un u zaed, Doa·n ĕe lat um noa· aew dhut u uum·un kumd ee·n tu dhu vloo·ŭr.

15. U zaes tùe·, s-ee·, Bring oa·vur dhu vae·ŭl dhut yùe-v u-gaut au·n, un oa·ld-n aup. Un haun uur oa·ld-n aup, ee mizh·urd ziks

[1] Observe the omission of the nominative.

mizh·urz u baa·rlĕe, un loo·ŭd ut aup paun ur: un uur wai·nt een·tu dhu sút·ĕe.

16. Un haun uur kum au·m t-uur mau·dhur lau, uur zaes tù shee·, Ue bee yùe·, muy daa·rtnr? Un uur toa·ld ur au·l waut dhu mae·ŭn-d u-dùe·d tùe ur.

17. Un uur zaed, Ee gid mee dhai·zh-yuur ziks mizh·urz u baa·rlĕe; vur u zaes tu mee·, s-ee, Doa·n ĕe gèo baak· lee·ŭrĕe (empty) tu yuur mau·dhur lau.

18. Dhan uur zaed, Zút stee·ŭl, mee daa·rtur, gin yùe du noa·, waut faa·rsheen t-l vaa·l aewt oa: vur dhu mae·ŭn oa·n lat ut buyd, ee· ul shoa·ŭr tu fún·eesh ŭt tu dai.

Chaa·ptur IV.

1. Dhan Boa·az tèokt úz-zuul aup tu dhu gee·ŭt, un dhae·ŭr ee zaut úz-zuul daewn: un puur·dĕe kwik aa·drwurdz, dhu keen·zmun waut Boa·az-d u-bún u-tuul·ĕen ubaewt, ee kau·m ulau·ng; un ee zaes tùe un, s-ee·, Aa·y! jich u wau·n! staa·p u waun zuy·d, zi-daew·n yuur. Un ee tuur·nd[1] uz-zuul u waun zuy·d, un zau·-daewn.[2]

2. Un ee tèok tai·n mai·n u dhu uul·durz u dhu sút·ĕe, un zaed, Zit yur zuulz daewn yuur. Un dhai zau·daewn.

3. Un u zaes tu dhu kee·nzmun, s-ee·, Nai-oa·muy, uur waut-s u-kaum ugee·ŭn aewt u dhu kuun·trĕe u Moa·ub-z u-zúl·ĕen uv u beet u graewn, waut Lúm·ulĕek aaw·ur bridh·ur yùe·z tu bĕelau·ng tùe:

4. Un aay laa·kud vur tu tuul ĕe oa ut, ee·ns yùe múd buy· ut uvoa·r dhu taewnz voaks, un uvoa·r dhu uul·durz u muy faa·mlĕe luyk. Neef ĕe bee u muyn vur tu rai·dai·m[3] ut, rai·dai·m ut dhun: bud u-nee·f yùe bae·ŭn u muyn vur tu rai·dai·m ut, wuy· dhan tuul mee·, ee·ns aay múd noa·: kuz dhur aed-n nuudh·ur bau·dĕe uuls vur tu rai·dai·m ut; un aay bee aa·dr yùe·. Un dhu kee·nzmun zaed, Aay wŭol· rai·dai·m ut.

5. Dhan Boa·az zaes tùe un, Dhu sae·ŭm dai· ĕe du buy dhu vee·ŭl u graewn aewt u dhu an· u Nai-oa·muy, yùe mus buy un tùe· u Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, uur dhut-s wuyv oa ee· dhut-s dai·d, ee·ns yùe múd ruyz aup dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d pun úz eenuur·ĕetuns.

6. Un dhu kee·nzmun zaed, Aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur rai·dai·m ut vur mĕezuul·, uuls aay shud spwuuy·ŭl mĕe oa·un eenuur·ĕetuns: yùe· rai·dai·m muy rai·tshúp vur yoa·ŭrzuul; kuz aay bae·ŭn ae·ŭbl vur tu rai·dai·m ut.

7. Naew dhúsh-yuur wuz dhu wai· dhai aa·ktud fau·rmurlĕe een Uz·rae·ŭl, kunsaa·rnĕen oa rai·dai·m·ĕen, un kunsaa·rnĕen u chan·jĕen, ee·ns dhai múd maek úv·urĕedhing au·l saa·f un shoa·ŭr

[1] *To turn*, being an active verb, it requires a direct object in the dialect.

[2] When *t* and *d* come together, the former is usually dropped; see *zi-daew·n* in previous clause. See also notes, pp. 169, 170.

[3] *Redeem* is rather a "fine" word for dialect, but it is used, and I have always heard it pronounced *rai·dai·m*, i.e. with both syllables slowly and emphatically pronounced. This is usually done in speaking words of this class; *inheritance* is not an uncommon word. *Then* is sounded *dhan* when an adverb, and *dhun* when it is the unemphatic *doch*.

luyk; u mae·ŭn yùe·z tu pèol oa·f úz shùe·, un gid-n tùe úz naa·ybur: un dhaat dhae·ŭr wuz u wee·tnĕes een U'z-rae·ŭl.

8. Zoa dhan dhu kee·nzmun zaes tu Boa·az, s-ee·, Buy ut vur yur-oa·n zuul. Zoa ee drae·d oa·f úz shùe.

9. Un Boa·az zaed tu dhu uul·durz un uvoa·r au·l dhu voaks, u zaes, sŭs ee·,[1] Yùe bee au·l wee·tnĕesez dhee·ŭz dai, aew dhut aay-v u-boa·ŭt au·l dhut wuz bĕelaung·ĕen tu Lúm·ulĕek, un au·l dhut wuz u-bĕelaung·ĕen tu Chúl·yun un Mae·ŭlun, oa·f vrum dhu an· u Nai-oa·muy.

10. Oa·vur-n ubèo·, aay-v u-boa·ŭt tùe·, (also) Rèo·th dhu Moa·ubuy·tĕes, dhu wuyv u Mae·ŭlun, vur tu bee muy· wuyv, vur tu ruyz au·p dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d pun úz eenuur·ĕetuns, ee·ns dhu nae·ŭm u dhu dai·d múd-n bee u-kuut oa·f vrum uman·gs úz bridh·urz luyk, un vrum dhu gee·ŭt uv úz plae·ŭs: yùe bee wee·tnĕesez au·l oa ĕe dhee·ŭz dai.

11. Un au·l dhu voaks dhut wuz een dhu gee·ŭt·wai, un dhu uul·durz, zaed, Wee bee· wee·tnĕesez. Dhu Lau·ŭrd maek dh-uum·un waut-s u-kau·m een·tu yoa·ŭr aewz, luyk Raa·chee·ŭl un luyk Lai·u, dhai tùe· waut bee·ŭldud aup dhu aewz u U'z·rae·ŭl: un du yùe aa·k au·nĕes luyk een Aefrae·ŭtu, un maek yurzuul· fae·ŭmus een Bath-lae·uum.

12. Un lat yoa·ŭr aewz bee luyk dhu aewz u Fae·ŭruz, ee· waut Tae·ŭmur bae·ŭrd tu Jùe·du, u dhu zee·ŭd dhu Lau·ŭrd-l gee·ĕe aewt u dhee·ŭz yuung uum·un.

13. Zoa Boa·az tèok Rèo·th, un uur wuz úz wuyv: un haun ee wai·nt een tùe ur, dhu Lau·ŭrd gid ur kunsaap·shun, un uur bae·ŭrd u zún.

14. Un dhu wŭom·ĕen zaed tu Nai-oa·muy, Blaas·ĕed bee dhu Lau·ŭrd, vur ee· aa·n u-laef·t ĕe dhee·ŭz dai udhaewt u kee·nzmun, ee·ns úz nae·ŭm múd bee fae·ŭmus een U'z·rae·ŭl.

15. Un ee· shl bee u gúv·ur baak· tue ĕe u yur luyv, un u uul·pur een yur oa·l ae·ŭj: vuur yur daa·rtur lau, uur waut du luuv ĕe, uur waut-s bad·r tùe ĕe-n zab-m zúnz-v u-bae·ŭrd-n.

16. Un Nai-oa·muy tèok dhu chee·ŭl, un uur luyd-n een ur buuz·um, un uur nuus-n au·p.

17. Un dhu wŭom·ĕen, uur naa·yburz gid-n u nae·ŭm, un zaed, Dhur-z u zún u-baur·nd tu Nai-oa·muy; un dhai kyaa·ld úz nae·ŭm Oa·bai·d: ee·z dhu faa·dhur u Jas·ĕe, dhaat-s dhu faa·dhur u Dae·ŭvĕed.

18. Naew dhai·zh-yuur bee dhu jin·urae·ŭrshunz u Fae·ŭruz: Fae·ŭrŭz gaut Aez·run,

19. Un Aez·run gaut Raa·m, un Raa·m gaut Umún·udab.

20. Un Umún·udab gaut Nae·ŭshun, Nae·ŭshun gaut Saa·lmun,

21. Un Saa·lmun gaut Boa·az, un Boa·az gaut Oa·bai·d,

22. Un Oa·bai·d gaut Jas·ĕe, un Jas·ĕe gaut Dae·ŭvĕed.

[1] *sŭs ee* is a very common form of "says he," and is the usual form of historic present in conjunction with *u zaes* as above. *s-ee* and *s-uur* are the usual forms of "says he" and "says she" when other forms preliminary to the *oratio directa* are used, and I should not be at all straining their use if I had inserted them in every instance throughout the narrative.

Note upon West Somerset Pronunciation.

By J. A. H. Murray, LL.D.

During a recent stay with him in West Somerset, Mr. Elworthy provided me with many opportunities of hearing the dialect sounds from many and various speakers, and I was thus enabled to re-examine the identifications made by Mr. Ellis, and given, with references to my own and Mr. Sweet's appreciations of the same sounds, as an Appendix to Mr. Elworthy's former paper on the Dialect of West Somerset, in the "Transactions of the Philological Society for 1875–6," pp. 218–272. The results of these new observations were of considerable importance, especially in regard to the sound No. 30 in the Appendix referred to, and again discussed by Mr. Ellis in a final note, p. 271.

The most striking feature in the pronunciation is the strongly pronounced "cerebral" or reversed *ˌr*, produced by turning the tip of the tongue back as far as possible into the hollow of the palate, and then imparting to the whole member as strong a vibration as it is capable of in this position. The result is a dull, deep, vibrant sound, very distinct from the tip-trill of a Northern *r* on the one hand, or the French and German *r* grasséyé on the other. It prevails all over the South of England, becoming less and less vibratory as we come from west to east—I heard it distinctly in the Isle of Wight from natives; and it is the undoubted progenitor of the vocalized *r* of London and literary English, which could never have arisen from the Northern tip-trill. In West Somerset it is not only pronounced wherever *r* is historically present, whether medial or final, as in *auˑˌrduˌr*, order, but it is added to medial and final vowels in many words with equal distinctness, as in *faaˑˌrsheen*, fashion, *uˌr* = a = he, where it must be remembered that *ˌr* is not a mere modification of the vowel, but a true consonant. The reversed position of the *ˌr* also affects the pronunciation of consonants, chiefly *t*, *d*, *l*, and of vowels that accompany it. The sound itself has so much vocal quality, and tends to begin with so deep a guttural vowel, that such words as *red*, *rich*, *run*, are heard as *uˌrd*, *uˌrtsh*, *uˌrn* (which might almost as truly be written *ˌrd*, *ˌrtsh*, *ˌrn*, or *ˌrˌrd*, *ˌrˌrtsh*, *ˌrˌrn*,), the succeeding short *e*, *i*, or *u* being lost between the vibration of the *ˌr* and the consonant. The peculiarity of the sound in No. 33, remarked on by Mr. Ellis, seems to arise, not from the vowel, but from the reversed *d* and *r* which follow it. In the word spelt by Mr. Elworthy *taeˑüděez*, potatoes, I heard a true dental or Northern *r* for the written *d*, *taeˑürěez*, or *taiˑurěez*, and Mr. Sweet subsequently heard it as the same. *L* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of the words in List 23, Part II. *bèol*, *pèol*, etc.

As to the vowels generally, I found they varied within considerable limits of low and high, wide or narrow, in different mouths, and in most cases the distinction of quantity was *not* a marked one. The *fractures* or imperfect diphthongs here written *ˑü*, as in *oaˑü*,

were often hardly appreciable to me, or separable from long vowels, and often seemed unintentional. This was especially the case before *l* and *r*, as in *bwuuy·ŭl*, *vuy·ŭr*, *noa·ŭrt*, *aew·ŭl*, etc., where the *ŭ* merely represents the vocal murmur of the *l*, *r*, and there was no suggestion of another syllable. But *ae·ŭ* and *oo·ŭ* were very distinct, though in the former the first element seemed to me higher than *ae*, and the whole sound little different from my Scotch *eae*, which is *ai·ŭ* or rather *i·ŭ*. Most of the words in List 21 spelt with *ee·ŭ* seemed also identical with these, leaving but a few really *ee·ŭ*, as where *r* follows, in *fear*, etc. The sound *oo·ŭ* seemed quite the same as my Scotch *uo*, and the first element not pure *oo*, though near it. Long *aa·* was much thinner than short *aa*, the latter approaching a deep German *a*, while the former was more generally [ä'] the fine sound often heard in *ask*, or in individuals even the long of short English *a*, as in the local pronunciation of Bāth. The distinction of the two sounds was to me more qualitative than quantitative. I was not able to hear any distinction between the two sounds of *o* (*ao*, *oa*), Nos. 13 and 25; I think they were meant for the same sound, viz. the wide (though not very wide) *ao*; the same with their "fractures" *ao·ŭ* and *oa·ŭ*.

The chief difficulty I had was with the words in Lists 28 and 30, in which I still failed to satisfy native ears long after I had mastered all the other sounds. I had attacked them every day for more than a week, without any other results, than the conviction that dialectal speakers considered and meant them all as the same sound, though to me they sounded as different vowels; that they were *not labial*, at least not intentionally so; and that they lay in the region between short *i*, short *e*, short *u*, and short French *u*. It was one day while listening to Mr. Mildon (the local pronunciation of whose own name exemplifies the sound), that I tried to echo the word *silk* after him. Having tried every conceivable vowel without satisfying him, he at length said that I seemed to put a sound between the *s* and *l*, whereas to his ear there was nothing but the *l*. Catching at this hint, I pronounced *s'lk* as in cast-le, *cas'l*, with the *l* made into an additional syllable, and my auditors clapped their hands: I had got it at last, after ten days' trial! The easy utterance of the other words proved it. It was the *natural vowel*, which Mr. Melville Bell identified with a non-syllabic effect of his mid-mixed vowel, and therefore very near Mr. Ellis's palæotype (ə). But as Mr. Ellis uses this as the ordinary short English *ŭ* (in which I believe no Northern ears agree with him), we must consider the West Somerset sound as more front than *ŭ*, i.e. nearer to ɤ, *ĕ*, and consequently also to French *u* short. In the present paper accordingly it is written *ú*, and may be looked upon as an *ŭ* advanced and raised towards ɤ, or more correctly, looking at its history, as an ɤ lowered and retracted towards *ŭ*. For if the words contained in Lists 28 and 30 be examined, it will be found that they are all historically short *i*, or such as had dialectically become short *i*. And in comparing them with the short *i* list No. 24, it will be soon found that they constitute certain classes of the short *i* words, in

which, through the influence of the preceding or following consonant, the original vowel has been lowered and drawn back from its high and advanced position in the mouth. If the ĭ words be arranged in columns according to the order of the consonants that follow the vowel, as *-ik*, *-ig*, *-ing*, *-ish*, *-izh*, *-ich*, *-ij*, *-is*, *-iz*, *-it*, *-id*, *-in*, *-ith*, *-idh*, *-il*, *-ip*, *-ib*, *-if*, *-iv*, *-im*, that is from guttural to labial, it will be found that -ĭ remains before *k*, *g*, *ng*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, *j*, except in the word *pitch*, where the influence of the preceding *p* produces *púch*; before *s* and *z*, except where a labial or *r* precedes; before *th*, *dh*, *t*, *d*, *n*, except after a *labial* or *r*, or when *er* follows, as *titter* (*túť·ur*). But on the other hand ĭ has become *ú* before *l*, *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *m*, the only words in which ĭ is found before these consonants being such as have not an original ĭ, but *ee*, as wheel (wil), sheep (ship), believe (bliv), or foreign words like *sceptre*, *treble*, *lemon*. Before ˌ*r*, ĭ becomes *u*, *uu*, and the combination *ri* also becomes *uuˌr*, as ridge (*uuˌrj*).

There is a remarkable correspondence between this distribution of ĭ and *ú*, and the rules for the interchange of the palatal and guttural *i* (и or i, and ы) in Russian, where in grammatical formations the pure palatal *i* is only admissible after the back consonants *k*, *g*, *kh*, *sh*, *zh*, *ch*, and *shtsh*, but with other consonants becomes the guttural or "hard *i*" (ы), the Polish *y*.

In Scotch also, where original ĭ has been lowered to ĕ generally, and this in central Scotland retracted to or towards the 'mid mixed' ŭ (compare "let *hum* that is *fulthy* be *fulthy stull*," attributed to Dr. Chalmers. See my "Dialect of Southern Scotland," p. 108, note), it remains ĭ or rather ĕe before a few *k*, *g*, *sh*, and *ch* words, as *sick*, *gig*, *wig*, *whisht* (sĕek, gĕeg, wĕeg, whĕesht), while an initial *w* usually gutturalizes ĭ or ĕ into the 'mid back' or Northern short ŭ, as *will*, *wit*, *whip* (wull, wut, whup).

In listening to the pronunciation of a series of words, as *stik*, *brish*, *bich*, *list*, *bit·l*, *túť·ur*, *skwúnt*, *drúl*, *chúp*, *búb*, *úv·ur*, *plúm*, I seemed to hear a progressive widening of the vowel from the finest ĭ to the most distinct *ú*.[1]

As the natural vowel is greatly influenced by the vocal quality of the preceding consonant, unintentional and unfelt differences easily arise among the words of this class, which accounts for my seeming to hear several distinct vowels, and Mr. Ellis actually throwing them into five different sound groups. This may be easily experienced after pronouncing *súlk*, *s'lk*, by passing to *múlk*, *m'lk*, which the influence of the labial *m* will, unless an effort be made, change to *mŭolk*, as written by Mr. Ellis, No. 30, Part III. Still

[1] Since these observations were made, Mr. H. Nicol has read an important paper before the Philological Society, showing that English short ĭ was in the 16th century *ĕe* before back consonants, and when final, as in *sing*, *iteh*, *lady*, but ĭ before front ones, as in *thin*, *this*, *ill*. This presents valuable analogies to the West Somerset, which has however advanced a step further, since *ĕe* has become ĭ, and ĭ become *ú*; but finally *ĕe* remains, see p. 48 of Mr. Elworthy's former paper, and his constant spelling of such words as *zab·mtĕe*, *hug·lĕe*. In South Scotch, also, final *-ie* in *cantie*, *fyftie*, etc., is rather *ĕe* than ĭ. (See Dial. South Scotl. p. 104.)

more is this the case with *v* or *w*, as in *village*, *willow*, which, though meant as *vúl·ij*, *wúl·ŭ*, are almost sure to be heard as *vŭol·ij*, *wŭol·ŭ*, as written by Mr. Ellis. The passage from *will* to *wŭol* shows in a remarkable manner how a sound may cross by a few steps almost from one end of the vowel scale to the other, from *Williton* round the world and back to *Wŭol·itn*! (See D.W.S. p. 11.)

IV.—ENGLISH METRE. By Professor J. B. Mayor.

In my former papers I confined my attention almost exclusively to the five-foot iambic metre, discussing various theories which had been propounded about it, and showing how the normal line had been modified by Shakspeare. In this paper I propose to give an account of the remaining disyllabic and trisyllabic metres as exhibited in Tennyson's poems, with occasional illustrations from other sources.

It is not my object to go into any minute disquisition, but to test my metrical analysis generally upon a writer who furnishes examples of a great variety of rhythms, and as to whose readings and pronunciation there is no question, so that one may argue securely on the facts. Metrical writers are as little agreed upon the general theory of metre as they are on the admissible varieties of the five-foot iambic, and I do not know of any one who has given a consistent and satisfactory account of the matter. The best, I think, is Dr. Abbott in *English Lessons* (p. 212), but he fails in the trisyllabic metres, confusing dactylic and anapaestic, and introducing an unnecessary amphibrachic metre, as in Browning's line, which is a true anapaestic—

Dirck gal|loped I gal|loped we gal|loped all three|

So Prof. Bain, in his *English Composition* (p. 239), misnames the feminine anapaestic,

There came| to the shore| a poor ex|ile of E|rin,

taking it either as amphibrachic, or dactylic with anacrusis.

Dr. Angus (*Handbook of the English Tongue*, p. 359) mistakes Shelley's trochaic

Hail to| thee blithe| spirit|
Bird thou| never| wert
That from| heaven or| near it|
Pourest| thy full| heart

for anapaestic, coupling it with Moore's ''Tis the last rose of summer.' Mr. Higginson (*Eng. Gram.*) reads as dactylic the line in *Maud*

And lust of gain in the spirit of Cain is it better or worse

takes the third foot in

Merrily| merrily| shall I live| now|

to be an amphibrach, and makes utter confusion of Longfellow's "Come to me, O ye children," p. 168.

Before classifying Tennyson's trochaic metres according to the number of feet employed, I must mention a variety running through them all, which is produced by the omission of the last unaccented syllable, giving rise to the truncated trochaic, the converse of the feminine iambic. We find examples of the two-foot trochaic, both complete and truncated, in combination with longer metres; of complete in *The Poet*,

In the| middle| leaps a| fountain| (4)
Like sheet| lightning| (2)
Ever| brightening| (2)
With a| low me|lodious| thunder| (4)

and of the truncated in *The Miller's Daughter*—

Love the| gift is| love the| debt (truncated 4)
Even| so (tr. 2

Deserted House—

Life and| thought have| gone a|way (tr.
Side by| side (tr.

Poet—

Hollow| smile and| frozen| sneer (tr.
Come not| here (tr.

I do not think Tennyson has any example of the regu three-foot trochaic, such as we find in Baring Gould's *Hy for Children*—

Now the| day is| over| (3)
Night is| drawing| nigh (tr. 3)
Shadows| of the| evening| (3)
Steal a|cross the| sky (tr. 3)

But the truncated form is common in combination with longer metres, as in *Lilian*—

When my| passion| seeks
Pleasance| in love| sighs
Then a|way she| flies
Fairy| Lili|an

and the *Deserted House*—

Careless| tenants| they
Here no| longer| dwell.

In *Maud* xvii. we find twenty-eight consecutive lines in this metre, beginning "Go not| happy| day." In *Lilian* we have specimens of a variation of the complete three-foot trochaic formed by the prefixing of a hypermetrical syllable or anacrusis, analogous to the feminine rhythm in the iambic metre—

She) looking| through and| through me|
If) prayers| will not| hurt thee|

So in *Deserted House*—

So) frequent| on its| hinge be|fore
Or) through the| windows| we shall| see
The) naked|ness and| vacan|cy.

The four-foot trochaic is by far the commonest, as in *Lilian*—

When I| ask her| if she| love me|
Claps her| tiny| hands a|bove me|

The Poet's Mind—

Clear and| bright it| should be| ever|
Flowing| like a| crystal| river|

Lady of Shalott—

Willows| whiten| aspens| quiver|
Little| breezes| dusk and| shiver|

Usually, however, it alternates with the truncated form, as in *Lord of Burleigh*—

Deeply| mourned the| lord of| Burleigh|
Burleigh| house by| Stamford| town

This is the common 8-7's of the hymn-books, like—

Through the| day thy| love has| spared us|
Now we| lay us| down to| rest

Written as one line we know it as truncated eight-foot, the metre of Locksley Hall—

Comrades| leave me| here a| little| while as| yet 'tis| early| dawn.

The truncated four-foot is the metre of the song in the *Vision of Sin*—

Wrinkled| ostler| grim and| thin|

It is the 7's of hymn-books, the metre of

Hark the| herald| angels| sing

The complete four-foot is rarely used alone in hymns, as in one of the translations of the *Dies Irae*—

Day of| wrath, O| day of| mourning|
See once| more the| cross re|turning|
Heaven and| earth in| ashes| burning|

Five-foot trochaic is rare in either the complete or truncated form. We find examples of the former in the *Vision of Sin*—

Narrowing| into| where they| sat as|sembled|
Low vo|luptuous| music| winding| trembled|

and in *Wellington*—

He shall| find the| stubborn| thistle| bursting|
Into| glossy| purples| which out|redden|

The rhythm has rather a tendency to run into Canning's *Needy Knife Grinder*, which indeed only differs from it by the insertion of an unimportant syllable—

Story| 'bless you| I have| none to| tell Sir|

In both the poems just mentioned the truncated form is mixed with the other, *e.g.* from the *Vision of Sin*—

Then me|thought I| heard a| mellow| sound
Gathering| up from| all the| lower| ground

and from *Wellington*—

Once the| weight and| fate of| Europe| hung
He that| ever| following| her com|mands
On with| toil of| heart and| knees and| hands

Six-foot is also rare. We find in the *Vision of Sin* the complete form—

Purple| gauzes| golden| hazes| liquid| mazes|

and in *Wellington* the truncated

Who is| he that| cometh| like an| honoured| guest

in *Cauteretz*—

All a|long the| valley| stream that| flashest| white

I am not aware that Tennyson has any example of the complete seven-foot trochaic, though it has to my ear an easier and more natural rhythm than the five and six-foot trochaics, *e.g.*

In the| glowing| autumn| sunset| in the| golden| autumn|

but we find the truncated form in the *Lotus Eaters*—

We have| had e|nough of| action| and of| motion| we

and

Like a| tale of| little| meaning| though the| words be| strong

Locksley Hall supplies examples of the eight-foot trochaic, both in the complete form, as

Slowly| comes a| hungry| people| as a| lion| creeping| nigher|

and in the truncated form,

Smote the| chord of| self that| trembling| past in| music| out of| sight

So the *Lotus Eaters*

Rolled to| starboard| rolled to| larboard| when the| surge was| seething| free

The law of this metre is that the line is usually divided into two sections after the fourth foot, *e.g.*

Comrades| leave me| here a| little|| while as| yet 'tis| early| dawn

In 194 lines of *Locksley Hall* we find this rule observed in all but forty-two, and in fifteen of these the fourth foot ends with 'and,' which softens the effect, as in

Saw the| vision| of the| world and|| all the| wonder| which should| be
Love took| up the| glass of| time and|| turned it| in his| glowing| hands

otherwise it has a heavy dragging sound, as in

Many a| night from| yonder| ivied|| casement| ere I| sunk to| rest
What is| fine with|in thee| growing|| coarse to| sympa|thize with| clay
Glares at| one that| nods and| winks be||hind a| slowly| dying| fire

In one line we find both sections truncated—

As I have| seen the| rosy| red|| flushing| in the| northern| night

Some have maintained that the basis of the metre is a double trochee with a weaker stress on the first syllable and stronger on the third. There seems no ground for this. If we have

In the| spríng a| fuller| crimson| comes up| on the| robin's| breast

we have also

Mány a| night from| yonder| ivied| casement| ere I| sank to| rest

The rationale of the two sections is of course that the line arose from the juxtaposition of a complete and truncated four-foot trochaic, as

Pilgrims| here on| earth and| strangers|| dwelling| in the| midst of|
foes

It is the metre we are familiar with in Aristophanes as the trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

Having thus classified the various trochaic lines to be found in Tennyson, it remains for us to observe how they are combined into poems, and with what irregularities, either accentual or syllabic, they are used. One of these irregularities I have already referred to, the anacrusis. It may be well here to give reasons in support of such an explanation of an unaccented syllable at the beginning of the line. Why should not a line beginning thus be regarded as an iambic line? We will take *Lilian*. This is a poem of thirty lines, all but four of which are manifestly trochaic. Why should we wish to assign a distinct rhythm to these, because they have an iambic beginning, more than we do to iambic lines which have a trochaic ending? Similarly in *A Dirge* we have forty-nine lines, all but four plainly trochaic, and one of these is formed simply by prefixing 'but' to the refrain, "let them rave." In the *Lotus Eaters*, after a number of long trochaic lines, we come to

Than) labour| in the| deep mid| ocean| wind and| wave and| oar
Oh) rest ye| brother| mari|ners we| will not| wander| more

I should certainly prefer to call these trochaic. The *Valley of Cauteretz* and the *Ode on the Duke of Wellington* present

several examples of the same kind. No doubt there is a remarkable mixture of the iambic and trochaic rhythms in the latter; but, taking the last eleven lines beginning,

He is| gone who| seemed so| great

it seems to me better to treat the exceptional lines

Than) any| wreath that| man can| weave him|
But) speak no| more of| his re|nown
And) in the| vast cath|edral| leave him|

as examples of anacrusis rather than as iambics. So in the longer lines of stanza vi.

Who is| he that| cometh|| like an| honoured| guest
With) banner| and with| music|| with) soldier| and with| priest

I should treat the second as a truncated six-foot trochaic, with anacrusis at the beginning of both sections. The line that follows

With a| nation| weeping|| and) breaking| on my| rest

has anacrusis at the beginning of the second section only. *Cauteretz* is six-foot truncated,

All a|long the| valley|| stream that| flashest| white

but anacrusis is freely used at the beginning of either or both sections, as in the first—

For) all a|long the| valley|| down thy| rocky| bed

in the second—

Deepen|ing thy| voice with|| the) deepening| of the| night

in both—

The) two and| thirty| years were|| a) mist that| rolls a|way

and even with two short syllables prefixed to the second section in

Thy) living| voice to| me was|| as the) vöice| of the| dead

This last might of course be treated as a case of iambic intrusion; in either case 'voice' is disyllabic. Dr. Abbott gives the historical explanation of anacrusis in *English Lessons*, p. 189: "In early English poets syllables which precede the accented syllable are not necessary to the scansion." He gives to such syllables the name of the "catch."

The next irregularity which I will speak of is the substitution of the dactyl in place of the trochee. Dr. Abbott confines this licence to the first foot, and it is, no doubt, most frequent in that position, as in

Thoroughly| to un|do me|
Wearieth| me May| Lili|an|
Shadowy| dreaming| Ade|line
But in a| city| glori|ous
Many a| chance the| years be|get

but it is also found in other places, especially in long lines, as in the *Lotus Eaters*—

Where the| wallowing| monster| spouted| his foam| fountains| in the| sea

Wellington—

He that| ever| following| her com|mand

and the *Vision of Sin*—

Moved with| violence| changed in| hue
Caught each| other with| wild gri|maces|
Half in|visible| to the| view
Wheeling| with pre|cipitate| paces|
To the| melody| till they| flew

This is, however, a very irregular poem, and we should perhaps class the passage among those in which there is an intentional mixture of rhythms, the trochaic and dactylic. The inversion of the accent is less common than in the iambic metre, but is occasionally found in the first foot, *e.g.*

The gold-|eyed| kingcups| fine
The frail| blue bell| peereth| over
From deep| thought him|self he| rouses|

To speak now of the combination of trochaic lines. We find poems made up of the truncated three-foot, as the seventeenth stanza of *Maud*, but this is I think a solitary instance. The truncated four-foot is common, e.g. *The Owl*, *Adeline* (though in this we find anacrusis freely employed, giving an iambic colouring), the song in the *Miller's Daughter*; also the alternation of the complete and truncated four-foot, as in

Lord of Burleigh. The truncated four-foot is often varied by the intermixture of longer and shorter lines, as in *Lilian* we find it associated with complete four and truncated three-foot; in *Deserted House* with truncated three and truncated two; in *The Dirge* with truncated two and complete four; in *Locksley Hall* we have truncated eight-foot varied by the occasional insertion of a complete line. I reserve the more difficult combinations till we have got the analysis of the trisyllabic metres.

Of the ascending disyllabic, or iambic, metre we find the following varieties in Tennyson: two-foot, as in the *Poet*—

The love| of love|

three-foot—

The la|dy of| Shalott|

three-foot with feminine ending—

In days| of old| Amphi|on

four-foot—

O had| I lived| when song| was great|

four-foot feminine—

She on|ly said| my life| is wea|ry

five-foot—

The mel|low ref|lex of| a win|ter moon|

five-foot feminine—

The vex|ed ed|dies of| its way|ward bro|ther

six-foot—

Give us| long rest| or death| dark death| or dreamful ease|
It is| the last| new year| that I| shall ev|er see|

seven-foot—

I thought| to pass| away| before| but yet| alive| I am|

These are combined into poems as follows: we find three-foot masculine and feminine indiscriminately with anapaestic variations in *Claribel*—

Where Cla|ribel| low li|eth
The bree|zes pause| and die|
But the sol|emn oak| tree sigh|eth

Four-foot alternating with three-foot is very common, as in the *Talking Oak*—

Once more| the gate| behind| me falls|
Once more| before| my face|

It is known in the hymn-books as common metre. Sometimes we have stanzas of 4-4-4-3, as

Of old| sat free|dom on| the heights|
The thun|ders break|ing at| her feet|
Above| her shook| the star|ry lights|
She heard| the tor|rents meet|

And there are other combinations, as in *Sir Galahad*, etc. In *Amphion* and the *Brook* we have four-foot masculine alternating with three-foot feminine. It has usually a light playful touch—

My fat|her left| a park| to me|
But it| is wild| and bar|ren
A gar|den too| with scarce| a tree|
And was|ter than| a war|ren

And out| again| I curve| and flow|
To join| the brim|ming ri|ver
For men| may come| and men| may go|
But I| go on| for ev|er

Will Waterproof is in eight-line stanzas, the first half of the stanza being in four and three masculine; the latter half in four and three feminine. The four or eight-line stanza of four feet (the long metre of hymn-books) is the commonest of all. It is used in *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, *Day Dream*, *Love thou thy Land*, which, as well as the whole of *In Memoriam*, takes a peculiar character from the rhyming of the first and fourth and second and third lines. The five-foot line is found in combination with others, as in *Dream of Fair Women*, where we have a four-line stanza of 5-5-5-3—

I read| before| my eye|lids dropt| their shade|
The leg|end of| good wom|en long| ago|
Sung by| the morn|ing star| of song| who made|
His mus|ic heard| below|

In the beautiful *Requiescat* we find it in combination with four and three—

Fair is| her cot|tage in| its place|
Where yon| broad wa|ter sweet|ly slow|ly glides|

The *May Queen* is composed of six and seven-foot lines.

The first irregularity I shall mention is the use of the monosyllabic first foot (as in Chaucer), which I shall call initial truncation, as opposed to the final truncation of the trochaic line. Usually it is found in poems where anapaestic substitution is common; as in *Arabian Nights*—

Black| the gar|den bowers| and grots|
Slumbered| the sol|emn palms| were ranged|
Above| unwooed| of sum|mer's wind|

Ode to Memory—

Streng|then me| enligh|ten me|
Sub|tle though|ted, my|riad mind|ed

Lady Clare—

I trow| they did| not part| in scorn|
Lov|ers long| betrothed| were they|
False|ly false|ly have| ye done|
O mo|ther she said| if this| be true|
Dropt| her head| in the mai|den's hand|

La|dy Clar|a Vere| de Vere|
Of me| you shall| not win| renown|
Trust| me Clar|a Vere| de Vere|
I know| you Clar|a Vere| de Vere|

The *Sailor Boy*—

Fool| he ans|wered death| is sure|
To those| that stay| and those| that roam|

In some, truncation is the rule, as in the *Flower*, which is so irregular that it should perhaps be reckoned among the examples of anapaestic rhythm—

Up| there came| a flower|
The peop|le said| a weed|
But thieves| from o'er| the wall|
Stole| the seed| by night|

The second irregularity is that of feminine rhythm, of

which I need say nothing. The third, substitution of anapaest for iambic, as in the *Sailor Boy*—

They are all| to blame| they are all| to blame|

A Dedication—

Dearer| and near|er as| the rap|id of life|

The fourth, substitution of trochee (and even dactyl in the first foot) for iamb. Example of dactyl in *Arabian Nights*—

Serene| with ar|gent-lid|ded eyes|
Amorous| and lash|es like| to rays|

So Wordsworth's exquisite line—

Murmuring| from Gla|rama|ra's in|most caves|

The trochee is sometimes found in the middle of the line—

Of all| the glad| new year| Mother| the mad|dest mer|riest day|

It is hardly worth while to mention here pyrrhic and spondaic substitution.

Trisyllabic metre is either ascending like the iambic, which we know as anapaestic, or descending like the trochee, which we know as dactylic. We find examples of anapaestic lines, consisting of one foot, in the *Song* beginning "A spirit haunts"—

At his work| you may hear| him sob| and sigh| 4
In the walks| 1
At the moist| rich smell| of the rot|ting leaves| 4
And the breath| 1

In the same poem we have the two-foot anapaest—

Of the moul|dering flowers|

We find the three-foot line in *Maud*—

In the mead|ow un|der the hall|
To the death| for their na|tive land|

The four-foot in the *Song*—

For at e|ventide lis|tening ear|nestly|

and in the *Poet's Mind*—

In the heart| of the gar|den the mer|ry bird chants|

The five-foot in *Maud*—

Till I well| could weep| for a time| so sor|did and mean|

And also the six-foot—

Did he fling| himself down| who knows| for a vast| specula|tion had failed|

which is the metre of the *Northern Farmer*—

"The Amoigh|ty's a taa|kin of you| to 'issen| my friend "| a said|

The seven-foot in *Sea Fairies*—

Whith|er away| from the high| green field| and the hap|py bloss|oming shore|

The eight-foot is in the same—

Whith|er away| lis|ten and stay| mar|iner mar|iner fly| no more|

In this the first, third, and fifth feet are monosyllabic, a licence of which I shall speak directly.

The variations are (1) the iamb, of which all the longer lines quoted afford instances. Sometimes a line is made up of these without a single anapaest, as in the *Song*—

A spir|it haunts| the year's| last hours|

The iamb may, of course, be represented by a spondee, as—

And the year's| lâst rōse|

But (2) at the beginning of the line the anapaest may be represented by a monosyllable, the two unaccented syllables disappearing without altering the character of the verse. Thus the line

I would kiss| them of|ten un|der the sea|

is repeated in the form

And kiss| them again| till they| kissed me|

Leave out 'and' and the rhythm is unaltered. I have not seen this law of the anapaestic metre noticed, yet it is all but universal. Examples of this initial truncation are innumerable. The truncated two-foot is found in the *Merman*—

Who| would be|
A mer|man bold|
Sit|ting alone|
Sing|ing alone|
Un|der the sea|
With a crown| of gold|
On| a throne|

truncated three-foot in *Maud*—

Maud| with her ex|quisite face|

truncated four-foot in the same—

Sing|ing alone| in the morn|ing of life|

truncated five-foot—

Knew| that the death| white cur|tain meant| but sleep|

truncated six-foot—

Why| do they prate| of the bless|ings of peace| who have made| them a curse|

It may be asked what reason is there for calling these anapaestic rather than dactylic lines? The answer is that the rhythm of the lines must be interpreted by the general rhythm of the piece, and all the lines quoted come from distinctly anapaestic passages. So in Byron we have

Bright| be the place| of thy soul|
No love|lier spir|it than thine|
E'er burst| from its mor|tal control|
In the orbs| of the bless|ed to shine|

So from the *Burial of Sir J. Moore*—

Few| and short| were the prayers| we said
And we spoke| not a word| of sor|row
But we stead|fastly gazed| on the face| of the dead|
And we bit|terly thought| of the mor|row
Light|ly they'll talk| of the spir|it that's gone|
Slow|ly and sad|ly we laid| him down|

These passages were long a puzzle to me. Their melody was indubitable, but I could not see what was the scientific account of the rhythm till I was struck by the analogy with the old monosyllabic initial foot in the iambic line.

Besides these main variations, we find the use of feminine rhythm; as in *Maud*—

Ah what| shall I be| at fif|ty
If I find| the world| so bit|ter
And she knows| it not| oh if| she knew| it
To know| her beau|ty might half| undo| it

The anapaestic rhythm is a great favourite with Tennyson,

especially in his later poems. It is used with much freedom as regards the number of feet employed. One of the most uniform is the *Welcome to Alexandra*, written in the four-foot anapaest. Initial truncation is very common: in fact there is only one line which commences with the pure anapaest—

We are each| all Dane| in our wel|come of thee|

In one line we have initial and sectional truncation—

Roll| and rejoice| ju|bilant voice|
Roll| as a ground| swell dashed| on the strand|

The two-foot trochaic 'Alexandra' forms a refrain.

The six-foot anapaest is used in many important poems, as the two *Northern Farmers*, the *Grandmother*, the *Higher Pantheism*, *Wages*, a good deal of *Maud*. I will notice here a few peculiarities in the use of the metre. In the *Grandmother* we have two lines which would naturally be read as instances of the seven-foot anapaest—

Seventy years| ago| my dar|ling se|venty years| ago|

but this may be reduced to six by reading the first seventy as a disyllable. In the other, a seven-foot line could only be avoided by the heroic remedy of giving four syllables to the first foot—

And whit whit whit| in the bush| beside| me chir|rupt the night|in-gale|

The first four sections of *Maud* are in this metre. There is a considerable variety in the use of the metre. In section iii. almost every line supplies initial truncation, which is rare in section i. In section iv. we find the usual break in the middle of the line disregarded, as in

Half lost| in the li|quid a|zure bloom| of a cres|cent of sea|
The si|lent sap|phire-spang|led mar|riage ring| of the law|

The three-foot anapaest is usually combined with others, as in *Maud* (sections v. and vi.) it is joined with four-foot and occasional five-foot lines. In vii. we have the three-foot preserved throughout, sometimes with feminine rhythm, except for two four-foot lines; viii. is a mixture of three-foot and

four-foot; ix. joins two, three, and four-foot. In x. the first three stanzas are of four feet, the fourth and fifth mixed of three and four; xi. is three-foot throughout; xii. is mainly three-foot, but has occasional four-foot lines, and is disguised by prevalent truncation and feminine rhythm; xiii. is almost entirely four-foot, with only three lines of three feet; xiv. is mainly three-foot, but rises into four and even five-foot; xv. is four-foot, with one line of two-foot; xvi. mainly four varied with three and two. In xvii. and xviii. the feeling changes to a tone of more assured happiness, and we have a corresponding change in the rhythm, xvii. consisting of truncated three-foot trochaic, and xviii. (perhaps the most perfect example of the flowing richness of Tennyson's rhythm) consisting of iambic with anapaestic variation, in lines varying from two to six feet. The four which follow are three and four-foot anapaests. The more passionate movement of xxiii. shows itself in three, four, and five-foot anapaestic lines, with occasional iambic variation; xxiv. is three and four-foot anapaest, with marked initial truncation; xxv. and xxvi. three and four-foot anapaest, with iambic variation, the latter also with feminine ending; xxvii., as suits its subject, is the most violent in rhythm of any, consisting of anapaestic lines, varying from two to five feet in length, and showing examples not only of initial truncation, as in

Dead| long dead|

but of monosyllabic feet in other parts of the verse, *e.g.*

Long| dead|
And the hoofs| of the hor|ses beat| beat|

The last section of *Maud* is regular five-foot anapaest. In "Break, break, break," we have three-foot anapaests arranged in verses of four lines. In three verses the third line contains four feet, and in two the first line is represented by the three monosyllables "Break, break, break." The *Poet's Song* is mainly four-foot, but is varied by several three-foot lines. In the *Song* "A spirit haunts," the metre is variously four, two, and one-foot. The song in *Sea Fairies* varies from

three to eight-foot, and truncation, as I mentioned above, is very freely used: thus we have

Whi|ther away|| whit|her away|| whit|her away|| fly| no more||

the line being divided into four sections, admits of four monosyllabic feet. In the *Islet* the four-foot anapaest prevails—

Whit|her O whit|her love| shall we go|

varied with three-foot—

That it makes' one wea|ry to hear|

truncated two-foot—

No| love no|

and complete five-foot running into pure iambic—

With ma|ny a riv|ulet high| against| the sun|
The fa|cets of| the glor|ious moun|tain flash|

The *Flower* has been treated above as a specimen of iambic, but it might be viewed as a three-foot anapaest, broken by one four-foot, and with prevailing disyllabic substitution—

Once| in a gold|en hour|
I cast| to earth| a seed|

The *Victim* is mainly four-foot, with disyllabic substitution—

A plague| upon| the peop|le fell|
The priest| in hor|ror about| his alt|ar
To Thor| and O|din lift|ed a hand|
The mo|ther said| they have ta|ken the child|
Sud|denly from| him breaks| his wife|

But some of the verses are followed by lines of two feet, forming groups equivalent to eight-foot lines in rhythm, *e.g.*

Help| us from fa|mine And plague| and strife|| What| would you have| of us? Hu|man life|

The dactylic metre is much more rarely used than the anapaest. There is, I think, only one example of the pure dactyl, viz. the *Light Brigade*. The essential point of course is that the stress is not on the last syllable—

Half a league| half a league|
Half a league| onward|

The metre is two-foot, with substitution of the trochee for

the second foot. Sometimes the rhythmical stress is opposed to the verbal accent, as in

While horse and| hero fell|

In the last line of the alcaic stanza we have a four-foot dactyl with trochaic substitution in the last two feet—

Milton a| name to re|sound for| ages|

We do not find in Tennyson the monosyllable for the dactyl, as in

Take her up| tenderly|
Lift her with| care|

In Heber's *Hymn*—

Brightest and| best of the| sons of the| morning|
Dawn on our| darkness and| lend us thine| aid|

we have the last foot represented alternately by a monosyllable and a trochee.

To take now a general view of the licences or irregularities admitted, we find in trochaic the addition of an unaccented syllable at the beginning, dropping of an unaccented syllable at the end, and substitution of iamb or dactyl in the first foot, rarely in others, giving rise to lines of pure iambic form, as "but let them rave," or of strong dactylic colouring, as "half invisible to the view." On the other hand, in iambic we find the addition of an unaccented syllable at the end, dropping of an unaccented syllable at the beginning, with trochaic and anapaestic substitution, giving rise to lines of pure trochaic form, as "Up there came a flower," or the anapaestic "In there came old Alice the nurse." So in anapaestic we have dropping of unaccented syllables at the beginning, and addition of an unaccented syllable at the end, with iambic substitution; in dactylic, dropping of unaccented syllables at the end, and trochaic substitution. The general principle may be thus laid down, that one or two unaccented syllables preceding the initial accent or following the final accent of the line are unimportant to the rhythm, and may be added or omitted without changing the metre. The signs

+ and — may be conveniently used to express addition and omission of unaccented syllables.

Since the different metres are thus capable of interchange and transmutation, it is easy to understand how a poem commencing in one metre will run into another. Thus *Madeline* begins with two iambic lines (4 + and 4), the third line is truncated four-foot trochaic; the fourth again is four-foot iambic; fifth trochaic truncated; sixth and seventh iambic; and so, throughout, the two rhythms alternate. The *Deserted House* is one in which trochaic rhythm passes into iambic. In *Oriana* the second and third verses have a predominant trochaic rhythm, while the others are iambic with the trochaic refrain. The *Lady of Shalott* begins with iambic, but there are many pure trochaic stanzas. *Eleanore* is mainly iambic, with anapaestic variation—

With the hum| of swar|ming bees|
Into dream|ful slumb|er lulled

but in stanza iv. changes to trochaic, *e.g.*

How may| full-sailed| verse ex|press
How may| measured| words ad|ore

The Choric Song in *Lotus Eaters* begins with iambic, of length varying from three to six feet. In the third stanza we find frequent trochaic substitution, *e.g.*

Nightly| dew-fed| and tur|ning yel|low

and initial truncation,

Falls| and floats| adown| the air|

which prepares us for the trochaic commencement of iv.,

Hateful| is the| dark-blue| sky
Vaulted| o'er the| dark-blue| sea

and for the series of long trochaics (seven and eight-foot) which end the piece. In the *Vision of Sin* the rhythms are appropriated to separate sections of the poem, and express a different tone of thought. In the *Ode on Wellington* we have anapaestic rhythm in the first and fifth stanzas, iambic in third, fourth, and seventh, trochaic mixed in sixth, eighth, and ninth.

Iambic is found mixed with anapaest, sometimes irregularly, sometimes according to a fixed law. Thus *Mariana in the South* is regular four-foot iambic, but the last two lines have invariably the broken trisyllabic rhythm—

And ah| she sang| to be all| alone|
To live| forgot|ten and die| forlorn|

Similarly *The Sisters*, which is in regular four-foot iambic, is broken by the trisyllabic refrain

The wind| is how|ling in tur|ret and tree|

In *The Daisy* the stanza consists of four four-foot iambic lines, the third with feminine rhythm, and the fourth with anapaestic substitution in third place—

I stood| among| the sil|ent stat|ues
And stat|ued pin|nacles mute| as they|

In the *Verses to Maurice* the first three lines are the same as in the *Daisy*, but the fourth has anapaestic substitution in the second place as well as the third, and the first foot is a monosyllable; with which the superfluous syllable of the preceding line naturally connects itself—

And fur|ther on| the hoar|y chan|nel
Tumb|les a break|er on chalk| and sand|

Of course it is possible to treat the fourth line as dactylic, with the substitution of a trochee for the third and a monosyllable for the fourth dactyl. In that case the last two lines of the verse would be a slight modification of the alcaic

God-gifted organ voice of England
Milton a name to resound for ages

this latter having two trochees at the end of the fourth line.

Of irregular mixture we have many examples. The *Dying Swan* begins with four-foot varied by three-foot iambic: the third line suffers initial truncation: anapaestic substitution is frequent—

With an in|ner voice the river ran
Adown| it float|ed a dy|ing swan

In the second stanza the anapaestic character becomes more

marked, and in the third it becomes pure anapaestic. The *May Queen* commences with seven-foot iambic, with free anapaestic substitution, as in

And the wild| marsh mar|igold shines| like fire| in swamps| and hol|lows gray
And the riv|ulet in| the flow|ery dale| will mer|rily dance| and play|

Occasionally we have six-foot iambics, *e.g.*

If you do| not call| me loud| when the day| begins| to break|
As I| came up| the val|ley whom think| ye should| I see|

We have one example of initial truncation—

All| the val|ley mo|ther 'ill be fresh| and green| and still|

One line appears to have eight feet, unless we compress four syllables into the first, or make 'so' extra-metrical—

So you| must wake| and call| me ear|ly call| me ear|ly mo|ther dear|

There is some difficulty in the rhythm of the following—

For I would see the sun rise upon the glad new year
To-night I saw the sun set: he set and left behind

In each there is a superfluous syllable at the end of the third foot, which it is hardly possible to connect with what follows as the first syllable of an anapaest, because the word itself requires some stress, and in the second line is followed by a decided pause. Would it be possible to treat *rise* and *set* as monosyllabic feet?

Death of the Old Year is mainly three or four-foot iambic, but we find it diversified with anapaests as marked as

He gave| me a friend| and a true| true love|
And the new| year will take| 'em away|

Some lines show initial truncation, *e.g.*

Toll| ye the church-|bell sad| and slow|
And| tread soft|ly and| speak low|
Ev|ery one| for his own|

Lady Clare is in four-line stanzas of four-foot iambics, diversified with three-foot. Some verses are regular, but in most there is a strong anapaestic colouring, *e.g.*

Are ye out| of your mind| my nurse| my nurse|
Said La|dy Clare| that ye speak| so wild|

There are several examples of initial truncation, as

Dropt| her head| in the maid|en's hand|

The *Flower* has been already mentioned. The *Ringlet* is about equally divided between iambic and anapaestic. Beginning with the feminine anapaest—

Your ring||lets your ring|lets

it proceeds with five regular iambics, and then bursts into the strong anapaests—

And then| shall I know| it is all| true gold|
To flame| and spark|le and stream| as of old|

falling back into the quiet iambic—

And all| her stars| decay|

It contains three examples of initial truncation—

I| that took| you for| true gold|
She| that gave| you's bought| and sold|
Burn| you glos|sy her|etic burn|

and the refrain consists in two instances of monosyllabic feet—

Sold, sold,
Burn, burn.

compared with the intermediate refrain—

You gol|den lie|

The *Victim* begins with regular four-foot iambic, breaking into anapaestic towards the end of each eight-line stanza, as

The priest| in hor|ror about| his al|tar
To Thor| and O|din lif|ted a hand|
He caught| her away| with a sud|den cry|

Maud contains several instances of mixed iambic and anapaestic, cf. xi., xviii., xxiii.

I proceed now to mixed trochaic metres. The mixture of trochaic and iambic has been already treated of. Trochaic, varied by the intermixture of dactyls according to a fixed law, is found in *Boadicea*, which is mainly eight-foot trochaic, sometimes complete, but usually truncated, with one or more dactyls in the last three feet—

While a|bout the| shore of| Mona|| those Ne|ronian| legion| aries|
Girt by| half the| tribes of| Britain|| near the| colony| Camulo|dune

In the following we have four consecutive dactyls—

There the| hive of| Roman liars|| worship a| gluttonous| emperor| idiot|

I think the rhythm would have been improved by omitting *emperor*, thus making a truncated eight-foot: but the final dactyl, giving eight complete feet, is also found in

Hear it| gods the| gods have| heard it|| O I|cenian| O Cori|tanian|
Tho' the| Roman| eagle| shadow thee|| though the| gathering| enemy| narrow thee|
Up my| Britons| on my| chariot|| on my| chargers| trample them| under us|

In one line we find three dactyls in the first half—

Bloodily| bloodily| fall the| battle-axe|| unex|hausted in|exor|able

There is only one line in which the dactylic substitution is not found in the last three feet—

There they| dwelt and| there they| rioted|| there| there they| dwell no| more

The metre is in length and in trisyllabic final rhythm an imitation of the Atys of Catullus, of which the type is

Phrygium nemus citato|| cupide| pede te|tigit|

The hendecasyllabic is a five-foot trochaic, in which the second foot is a dactyl—

Look I| come to the| test a| tiny| poem|
All com|posed in a| metre| of Ca|tullus|

As might be expected, a pyrrhic often represents the trochee. The *Poet's Mind* begins with four and three-foot trochaic, but passes by a rather unusual combination into anapaestic—

Holy| water| will I| pour|
Into| every| spicy| flower|
Of the lau|rel shrubs| that hedge| it around|
In your eye| there is death|
There is frost| in your breath|

I think I have now noticed all the metres which occur in Tennyson, except his alcaics. These being, like the hendeca-

syllabics, pure imitation from a foreign source, might be omitted in an examination of English metres; but they admit of simple analysis in the terms which I have employed. The first two lines are made up of five iambs, the fourth of which suffers anapaestic substitution—

O might|y mouthed| inven|tor of har|monies|

The final iambic is usually pyrrhic, so as to give the impression of a double dactyl at the end, and we might if we pleased describe the line as consisting of two sections, the first a two-foot iambic with feminine ending, the second two dactyls. The third line is four-foot feminine—

God-gift|ed or|gan voice| of Eng|land

The fourth, two dactyls followed by two trochees—

Milton a| name to re|sound for| ages|

It has been observed that Tennyson's classical metres are conformed to the law of quantitative, as well as of accentual rhythm.

Peculiarities of Marlowe's Rhythm.

Any careful reader will find many irregularities in Marlowe's rhythm. It may be a question whether, and how far, this is owing to the corrupt state of the text, or to the choice of the poet. One irregularity, which is very common in *Tamburlaine*, is a monosyllabic first foot. I have noted the following instances: the pages are Dyce's ed. 1850.

II. 7, p. 48. Bar|barous| and bloo|dy Tam|burlaine|
Treach|erous| and false| Therid|amas|
49. Blood|y and| insa|tiate Tam|burlaine|
51. Long| live Tam|burlaine| and reign| in A|sia
145. Arm| dread sov|ereign and| my no|ble lords|
164. Now| my boys| what think| you of| a wound|
146. Trai|tors vil|lains dam|ned Chris|tians|

and almost in the same words in pp. 178, 203.

Vill|ain trai|tor dam|ned fu|gitive|
Vill|ains cow|ards trai|tors to| our state|
181. Bro|ther ho| what giv|en so much| to sleep|
189. Con|quer sack| and ut|terly| consume|
198. Save| your ho|nours 'twere| but time| indeed|
199. Let| us not| be id|le then| my lord|
63. Kings| of Fez| Moroc|co and| Argier|
83. Cap|oline| hast thou| surveyed| our powers|
98. What| is beau|ty saith| my suf|ferings then|
18. Duke| of Af|rica and| Alba|nia|

I am doubtful about the last, because Marlowe is so capricious in his pronunciation of proper names. If Africa were pronounced Afrīca or Affarica, the line would be regular. I find in three several passages Euphrātes, viz.:[1]

110. As vast| a deep| as Euph|rates| or Nile|
157. That touch| the end| of fam|ous Euph|rates|
212. Of Euph|rates| and Tig|ris swift|ly run|

So in pp. 139, 71, we find Gibrălter—

We kept| the nar|row strait| of Gibr|alter|
And thence| unto| the straits| of Gib|ralter|

In the latter passage some editions spell it Jubaltar. In 85 we have Bajāzeth long—

And now| Baja|zeth hast| thou an|y stom|ach

There are three other passages in which Affarica would set the rhythm right—

209. A cit|adel| that all| Affa|rica|
18. Create| him pro|rex of| Affa|rica|
20. To safe| conduct| us through| Affa|rica|

It should be mentioned, however, that in the last two lines the 8vo. has a different reading, inserting in one *all*, in the other changing *through* into *thorough*.

[1] So in Green's *Friar Bacon*, p. 214 (Dyce)—
Circled| with Gi|hon and| first Eu|phrătes|
Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. 2. 105—
Extend|ed A|sia| from Eu|phrătes|.

The monosyllabic foot is more frequent in *Tamburlaine* than in Marlowe's other plays, but I think examples may be found in all. The following are taken from *Edward II.*—

177. No| but we'll| lift Gav|eston| from hence|

This would be regular if we read 'we will.'

219. Lan|caster| why talk'st| thou to| the slave|
252. Mor|timer| who talks| of Mor|timer|

Here it would be easy to prefix an 'of.'

273. Where|fore stay| we? On| sirs to| the coast|
277. Mor|timer| I did| he is| our king|

Here 'aye' might naturally precede. In pp. 172 and 231

Eȧrl| of Corn|wall king| and lord| of Man|
Eȧrl| of Gloc|ester and| Lord Cham|berlain|

It is perhaps better to suppose the roll of the *r* to produce a second syllable, as in

287. Because| I think| scȯrn| to be| accused|

(though it would be easy to insert *so* before *accused*) and

168. Were swȯ|rn to| your un|cle at| his death|

This use of the monosyllabic foot is very rare in Shakspeare, see Abbott, *S.G.* § 480 ff. There is another irregularity in Marlowe which is common enough in Shakspeare. I mean the pronunciation of a word with more syllables than we now assign to it. This is usually owing to the letter *r*, sometimes following a long vowel, as in *fire, sure, assure*, sometimes following a consonant, as in *hundred, entrails, nostril, monstrous*, e.g.

As mons|trous| as Gor|gon prince| of hell|

So we find in *Ed. II.* Mowbray, Pembroke, gentry, frustrate, secret, thrust. We also have priëst, heär, despäir, and even Edüard twice, pp. 234, 269. The letter *l* sometimes has the same effect, as

I. 47. Resolve| I hope| we are| resem|bled| II. 173, chaplain, 251, deeply.

V.—THE MALAGASY LANGUAGE. By the Rev. W. E. Cousins.

In reading before this Society a paper on the Malagasy[1] Language, I shall endeavour to act upon the suggestion of our friend Mr. Cust, at whose request I undertook my present task, and "collect in one focus the scattered knowledge up to date as a platform for future inquiries."

I will begin my paper by narrating as accurately as I can from the sources of information in my possession what Europeans have done for the study and development of the Malagasy language. Soon after the discovery of Madagascar at the beginning of the sixteenth century (1506), by Francisco de Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy of India, travellers began to publish accounts of the island, and some of them collected vocabularies of its language. Some of these are probably still among the government archives in the islands of Reunion and Mauritius. The earliest vocabularies of which I have seen any notice are those of Fred. de Houtman

[1] The names Madagascar and Malagasy are not, I think, native words. Among the people themselves the island was called *Izào rehètra izào*, 'This whole, or *Ny anivon' ny riaka*, 'The (land) in the midst of the Floods.' *Nôsindàmbo*, or 'Isle of Wild Hogs,' was also sometimes used. The word Madagascar cannot in its present form be regarded as a native word: the combination *sc*, and the final *r*, being opposed to the laws of the language. In Rees's Cyclopædia I find it stated, on what authority the writer does not say, that the original name was Madecassa. This, at least if slightly altered (*e.g.* Madekasa), would be in entire harmony with Malagasy usage. The earliest use of the name is in Marco Polo, who is generally stated to have used the form *Magaster;* in Colonel Yule's edition of Marco Polo, however, I find the name is spelled *Madeigascar*. The word Malagasy, used as an adjective (the Malagasy people, language, etc.), is in form exactly what a native word would be; but I am strongly inclined to think it is of foreign introduction. The natives seem to regard it as a term by which they are known to foreigners; and among themselves they use the tribal names *Hova*, *Betsimisàraka*, etc., or such phrases as *Ny ambàny lànitra*, 'Those under the heavens,' or *Ny ambàny àndro*, 'Those under the day.' French writers ordinarily spell the name Malgache, omitting the unaccented *a* between the *l* and the *g*, and not inappropriately using *ch*, the *s* being pronounced by the natives almost like *sh*. Among the ancients various other names are believed to have been used for the island of Madagascar; *e.g.* Menuthias, by Ptolemy; Cerne, by Pliny; Serandah or Serandib, by the Arabs. The Portuguese called it St. Lawrence. By the French it was formerly called Isle Dauphiné.

and of Corneille van Heemskerk. These were both published at Amsterdam in the year 1603 or 1604. The former is one of the vocabularies used by Marsden in writing his Essay on the East Insular Languages; and the words contained in it were given in the Malagasy, Malay, and Dutch languages.

Six years later (1609) was published a small book, in Dutch, by Hieronymus Megiserus, giving some account of Madagascar, with specimens of the language. Another vocabulary used by Marsden bears the name of Cauche, and is dated 1638. In 1661 the important work of Flacourt was published at Paris. Next in order comes the very valuable list of more than 500 Malagasy words, given as an appendix to the narrative of Robert Drury, who was shipwrecked at Androy, in the south of Madagascar, and remained in the island as a slave from 1702 till 1717. In 1773 a French-Malagasy and Malagasy-French vocabulary was published in the Mauritius, the author of which was named Challand. To these should be added the works of the Abbé Rochon, and of M. Barthelemi Huet, Chevalier de Froberville, the latter of whom published not merely a vocabulary, but a dictionary, in three volumes. Other books might be added to the above. A very full list is to be found in a work bearing the title "Madagascar Possession Francaise depuis 1642," par V. A. Barbie du Bocage, published in Paris, 1858 (?).

A French Roman Catholic mission was established in Madagascar about the middle of the seventeenth century, and was maintained for about eighteen years (1648–1666). The missionaries published in 1658 a small catechism in Roman characters. This is probably the oldest printed book in the language. A copy of it is contained in the Library of the British Museum. Most of the words can still be recognized, though the spelling is very different from that now used.

Before passing to more modern times, I should state that long before the discovery of Madagascar by Europeans, the Arabs had frequent intercourse with the island, and an Arab colony was formed in the province of Màtitànana, on

the south-east coast; and among the descendants of these settlers old documents, written in the Arabic character, are still preserved. These were known to Flacourt, and copies are preserved in some of the public libraries of France. Only a few years ago the French traveller, M. Grandidier, obtained copies of some of these documents.

Protestant missions were founded in Madagascar by the London Missionary Society in 1818. When Mr. Jones, the first missionary, reached the capital, he found "not more than six persons who could write the Malagasy in Arabic letters, and none who knew any other character."

The work of the French missionaries in the seventeenth century was confined to the southern parts of the island, and appears to have been absolutely barren of any permanent results, none of the natives having received sufficient education to enable them to retain any knowledge of reading or writing. Thus the Protestant missionaries found the people, as a whole, without even the slightest knowledge of letters, and to them the inhabitants of Madagascar owe the written form of the language in use among them at the present day. The two men who laid the foundation of this work were David Jones and his colleague David Griffiths. Of course they used whatever materials were accessible, and, doubtless, some of the vocabularies already noticed afforded them valuable aid. We know that both Mr. Jones and Mr. Griffiths, while in the Mauritius, obtained the use of various manuscripts in possession of the Government, or of private individuals; and we are also informed that Mr. Jones used the dictionary of Froberville. But a comparison of the old vocabularies with any modern book will show that the system of orthography introduced by the Protestant missionaries was the result of their own independent judgment, while in their study of the grammar of the language they were almost without any guide at all. We think, then, that the honour does fairly belong to these early missionaries of the London Missionary Society, of having introduced the use of letters among the Malagasy people, and of having given a written form to their language. In their endeavours to

confer upon the natives the inestimable boon of a written language, the missionaries found many apt scholars. There were, only eight years after Mr. Jones's arrival, in place of the six who had some slight knowledge of the Arabic character, four thousand who could read and write their language in the Roman character. There are now about 20,000 adults who can read it with fluency, and a smaller number who can write it; there are also between 40,000 and 50,000 children in the various mission schools, of whom 15,000 or 20,000 are able to read.

Since the commencement of Protestant missions much has also been done to help Europeans to acquire a more accurate knowledge of the language. The most important contribution was the dictionary of Freeman and Johns, published at Antananarivo in 1835. Grammars, too, were published; one by Mr. Baker in 1845, and a second by Mr. Griffiths in 1854. Roman Catholic missions have also been recommenced since the founding of the Protestant mission, and valuable contributions to the study of the language have been made by some of the missionaries. Especially deserving of honour is the name of Père Webber, whose grammar, published at Bourbon in 1855, was a great improvement on those of his predecessors, Messrs. Griffiths and Baker; and whose dictionary, while embodying all that was contained in the dictionary of Freeman and Johns, added much new and valuable matter, especially in illustration of the various dialects. More recently grammars have been published by Père Ailloud, one of the Roman Catholic missionaries at present working in Madagascar, and by myself; and since my return to England I have become acquainted with a new grammar by a French Professor of Oriental Languages named Marre de Marin, who also promises a dictionary. An exceedingly full and valuable Malagasy-English dictionary has also been begun by Mr. Street, a member of the Society of Friends. Other minor aids to the study of the language have also been published.

From both Protestant and Roman Catholic mission presses

many books for the use of the natives have also been issued. The Bible was translated by the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society, and many useful works, both religious and educational, have since been published. The annual issues from the two Protestant presses are between 200,000 and 300,000 copies. The London Missionary Society's press issues a Monthly Magazine called *Tèny Sòa* (Good Words), and has recently begun a modest Quarterly called *Mpanòlo-tsàina* (The Counsellor or Thought-giver). The Friends' press issues a periodical similar to the British Workman; and the Roman Catholic missionaries publish a Monthly Magazine called *Rèsaka* (Conversations). For about a year a monthly newspaper called *Gazety Malagasy* was published, but it gave offence to some of the leading people, and had to be discontinued. Of course the literature of the Malagasy is only in its infancy, and most of the books published have been either translated or written by foreigners; but still a good foundation has been laid, upon which, we trust, native writers will soon begin to build.

After this brief historical introduction, I will proceed to give a short account of the more important linguistic features of the Malagasy.

And, first of all, as to the alphabet. All the letters of the Roman alphabet are used, with the exception of *c*, *q*, *w*, *x*, and *u*. The letter *j* stands for *dz*. The double consonants *dr*, *tr*, *ts*, are of frequent occurrence, and might well be represented by single characters; indeed, Marre de Marin asserts that in the old manuscripts in the Arabic character already referred to, they were thus represented.

In the dialects the simple *n* found in the body of many Hova words is often replaced by *ng*, pronounced much as *ng* in si*ng*er, but with perhaps more of the nasal sound. A few Hova words, however, begin with *ng*, e.g. *ngìdiny* 'bitterness,' *ngòso* 'to swear'; and a large number begin with *mb* or *mp*, e.g. *mbòla* 'yet,' *mpandràfitra* 'carpenter.' Sometimes, especially in the provinces, an *a* sound is used before these consonants; thus, *ambòla*, *ampandràfitra*.

The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o*. They are pronounced, *a* as

a in f*a*ther, *e* as *a* in f*a*te, *i* as *ee* in sw*ee*t, and *o* as *oo* in t*oo*. An *o*, sounded like the *o* in h*o*pe, is found chiefly in the exclamation *ô*, and in foreign words. *Y* has the same sound as *i*, but is used only at the end of words. The only true diphthongs are *ay*, *ai*, *ey*, *ei*, all pronounced much as *i* in m*i*ght, and *ao* pronounced like *ow* in n*ow*.

The double vowels *eo* and *io*, which occur very frequently, are sometimes called diphthongs; but unless they are pronounced very quickly, the sound of each vowel can easily be distinguished. The following combinations of vowels also occur: *ia*, *oa*, *oi*, *oy*, and *oe*; but in these cases each vowel preserves its own sound.

The language delights in open syllables, and every native word ends in a vowel; but in the body of words, closed syllables ending in *n* before the dentals *d*, *dr*, *dz* (i.e. *j*), *t*, *tr*, and *ts*, and before the palatals *g* and *k*; or in *m* before the labials *b* and *p*. Thus no combinations of consonants are allowed by the genius of the Malagasy language except the following:—

(1) *dr*, *dz* (i.e. *j*).
(2) *tr*, *ts*.
(3) *mb*, *mp*.
(4) *nd*, *ndr*, *ndz* (i.e. *nj*), *nt*, *ntr*, *nts*, *ng*, and *nk*.

This restriction necessitates various euphonic changes. Thus:—

f is replaced by *p*				
h	,,	*g* or *k*		
l	,,	*d*		
v	,,	*b*		
r is strengthened by *d* and becomes *dr*				
s	,,	*t*	,,	*ts*
z	,,	*d*	,,	*dz* (i.e. *j*)

These euphonic changes take place in forming derivatives or compound words (1) after closed syllables, or (2) after words that have lost one of the final syllables *ka* or *tra*. The following examples will illustrate these changes.

(1) After a closed syllable :

nb	becomes	*mb ;*	thus	*man bòraka*	becomes	*mambòraka*
nf	,,	*mp*	,,	*an fo*	,,	*am-pò*
nh	,,	*ng*	,,	*man hàtaka*	,,	*mangàtaka*
nl	,,	*nd*	,,	*man là*	,,	*mandà*
np	,,	*mp*	,,	*vìdi-n-paràky*	,,	*vìdim-paràky*
nr	,,	*ndr*	,,	*man rè*	,,	*mandrè*
ns	,,	*nts*	,,	*an sàmbo*	,,	*an-tsàmbo*
nv	,,	*mb*	,,	*mànan vàva*	,,	*mànam-bàva*
nz	,,	*ndz* (i.e. *ny*)	,,	*iràin zèhy*	,,	*iràin-jèhy*

(2) After the elision of *ka* or *tra* :

f	becomes	*p ;*	thus	*tàpaka fè*	becomes	*tàpa-pè*
h	,,	*k*	,,	*sàrotra hènatra*	,,	*sàro-kènatra*
l	,,	*d*	,,	*tàrika làlana*	,,	*tàri-dàlana*
v	,,	*b*	,,	*hàlatra vòatàvo*	,,	*hàla-bòatàvo*
r	,,	*dr*	,,	*zànaka Rabè*	,,	*zàna-dRabè*
s	,,	*ts*	,,	*misàraka sàina*	,,	*misàra-tsàina*
z	,,	*dz* (i.e. *j*)	,,	*tàpaka zèhy*	,,	*tàpa-jèhy*

The Malagasy resembles the other agglutinating languages in the importance attaching to the roots, and in the ease with which a root may be distinguished from its various adjuncts; it may, however, occasionally be somewhat disguised and difficult to recognize, in such words, for example, as *amafàzana*, a verbal form from the root *fàfy*, in which the first letter of the root (*f*) has disappeared on reception of the prefix *am*, and the final letter (*y*) has been changed into *a ;* thus of the full root *fafy* only *af* remains unchanged. But it is nevertheless a general characteristic of the language that the roots can easily be detected by one who is familiar with the various derivative forms ; and when the meaning of the root is known, the force of a composite word will be understood almost at a glance, so regular and well-defined are the meanings of the various additions the root has received.

The primary roots of the language are mainly dissyllables, with the accent on the penult. Some few monosyllabic roots

exist, such as *lo* 'rotten,' *to* 'complete or fulfilled,' *be* 'many,' *fy* 'delicious,' and *vy* 'iron.' A large class of trisyllables is also found with the accent on the antepenult, and ending in the lightly pronounced syllables *ka, tra,* and *na* (called by French grammarians 'mutes,' and by Van der Tuuk 'dumb syllables'), e.g. *tàpaka* 'cut,' *sàsatra* 'tired,' *làkana* 'canoe.' There appear to be good reasons for regarding these final syllables as accretions, and not as parts of the original roots: (1) they are often disused in the dialects, thus, *làkana* 'canoe,' would be *làka;* (2) they are occasionally interchanged, as in *fàsika* 'sand,' which also appears in the form *fàsina* (see for instance the name *Ampasimpotsy*); so, too, we find *èlanèlana* and *èlakèlaka*, and *pòtsitra* and *pòtsika;* (3) dissyllabic roots allied in sense to the longer forms are of by no means rare occurrence, thus from *rìa* we get *rìaka* 'flood,' and *rìana* 'waterfall.' So far as I can learn, these terminals are peculiar to the Malagasy, and are not found in other members of the Malayo-Polynesian family.

A large class of secondary roots is also found in Malagasy, formed by prefixing such syllables as *bo, ba, do, da, fo, tsi, ki,* etc. These added syllables do not affect the accent, which still remains on the first syllable of the original root. Thus we may state, at least as a general rule, that *the primary roots of the Malagasy language are dissyllabic and are accented on the first syllable.*

The system of prefixes and suffixes used in forming derivatives is remarkably full. For making nouns some eight or ten distinct forms exist, while in the formation of verbs a much larger number is employed. Thus we have various simple active prefixes, as *mi, ma, man, mana, manka, maha,* each with its distinctive meaning. These may all be made causative by the insertion of *amp* immediately after the initial *m;* and those that admit of the idea of reciprocity can be made into reciprocal verbs by a similar insertion of *if.* Then these signs can be combined to form either causative-reciprocal (*ampif*) or reciprocal-causative verbs (*ifamp*). The mutual relations and combinations of these active prefixes

can best be shown by exhibiting them in a tabular form, thus:—

Simple.	Causative.	Reciprocal.	Causative-Reciprocal.	Reciprocal-Causative.
Mi	m-*amp*-i			m-*ifamp*-i
Miha	m-*amp*-iha			m-*ifamp*-iha
Maha	m-*amp*-aha			m-*ifamp*-aha
Ma	m-*amp*-a	m-*if*-a		m-*ifamp*-a
Man	m-*amp*-an	m-*if*-an	m-*ampif*-an	m-*ifamp*-an
Mana	m-*amp*-ana	m-*if*-ana	m-*ampif*-ana	m-*ifamp*-ana
Manka	m-*amp*-anka	m-*if*-anka	m-*amif*-anka	m-*ifamp*-anka

Time will not allow me to describe all the remaining verbal forms, the passives and imperatives, etc.; but I may state that no less than a hundred verbal forms can be made from a single root. In word-building no internal changes in the root itself are caused by the use of the prefixes, but the suffixes usually require the advance of the accent, and often produce certain changes in spelling as well. Thus from *mamòno* 'to kill,' + the imperative suffix *a*, we get *mamonòa*, with no further change than that of the accent; from *àiky* 'consent,' we get, by adding the passive suffix *ana*, *ekèna*, where we have the first *e* standing for the *ai* of the root, and the second for the *ia* formed by the final *y* of the root, and the *a* of the suffix. Changes of this kind are of constant occurrence, and cause no little difficulty to those who are learning the language.

Before leaving our consideration of the verbal forms, there is one that demands a more special notice. I know of nothing like it in any other language, and shall be glad if any analogous forms can be pointed out. The form I refer to is called in the Grammars the instrumental, the circumstantial, the secondary, or the relative. The latter name is, perhaps, on the whole, the most appropriate. In form, a relative partakes of the characteristics of both active and passive verbs. Thus from the root *sàsa* we get, by using the prefix *man*, the active verb *manàsa* (the *s* disappearing); or by using the suffix *ana* we get the passive verb *sasàna;* by keeping part of the active prefix (*an* instead of *man*), and the whole of the passive suffix

(*ana*), we get the relative *anasàna*. The relative verb forms its tenses, and takes the suffix pronouns, like the passive. Its peculiar meaning may be illustrated from the examples already given. Thus *manàsa* is an active verb, meaning to wash, and its nominative case would be the agent. *Sasàna* is a passive verb meaning washed, and its nominative case would be the thing washed. But the nominative case of the relative verb *anasàna* would be the soap, or the water, or the tub, or the washing day, or the reason why a thing was washed; indeed, any circumstance of time, place, cause, or mode, may be the nominative of one of these verbs. The existence of such a form helps to account for the comparatively poor supply of prepositions in the Malagasy language.

Among the more marked peculiarities of the language must also be noticed the commonness of reduplication. Some words are used only in the reduplicated form. The chief use of reduplication is to indicate the repetition of the idea conveyed by the simple root. It has been plausibly maintained by a recent writer (Mr. Dahle) that all the other uses of these reduplicated forms, such as the weakening or intensifying of the idea of the simple word, may be derived from the idea of repetition.

No inflexions, properly so-called, exist in the language. The nouns and adjectives undergo no changes to indicate number or case. Case is usually shown either by position or by the use of prepositions. Gender is expressed by adding the words *lahy* 'male,' and *vavy* 'female.' No change takes place in the adjective to indicate comparison; this is expressed by the particle *noho*. Thus *tsàra* means 'good'; *tsàra noho* 'better than.' As no verb 'to be' exists, some adjectives and adverbs of place take signs of tense. Thus *malòto* means 'dirty,' or 'is dirty'; *nalòto* 'was dirty'; and *halòto* 'will be dirty.' *Eo* means 'there,' or 'is there'; *teo* 'was there'; and *ho eo* 'will be there.' Adjectives also take imperative forms; thus, *tsàra* 'good,' becomes *tsarà* 'be good,' or 'may he be good.'

In pronouns the Malagasy is rich. It has distinct forms

for the nominative and accusative cases of the personal pronouns, and both inclusive (*isìka*) and exclusive (*izahày*) forms for the first person plural. It also possesses suffix pronouns, which, when added to nouns, indicate the possessor, and to verbs passive or relative, the agent. The demonstratives are very numerous, and, strange to say, distinct forms exist for the plural. These are made very simply by inserting the syllable *re* into the singular form; thus *io* 'that,' becomes *ireo* (*i-re-o*) 'those.' These demonstrative forms are closely connected with the adverbs of place, which are very numerous, and of which double forms exist, the one for expressing visible, and the other invisible, objects. Thus the adverbs connected with the demonstrative *io* are *ao* and *eo; ao* being used of an unseen object (as *ao anàty vàta* 'there inside the box'), and *eo* an object in sight (as *eo ambòny latàbatra* 'there upon the table'). Another class of demonstratives is formed by inserting *za*, thus *io* becomes *izao (i-za-o)*. These may be either singular or plural, and are generally used in a vaguer sense than the other demonstratives, and especially of things not actually seen, but only conceived or remembered. I append a table of the principal demonstratives with their related adverbs of place :—

Pronouns.			Adverbs.	
Singular.	Plural.	Common.	Seen.	Unseen.
Ity	i*re*ty	i*za*ty	ety	aty
Ito (*obs.*)	i*re*to	i*za*to	eto	ato
Io	i*re*o	i*za*o	eo	ao
Itsy	i*re*tsy	i*za*tsy	etsy	atsy
Iny	i*re*ny	i*za*ny	eny	any
Iroa	i*re*roa	i*za*roa	eroa	aroa
Iry	i*re*ry	i*za*ry	ery	ary

The syntax of the language is very simple, and much freedom is allowed as to the arrangement of the various members of a sentence. No logical copula exists. The predicate is more often placed at the beginning of a sentence; and the adjective follows its substantive. Native orators pay

great attention to the laws of emphasis, and to the balance and rhythm of their sentences.

This general description applies not only to the language of the Hovas, which is the most cultivated, and in which most of the books have been written, but with slight changes to the other dialects as well; for throughout the island a language one in all its essential elements prevails. This was clearly stated by Flacourt more than two centuries ago, and has been remarked again and again since his time. An exceedingly interesting illustration of the fact is the vocabulary of Robert Drury already referred to. This vocabulary has recently been submitted by Mr. Richardson, one of my brother missionaries, to a very close examination, the results of which were published in the first number of the Antananarivo Annual; and, notwithstanding Drury's barbarous spelling, Mr. Richardson succeeded in identifying nearly the whole of the words given, and showed clearly that while Drury mixed only with natives of the southern districts of Madagascar, more than fifty per cent. of the words he gave upwards of 150 years ago are well known in Imèrina at the present day.

The map of Madagascar also illustrates the same fact. This has often been noticed, and attention has been recently called to it by Dr. Mullens. Names perfectly familiar to those who know only the Hova dialect are found in all parts of the country. At the south of the island, for example, are provinces named Anòsy, Mahafàly, and Tsiènimbalàla, all common Hova words. At the north end, again, are Antòmboka and Vohimàrina, and other familiar names. Scores of similar words might easily be collected.

But notwithstanding this essential oneness of the language, it was but reasonable to expect that in so extensive an island, and among tribes so much divided from one another, various dialects should exist. Indeed, in addition to the ordinary causes that are constantly producing or widening the divergencies of speech among various tribes using originally one language, in Madagascar a peculiar cause operated to produce such changes,—I mean the custom of pronouncing

certain words *fàdy*, that is, of *tabooing* them. For instance, on the death of a sovereign, supposing his name should contain any word in common use, this word must henceforth be considered *fady*, and some new word must be found to take its place. On the death of Queen Rasohèrina, the word *sohèrina*, which means 'chrysalis,' was discontinued, and *zànadàndy* 'child of the silkworm' was used instead. In this and similar ways scores of words would fall into disuse in certain districts. We shall not therefore be surprised to know that, though the language of Madagascar is essentially one, it is, nevertheless, broken up into several dialects.

The most cultivated of these dialects is the Hova, spoken by the inhabitants of Imèrina, and likely to become the language of the entire island. Other principal dialects are the Sàkalàva, spoken by a widely scattered tribe occupying most of the west coast and part of the northern division of the island. The principal dialect on the east coast is the Bètsimisàraka. In the interior of the island, south of Imèrina, is the Bètsilèo country, with a large population; and the Bètsilèo language should, I believe, be classed among the more important dialects. Allied to the Bètsilèo is the Ibàra language, used by a tribe lying still further south. Between the high table-lands in the centre of the island and the east coast are the tribes of the Tanàla, the Bezànozàno, and the Sihànaka. Their languages are probably very closely allied to the Bètsimisàraka. Other dialects, such as the Taimòro, the Taifàsy, etc., are often spoken of, but little is at present known of them.

In several characteristic features these dialects, where they differ from the Hova, agree with one another. For example, a nasal *ng* is common to most of them. And the terminal syllables *ka*, *tra*, *na*, are often disused both on the east and on the west coast. Many words, too, differing from the Hova, are used by these widely separated tribes; for example, instead of the Hova word *akàiky* 'near,' *marìny* is used both by the Sàkalàva on the west, and by the Bètsimisàraka on the east. In many instances, again, the Hova retains words in certain stereotyped phrases, or in certain special senses,

that are still commonly used in more general meanings in other dialects. Thus in Imèrina *mìnona* means to drink the poison ordeal (*tangèna*), but in the Bètsimisàraka it is the common word for drinking, and *mìnon-dràno* means to drink water (=*misòtro ràno* in the Hova). So too, *vòlana* 'word,' occurs in Imèrina only in the compound *òha-bòlana* 'a proverb,' and in the phrase *tsy mitèny tsy mivòlana*, used of a taciturn person; but among some of the other tribes it is still the common word for speaking generally (=*mitèny* in the Hova). Similarly, *mivòny* 'to hide,' occurs in the Hova only in proper names, as *Ratsimivòny*, and in the phrase, *tsy mitàkon-tsy mivòny* 'not in hiding'; whereas it is in other parts the usual word for hiding. Facts of this kind have led me to think it probable that the dialects spoken by tribes other than the Hova represent an older stage in the development of the language; and that the Hovas, being a tribe of superior intelligence, and possessing, moreover, a great love of oratory, have taken delight in the preservation and development of their soft and musical language, and that to this it owes its superiority to the other dialects.

Comparatively little has thus far been done for the accurate study of the provincial dialects. The Abbé Dalmond, who was styled Préfet Apostolique de Madagascar, published at Bourbon, in 1842, a Vocabulary and Grammar of the Betsimisàraka and Sàkalàva languages; but we are under far greater obligations to Père Webber, to whose dictionary and grammar I have already referred. During the last four or five years several useful lists of words have been compiled by missionaries either residing in different districts, or paying visits to them. In this way a considerable number of words have been collected, belonging to the Bètsilèo, the Ibàra, the Sàkalàva, the Tanàla, the Taimòro, the Taisàka, the Sihànaka, and the Betsimisàraka. All of these dialects are likely now to be studied more accurately, as the country is being gradually opened up, and is becoming better known to missionaries and others.

Before passing on to a consideration of the relation of the Malagasy to other languages, it may perhaps not be out of

place to give a brief account of the unwritten literature of Madagascar. The records written in the Arabic character, and preserved among the descendants of the Arab settlers in the province of Màtitànana, are the only ancient literature of which the Malagasy can boast. But although writing was unknown among them, tradition to some extent supplied its place, and what I may be allowed, perhaps, to call "an unwritten literature," did exist. This unwritten literature consists of fragments of Hova history, containing lists of ancient sovereigns, going back, perhaps, about four hundred years. These historical traditions become fuller and more distinct until they reach the reign of Radama I. (1810–1828), from which time the country has been better known to Europeans. Some of these traditional records have been collected and printed by the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Malagasy possessed, so far as I can ascertain, nothing that can be compared with the myths of the Polynesians. They delighted rather in terse proverbial sayings, called '*ohabolan' ny ntaolo*,' or, proverbs of the ancients. More than 1400 of these proverbs were published by Mr. Parrett and myself in 1871, and many others have since been collected, but are still in manuscript. Père Webber, too, has given specimens of the proverbs in use among the Sàkalàva and Betsimisàraka tribes as an appendix to his dictionary. Some of these proverbs are simply puns, some are terse moral sayings, whilst others are of higher value, as they embody the ancient faith of the people in one Supreme God. In addition to the proverbs, many fables and stories are in use among the people. One set of these stories, relating the adventures and tricks of two rogues, called *Ikòtofètsy* (The cunning lad) and *Màhakà* (May he be able to take), was collected by Rabezàndrina, one of our native teachers, and published in 1875; and last year a book of 400 pp., entitled Malagasy Folk-Lore, was published under the editorship of the Rev. L. Dahle, one of the missionaries of the Norwegian Society. This book contains fables, stories, songs, etc. I have also published a selection of native orations (called *kabàry*), and a small book containing accounts of various native customs, with the old stereo-

typed forms of expression that have been handed down for generations. Since I left the island, a Malagasy Folk-lore Society has been started. This Society is formed for the purpose of collecting and publishing anything likely to be useful to students of the language, customs, or traditions of the people, and promises a monthly contribution of 24 pp., about six of which have already been issued. Thus there is now a fair prospect that everything of real value will be preserved, and materials provided for those who shall, in days to come, study the Malagasy for philological or ethnological purposes. None of these specimens, however, have yet been translated into English.

I come now to the branch of my subject that possesses a more general interest than those we have hitherto considered, viz. the relation of the Malagasy to other languages. I may state at the outset, that I am more and more convinced of the soundness of the opinion of those who regard the Malagasy language as a member of the great Malayo-Polynesian family. In regard to this question I find there has been a general consensus of scholars for more than two hundred years; and that from the time when Houtman published his vocabulary (1603) in Dutch, Malay, and Malagasy, down to the present day, the resemblance of the Malagasy to the Malayan languages has been repeatedly pointed out. In 1614 a quarto volume was published at Frankfort, bearing the title *Colloquia Latino-Maleyica et Madagascarica*, by one named Gothardus Arthusius. Latham states that "the learned Reland knew, two centuries ago, that the Malagasy is essentially a Malay language."[1] But Marsden was, I think,

[1] In the discussion after the paper Dr. Mullens called attention to the fact that Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Banks, who accompanied Captain Cook, met in Batavia a slave from Madagascar, from conversation with whom he found that the Malagasy language bore a striking resemblance to the languages spoken in the Malay Archipelago and in the South Seas. This slave was evidently a specimen of the darker and woolly-headed natives; and Captain Cook appears not to have been aware that many of the Malagasy have a comparatively light-coloured skin and straight hair. Dr. Mullens has supplied the following interesting extract from "Lieut. Cook's Voyage Round the World," in Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii. chap. xiii. Having described the arrival of the ship *Endeavour* at Prince's Island, in January, 1771, and stated that the inhabitants were Javanese, Captain Cook proceeds to notice that their language differs from the pure Malay of Samárang; and he gives specimens for comparison between the

the first to treat the question with any fullness. In his essay on the East Insular Languages, published in 1834, he states, that he applies the name Polynesian to "that general tongue which will be found to extend through the intertropical region from Madagascar, or more obviously from Sumatra, as its western, to Easter Island as its eastern limit" (thus embracing more than half the circumference of the globe at the equator). He then proceeds to state that "throughout this region there is a manifest connexion between many of the words by which the inhabitants of these islands express their simple perceptions, and in some instances of places the most remote from one another, a striking affinity, insomuch that we may pronounce the various dialects, in a collective sense, to form essentially one great language." One part of Marsden's essay is appropriated to an examination of the Malagasy, and both from its vocabulary and from its grammar, he shows that it possesses striking Malayan features. Baron W. von Humboldt maintained a similar opinion. He considered that "there was no doubt that the Malagasy

Malay, Javanese, and Prince's Island tongue. He further notices that all these tongues "have words, which, if not exactly similar to the corresponding words in the language of the islands in the South Seas, are manifestly derived from the same source, as will appear from the following table," which contains eighteen English words and their equivalents in the three languages mentioned, and Tahitian, which he terms 'South Sea.' He then goes on, p. 373:—

"This similitude is particularly remarkable in the words expressing number, which at first sight seems to be no inconsiderable proof that the science at least of these different people has a common root. But the names of numbers in the island of Madagascar are, in some instances, similar to all these, which is a problem still more difficult to solve. That the names of numbers, in particular, are in a manner common to all these countries, will appear from the following comparative table, which Mr. Banks drew up, with the assistance of a negro slave, born at Madagascar, who was on board an English ship at Batavia, and sent to him to gratify his curiosity on this subject." [Here follows the table, containing curious spelling of the words in all the languages and several mistakes:—"Madagascar: *Isse*, *Rua*, *Tellou*, *Effats*, *Limi*, *Ene*, *Fitou*, *Walon*, *Sivi*, *Fourum*."]

"In the language of Madagascar there are other words similar to words of the same import in the Malay. The *nose* in Malay is called *erung;* at Madagascar, *ourou*. *Lida*, the tongue, is *lala; tangan*, the hand, is *tang;* and *tanna*, the ground, is *tnan*.

"From the similitude between the language of the Eastern Indies and the islands of the South Sea, conjectures may be formed with respect to the peopling those countries, which cannot easily be referred to Madagascar. The inhabitants of Java and Madagascar appear to be a different race; the Javanese is of an olive complexion, and has long hair; the native of Madagascar is black, and his head is not covered with hair, but wool: and yet perhaps this will not conclude against their having common ancestors so strongly as at first appears." p. 374.

belongs to the Malayan languages, and bears the greatest affinity to the languages spoken in Java, Sumatra, and the whole Indian Archipelago." In a very useful description of the language by the Rev. J. J. Freeman (published in Ellis's History of Madagascar) the same opinion is maintained, and various Malayan features are enumerated. This consensus of opinion was broken by Crawfurd, who, in the preliminary dissertation to his Malay Grammar and Dictionary, maintained that the Malay elements in the Malagasy language were simply the result of the arrival of a few Malay colonists or adventurers, and did not belong to the original language.

It may be well to give Crawfurd's theory in his own words. After a careful examination of various classes of words, he says: "It remains only to attempt some explanation of the manner in which the Malayan languages, and, consequently, the tribes that spoke them, found their way to the far, and to them unknown, island of Madagascar. . . . It was assuredly neither commerce, religion, nor conquest that engaged the Malayan nations in the enterprize, for they have never been known to go beyond their own shores in pursuit of such objects.

"Madagascar is about 3000 miles distant from the nearest part of the Malayan Archipelago. Monsoons, or periodical winds, blow between them to the south of the equator, viz. the south-east and north-west monsoons; the first in the Austral winter, from April to October, which is the dry and fair season of the year, and the last in the Austral summer, from October to April, which is the rainy and boisterous season. The south-eastern monsoon, with which we are chiefly concerned in this inquiry, is, in fact, only a continuation of the trade wind that blows in the same direction with it to the south of the equator. A native vessel, or a fleet of native vessels, sailing from the southern part of Sumatra or from Java, must, of course, sail with this monsoon, in order to have the least chance of reaching Madagascar. Undertaking the voyage, however, such vessel or fleet would have a fair wind all the way, and the sailing distance from the

Straits of Sunda would be 3300 miles. Making only at the rate of 100 miles a day, a vessel or fleet of praus would reach the eastern coast of Madagascar in 33 days.

"But it may be asked how Malays or Javanese, who never quit the waters of their own Archipelago, could come to contemplate such an enterprise. I suppose the adventurers to have been composed of one of those strong fleets of rovers that, in all known times, have ranged the seas of the Archipelago, and which do so, from one extremity to another, even at the present day. I suppose them, while either in quest of booty or adventure, to be driven into the south-east monsoon or the trade wind by a tempest. Unable to regain the shores of the Archipelago, they would, from necessity, and after some struggle, put before the wind and make for the first land. That land would be Madagascar, for there is no other. In civilization, the adventurers would be superior to the natives; their numbers would be too few for conquest; but their power, from superior intelligence, might be adequate to secure a compromise. They would settle—amalgamate with the inhabitants, and convey some instruction to them, along with a portion of their languages. It is not necessary to limit such an enterprise to a single adventure of one nation, for in a course of ages there may have occurred several accidents of the same description. One, however, might have sufficed, for the roving fleets of the Archipelago, like our own bucaneers, have crews of several nations; among whom several languages would be spoken, but the most general the Malay and Javanese.

"A fleet that had been more than a month at sea, going, it knew not where, is not likely to have saved any domesticated animals, even supposing it originally to have had such, and consequently we find no domesticated animal with a Malayan name in Madagascar. It is not only possible, however, but highly probable, that from its stock of provisions it would save a few grains of rice, a few cocoanuts, and a few capsicums, perhaps even some yams and mango-seed, and all these in the Malagasy language bear, as already mentioned, Malayan names, and these only."

This, then, is Crawfurd's theory. The language is not essentially Malayan, but its Malay element was introduced by a band of adventurers in the manner thus described. In support of this position he dwells very much upon negative evidence, *e.g.* the fewness of the Malayan words actually found (according to his estimate, only one-fiftieth of the whole), and on the absence of many of the smaller words, such as the prepositions representing the cases of the more complex languages and the auxiliaries to express tenses and moods. Crawfurd's essay seems to have produced an impression that the question demanded a fuller examination, but for thirteen years no fresh contribution towards its solution was made. In 1865 a very thorough and convincing paper was read before the Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, who, to quote the Society's Report, "by applying the scientific method of Bopp and Grimm to an inquiry into the structure and affinity of the western branch of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, has probably set all controversy on this branch of comparative linguistics at rest for ever." Additional light has more recently been thrown upon the question by the publication of the Malagasy Grammar in the French language by Marre de Marin, already referred to. This Grammar is professedly founded upon the principles of a Javanese Grammar, and abounds in interesting notes, pointing out grammatical analogies between the Malagasy and the Javanese, or other Malay languages.

Thus the question before us has received a large amount of attention, and the conclusions reached appear to rest upon a satisfactory basis. Since my thoughts have been occupied with the preparation of this paper, I have re-examined the question as carefully as I could, and I believe the evidence now accumulated fully warrants us in accepting with increased confidence the conclusions arrived at by Marsden and Humboldt forty years ago. Let me briefly summarize and review the various branches of evidence.

And, first of all, there are the words common to the Malagasy and the Malayo-Polynesian languages. This was

the kind of evidence that first arrested the attention of Europeans. I have collected from different sources about three hundred words common to the Malagasy language and some branch or branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family; and I have little doubt that a fuller acquaintance with the vocabularies of these languages, and a careful application of the principles laid down by Van der Tuuk, would enable me to make many further additions to my list. But we know how extremely unsatisfactory is the evidence derived from mere words. The Malayan words in the Malagasy language might have been far more numerous without warranting us in drawing the conclusion that the Malagasy is a branch of the Malayan family. But while mere numbers are not of any great value, these three hundred words do appear to me to possess great importance when their character is considered. For the most part, they are such words as would form the substance of the language, and are not likely to have been introduced simply as the result of commercial intercourse. Thus we find the numerals identical in Malagasy and some of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. We find, also, such words as people, body, head, back, hands, thigh, breast, eyes, nose, ears, forehead, lips, hair, teeth, heart, kidneys, liver, bone, muscle, blood, and veins. Then we meet with mother and child, male and female. We also find words for day and night, for year, for the sun, moon, and stars, for the gentler breezes and for strong wind, for stone, earth, and sand, for fire and water, for sea, waves, and probably river, for clouds and rain, for promontory or headland, and perhaps for hill. In the animal kingdom we find names for bird, for crow, for cat, for crocodile and chameleon, for worm, leech, and crayfish, for fly, locust, mosquito, and spider. We also find a word for horn. In the vegetable kingdom we find names for tree, forest, and seed, for the midrib of the banana leaf, for the banana itself, and for the mango and fig, for the cocoanut, the bamboo, the yam, the mushroom, and possibly the chili. We find also names for lead and charcoal, and possibly for iron. Words also exist for weaving, smoothing, sharpening, and digging, for gazing,

weeping, hanging, and killing, for scratching, scraping, squeezing, sucking, coughing, sleeping, choosing, opening, growing, and also for bathing and swimming. We find also such words as house, wall (of a house), to dwell, bed, trivet, pot, knife, spit, staff, road, bridge, canoe, and sail; also for food, meat, fish, egg, salt, fat, rum, and possibly rice. Then we meet with the simple adjectives soft, warm, sweet, bitter, blunt, cheap, raw, ripe, thin, dead, alive, red, black, white, yellow, and perhaps blue. All these have been identified with a fair amount of probability; and from the simple notions they, for the most part, express, we may, I think, conclude that they belonged to the original language of the Malagasy people, and that, therefore, their language was a member of the Malayan family.

But not only do we find a large number of words expressing for the most part elementary ideas; but upon more close examination we find resemblances in some of the pronouns, prepositions, and other particles. These words are of special importance, as they help us to meet the objection of Crawfurd already referred to, viz. that we do not find that the smaller words which form the framework of a language, and without which it could not be spoken or written, as, for example, the prepositions, auxiliaries, etc., are alike in the Malagasy and Malayan languages. Van der Tuuk has already pointed out that to a certain extent we do find such words, though perhaps in somewhat altered forms. Such words, he justly says, may seem different, because they are liable to different applications; thus the Malay preposition *ka* 'to a place,' does not exist as a separate word either in Batak or Malagasy, but only as a prefix; thus *ha-darat* in Batak means to step up to a wall of a bathing place, to go ashore (said of a person bathing); and *ha-tratra* in Malagasy means up to the breast. Van der Tuuk also notices the preposition *ni* 'of,' which is the same in Malagasy, Malay, and Batak. To these may be added the Malagasy preposition *i* 'at' or 'in' (*i-voho* 'at the back'). This is doubtless the same as the Malay and Batak *di*, the Mangkasar and Bugis *ri*, and the Dairi and Hawaiian *i*. The letter *i* has another use in Malagasy, to which Mala-

yan languages supply probable resemblances. It is employed as a personal article with proper names, as *i Jaona* 'John,' or with such nouns as 'father' *i kaky*, 'mother' *i neny*, 'wife' *i vady*. In the Javanese *si* is used in precisely the same manner; and in both languages the prefix implies a certain amount of familiarity or want of respect. That the Malagasy *i* does represent the Javanese *si* is rendered more likely by the fact stated by Marre de Marin, that the Malagasy often suppresses the initial *s* of words derived from the Malay and Javanese. In one word, however, viz. *Sihànaka*, the name of a tribe, the full form *si* is found. But this is quite an exception.

Another similar analogy has been noticed by Van der Tuuk. In forming names of places the Malagasy often use *An* or *Am*, which represent the word *any* 'there.' The same is to be seen in the Javanese; thus *ngayoda*, the ancient name of the Indian Oude, is formed of the name *Ayoda* and the particle *ing* 'at,' and means 'at Ayoda,' precisely like the analogous forms in Malagasy.

In composition, the Malagasy often use *n* (or sometimes *m* for euphony's sake) as a connecting consonant; thus *vòlom-bava* means 'hair of the mouth' (*volo-n-vava*). This identical form is found in the Nias language, as in the word *bum-bawa*, with the same meaning.

To examples of this kind may be added some of the personal pronouns. The Malagasy *àho* 'I,' is found as *aku* in Malay, and probably in the Polynesian *au* as well. The suffixes *o* and *ko*, both meaning 'of me,' are found unchanged in the Hawaiian *u* and the Tongan and Fijian *ku*. The second personal pronoun, in the provincial form *angào*, is also found in Fiji in precisely the same form. The other pronouns seem to be quite different, unless the Malagasy *izy* 'he,' 'she,' or 'it,' may have been originally the same as *ia*, which is found in some of the dialects. The fondness of the Malagasy for the *z*-sound makes this possible. So, too, the form of the relative pronoun *ai*, used in Fiji, may be the original form of the Malagasy *zay* or *izay*; the *i* is a common prefix, and the *z* may have been introduced as already suggested in

regard to the *izy*. The indefinite *ànona* 'a certain one,' etc., is found in the Javanese as *ano*, the exact form in which it is found in the provincial dialects of the Malagasy. Of the demonstratives two at least are found in Malay, though with their meanings reversed. The Malagasy *ito* 'this,' means in Malay 'that'; whilst *iny* 'that,' is in Malay *ini* 'this.' The distributive *avy* or *aby* is also said by Marre de Marin to be a shortened form of the Javanese *kabeh*.

I think the existence of words of this kind sufficiently disposes of Crawfurd's objection, and points clearly to an original connexion of the languages in which they are found.

A point of no small interest in connexion with this part of our subject is, that in examining vocabularies of Malay or Polynesian languages, I have noticed that frequently a Malagasy word is not represented at all in the Malay itself, but may, nevertheless, be proved to belong to the family by being found in one or other of the Polynesian dialects. In other instances I have observed that a word exists both in Malay and in some of its branches, but that the Malay form is less like the Malagasy than that found in other branches of the family. Thus the Malay word for male is *lakke*, evidently the same as the Malagasy *làhy*. But instead of the Malagasy correlative *vàvy* 'female,' the Malay has *perampuan*. The Malagasy word *vavy*, however, survives in the Tobi language as *vaivi*, in the Bouton as *bawine*, in Salayer as *bawine*, and in other forms in different parts of Polynesia. The word *ràno* 'water,' again, is not found in the Malay, unless, indeed, *ayer* is its representative; but in Javanese it is found as *banyu*, in the Caroline Islands as *ralu*, in Koki, Toyaan, and, as I learn from my friend Mr. Lawes, at Port Moresby, in New Guinea, it is *ranu*, exactly as in the Malagasy. So, too, with the words *vato* 'stone,' and *vao* 'new'; the former appears as *batu* in Malay, but in the Fiji language the form is *vatu*, precisely as in Malagasy; the second word *vao* 'new,' I have not found in Malay, but in some Polynesian languages it appears as *hou*, and in the Fijian as *vou*; and I have noticed several Fijian words that are very near to the Malagasy.

Again, *làkana* 'canoe,' does not, so far as I can find, occur in Malay, but probably the Polynesian *vaka* is another form of the same word. So, too, the Samoan and Hawaiian word *tupu* 'king,' is probably the same as the Malagasy *tompo* 'master or lord.' I find, too, that in New Guinea *palapala* means 'the sole of the foot'; this seems to be the Malagasy *fela* and *fala*, which are used in the compounds *fèla-tànana* 'the palm of the hand,' and *fàla-dìa* 'the sole of the foot'; this, again, is a word I have not found in Malay. The numerals also exhibit a similar derivation from the Malay forms, and an agreement with what Marsden calls the Polynesian characteristics. Thus the Malagasy words for seven, eight, and nine, are *fìto, vàlo,* and *sivy;* whereas the Malay forms are *tujuh, delàpan* or *salàpan,* and *sambìlan;* the Javanese agrees with the Malagasy in two of these (seven and eight), and the Nias, Tagala, and many Polynesian dialects, have all three words in slightly altered forms. From such examples as these I am disposed to believe that the Malagasy represents an older stage of the common language now so widely spread over the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and has not been derived from what is at present known as the Malay.

We now turn to another branch of the evidence adduced to prove the affinity of the Malagasy to the Malayan languages. Not only have these languages many words in common, but we also find many combinations of words and figurative uses of words that are identical in the two languages. Dr. Van der Tuuk has called our attention to this branch of evidence. From his illustrations I select the following: tear is expressed by 'water of the eyes' *ràno-màso;* so, too, in Malay *ayar-mata,* and in Sundanese *chi-màta.* Sun is 'eye of the day' *màso-àndro,* as in the Malay *mata-hàri,* and in other languages. To be congealed is expressed by to lie down or to sleep, *màndry,* as in Batak *mòdom.* Backbone is 'tree of the back' *hàzon-damòsina,* just as in Toba *hau-tang-gurung.* These examples might easily be multiplied. I have noticed, for instance, that the use of *vato* and *batu* for stone and weight, of *volo* for the human hair and for the graceful

and hair-like bamboo, of *vato-afo* and *batu-api* 'fire stone,' for flint, are common to both languages. So too with the word for arrow. A bow in Malagasy is called *tsipìka*, and in Malay it is *panah*, but in both languages the arrow is called 'the child of the bow,' *zana-tsipìka* in Malagasy and *anak panah* in Malay. Milk is called in Malay *àyar susu* 'water of the breast,' and in Malagasy *ro-nono*; the *ro* is probably a contraction of *rano*, to avoid the repetition of the syllable *no*, and if so it has precisely the same meaning as the Malay word. The sea is called by the Malagasy *rànomàsina* 'salt water,' precisely as in the Javanese *ranumasin*.

And now, leaving the comparison of mere words and phrases, we come to resemblances of grammar. That the more prominent linguistic features of the Malagasy are those of the Malayan family will have been made clear already by my general description of the language. The form, distinctness, and peculiar importance of the root; the commonness and uses of reduplication; the absence of inflexions; the indication of gender by appending the words *làhy* 'male,' or *vàvy* 'female'; the indication of case by position, or by the use of particles; and the elaborate system of prefixes and suffixes: these are all of them, I believe, characteristics of the Malayan family.

But the resemblance does not cease with these more general features, for we are able to show that many of the prefixes and suffixes used in the Malagasy also exist in some other member or members of the Malayan family. Mr. Freeman, in his essay, enumerated some of these, and to those noticed by him others may be added. I have already spoken of the active prefixes used by the Malagasy, viz. *mi*, *ma*, *man*, *mang*, and *mam*. These are found in Malay in the forms *me*, *men*, *meng*, and *mem*; they appear in Javanese in the shortened forms *a*, *an*, *ang*, *am*; and in other dialects, as *mer*, *mar*, *mag*, *bar*, *ac*, *aq*, etc. In appending these prefixes to the roots, certain consonants are suppressed, or changes are made, and these are precisely the same in Malagasy and Malay. Thus, to quote from Mr. Freeman's essay:

In Malay,	*toulong*	becomes	*menoulong*
In Malagasy,	*tàpaka*	,,	*manàpaka*
In Malay,	*palou*	,,	*memalou*
In Malagasy,	*potraka*	,,	*mamòtraka*
In Malay,	*bunoh*	,,	*memunoh* or *membunoh*
In Malagasy,	*vono*	,,	*mamono*
In Malay,	*siram*	,,	*meniram*
In Malagasy,	*sàsaka*	,,	*manàsaka*
In Malay,	*kata,*	,,	*mengata*
In Malagasy,	*kidihidy*	,,	*mangidihidy.*

Again, the Malagasy prefix for forming potential verbs is *maha.* This may have had the same original form as the Hawaiian *ho'o,* and *ha'a,* or the *fa'a* and *faka* of some other Polynesian dialects. In the formation of the passives analogies may also be detected. The Malagasy form their passives by prefixing *voa* or *a* to the root, or by adding the suffix *ina* or *ana.* Prefixes analogous to the *voa* are found both in Malay and Javanese, and the Malagasy prefix *a* may be the representative of the Javanese *ka,* which if found at all in Malagasy would be *ha,* and might easily have been softened by the omission of the aspirate. The suffixes *ana* and *ina* are found in Malay as *an,* in Toba as *an* or *on,* in Kawi and Javanese as *en,* in Tagala as *in,* in Samoan and Tonguese as *ina,* and perhaps too in Hawaiian as *ia.* The formation of the imperative also offers an interesting example; the active imperative is formed by using the suffix *a* both in Malagasy and Javanese. I may also state, on the authority of Crawfurd, that the Malagasy particle *aza,* used as the sign of a negative imperative, exists in Javanese in the form *ajan.* Several of the noun prefixes are also common to the Malagasy and some of the other Malayan dialects. Thus the prefix *mpan* in Malagasy is used to denote an agent; this suffix appears in Javanese as *pa* or *pan,* and in Malay as *pe* or *pen.* Other verbal nouns are also found in Malagasy, some with the simple prefix *fan,* and others with the suffix *ana* in addition to the *fan;* thus, from *manàla* 'to take away,' we get *fanàla* 'mode of taking away,' and *fanalàna* 'time or place of taking away.' Similar

forms are found in Malay and Javanese, *p* being used for *f*, and *an* for *ana*. In forming fractionals, too, the Malagasy use the prefix *faha ;* thus, from *telo* 'three,' we get *fahatelo* 'a third.' In Javanese *para*, which means 'a part,' is used in the same way. The manner of forming abstract nouns of quality is also similar in these languages. The Malagasy use the prefix *ha* and the suffix *ana ;* thus from the root *lòto* we get the form *halotòana* 'filthiness.' In Malay these become respectively *ka* and *an*.

But not only do we find analogies existing between the prefixes and suffixes used in these various languages, but we notice also the use of an intercalated syllable; thus, from the root *fìtaka* 'deceit,' we get, by inserting *in*, the passive *finitaka (f-in-itaka)* 'deceived'; and from *hèhy* 'laughter,' we get, by inserting *om*, *homèhy (h-om-ehy)* 'laughing.' An interesting paper, entitled "The Infix in Malagasy: a Malayan Feature," appeared in the Antananarivo Annual for Christmas, 1876. In this paper Mr. Dahle, the writer, contends that the infix is used neither in African, Australian, Melanesian, nor Polynesian languages, but only in the Malayan branch of the great family we have been considering. Marre de Marin has also called attention to this usage, and has shown that the same infixes are used in Javanese, and in exactly the same manner as in the Malagasy.

Such, then, are the analogies that have been noticed by those who have compared the grammatical structure of these languages, and they certainly do seem sufficient to warrant us in classing the Malagasy with the Malayan family. As to the precise place the Malagasy occupies in that family I do not feel competent to pass an opinion. This question apparently requires closer investigation, if indeed the materials for its solution are to be obtained. Nothing definite is known as to the origin of the Malagasy people; they possess no historical traditions of sufficient antiquity to throw light upon the question; there does indeed exist among the Hovas a belief that they came into the interior from the south-east; but I am not aware that any data exist that would

enable us to say about what time either the Hovas or any of the other tribes first reached the island. The fact already pointed out, that resemblances to the Malagasy, both in its vocabulary and in its grammar, are found in such widely separated regions, sometimes when they are wanting in the Malay itself, makes it probable, I think, that the Malagasy emigration must be placed far back at some period before the more cultivated languages took their present forms. In forming an opinion on the question, not only should this fact be duly considered, but we should also give due importance (1) to the absence of Mahomedan traditions in Madagascar, (2) to the presence of a few Sanscrit words (Crawfurd points out six), and (3) I think, too, to the richness of the Malagasy in derivative forms; as I judge, from what I can find in Crawfurd's Grammar, that the Malagasy has a far greater variety of such forms than the Malay. Personally I have not sufficient knowledge of the Malayan languages to be able to pass an opinion in favour of any of the suggestions that have been made as to which member of the family is most nearly related to the Malagasy. But whether we think it to be more closely connected with the Bali, as Mr. Freeman first thought; or with the Malay, as he was afterwards inclined to believe; or with the Nias, as Marsden judged; or with the Toba dialect, as Van der Tuuk contends; or with the Tagala, as some others judge; we may, I think, concur in the more general opinion that the Malagasy is undoubtedly a genuine member of the Malayo-Polynesian family.

That the fact should be as I have tried to show, and that, instead of being allied to the languages spoken on the mainland of Africa, only two or three hundred miles away, the Malagasy should be found to be related to the languages spoken at a distance of more than three thousand miles to the eastward of the island, is a startling fact. Latham has drawn attention to its unusual character, instancing Madagascar as an exception to the general rule that islands take the language of their nearest continent. And it is not to be wondered at that there has been a certain amount of unwillingness to accept a fact so exceptional. To Crawfurd's

opinion I have already referred; but more recently papers have been written by Mr. C. S. Wake on the Race Elements of the Malagasy, in which he maintains that the Malagasy is an African language. These papers were published in the Journal of the Anthropological Society in November 1869, and April 1870. I read them some years ago, and have not seen them since; but the impression left on my mind was that no strong case had been made out in favour of the African affinity of the language, and to this opinion I still adhere. While admitting that possibly the Malagasy may contain African elements yet undiscovered, I think that no near relation to any African language has yet been proved to exist.

On my way home from Madagascar in 1876, I was detained three weeks in Zanzibar, and I was interested to learn that there had long been commercial intercourse between that island and the west coast of Madagascar. I also found that one quarter of the town of Zanzibar had taken its name from Malagasy settlers. I failed, however, to detect any Malagasy elements still existing among the native population at the present day. Desirous of ascertaining whether any traces of commercial intercourse were to be found in the Malagasy language, I employed some of my spare hours in looking through Bishop Steere's Handbook of the Swahili Language; this language being commonly spoken by the natives, and by the Arab traders, and being, moreover, used more or less in all those districts to which Arab traders have penetrated. I soon became convinced that the Swahili belongs to an entirely different class of languages from the Malagasy; and in examining the vocabulary I could not find any resemblance to Malagasy in the words expressing elementary notions and common objects. I did find some forty words, and probably others might be traced, that greatly resembled the Malagasy. Some of these, however, are of Arabic origin, and may have been introduced into Madagascar by the Arabs using their own language, and not through the medium of the Swahili at all. My list was chiefly interesting, because it contained principally such

words as would naturally be introduced as the result of commercial intercourse. For instance, the Malagasy word for 'ship' *sàmbo*, seems to be the same as the Swahili *chambo* 'dhow.' Then the Malagasy names for some of the domestic animals are evidently from the same source; for example, 'the dog' *ambòa* (Sw. *mbwa*), 'the goat' *òsy* (Sw. *mbuzi*), 'the ox' *òmby* (Sw. *ngombe*), 'the ass' *ampòndra* (Sw. *punda*), 'the guinea fowl' *akànga*, and probably 'the fowl' *akòho* (Sw. *k'uku*). These words are the more interesting, as some of them are the very names to which Crawfurd called attention as not being of Malay origin. From them we learn that some of the domesticated animals were introduced from the African side. The names of the 'cockroach' *kalalào* (Sw. *makalalao*) and 'centipede' *tràmbo* (Sw. *taandu*) are also similar; and one of the Malagasy words for 'crocodile' *màmba*, is an African introduction; the other name, *voày*, is Malay. In the vegetable kingdom are the names for the 'onion' (?) *tongòlo* (Sw. *kitongo*), 'cucumber' *voa-tàngo* (Sw. *tango*), and the 'date' *antrèndry* (Sw. *tende*). The names of the scales used for weighing money, *mizàna*, and of some of the money, and also of two of the names of the week, viz. *Alakamìsy* 'Thursday,' and *Zomà* 'Friday,' are also the same, or nearly so, in the Swahili and the Malagasy, but these words are all, I believe, Arabic. Among articles of merchandize I found the names for 'a piece of cloth' *gòra*, 'silk' *harìri*, used in Malagasy, however, of fine calico or cambric, 'paper' *taratàsy* (Sw. *karatasi*), and 'gum copal' *sandaròsy* (Sw. *sandarusi*). Indeed almost every word I could find was of such a character as to convince me that the Swahili element in the Malagasy was the result of the frequent visits of traders from Zanzibar and other places on the east coast of Africa, and that they would by no means warrant us in believing that the Malagasy is an African language. In confirmation of the essential differences between the Malagasy and the languages spoken on the opposite coast of Africa, it was noticed long ago, and may still be observed, that African slaves introduced into Madagascar find nothing in common between their own language and the

Malagasy, and have, with much difficulty, to acquire a new language.

That an Arabic element exists in the vocabulary of the Malagasy has long been well known. The names of the days of the week, of the months, and other words, had been identified. But a year ago a very full and valuable paper was written by Mr. Dahle, entitled "The Influence of the Arabs on the Malagasy Language as a Test of their Contribution to Malagasy Civilization and Superstition." This paper, like several others to which I have had occasion to refer, was published in the Antananarivo Annual, for Christmas 1876. Under various headings, such as Chronological, Astronomical, and Cognate Terms, Terms of Salutation, Dress and Bed, Money, Musical Instruments, Terms referring to Books and Writing, Mr. Dahle shows how large have been the contributions made by the Arabs to Malagasy civilization.

A similar examination of French and English words adopted by the Malagasy would show how these nations, too, have influenced the civilization of the people. From the French the natives have derived the names of many carpenters' tools, for 'tea' *ditè*, 'coffee' *kafè*, 'silk' *lasòa*, 'pomade' *pomàdy*, 'fashion' *lamòdy*, 'pattern' *mezìrina*, i.e. *mesure*, 'wine' *divày*, 'liquor' *lalikèra*, 'beer' *labièra*, 'eau de vie' *laodivỳ*, 'verandah' *lavaràngana*, 'garden' *zaridày*, 'horse' *soavàly*, 'donkey' *borìky*, 'saddle' *lasèly*, 'bridle' *lamborìdy*, 'seal' *kasè*, 'signature' *sonìa*, 'salad' *salàdy*, 'mustard' *lamotàdy*, 'flour' *lafarìna*, 'salts' *disèly*, and 'frying-pan' *lapoèly*, etc.

From the English they have taken such words as 'book' *bòky*, 'Bible' *Baibòly*, 'Testament' *Tesitamènta*, 'slate' *solàitra*, 'pen' *pènina*, 'pencil' *penisìly*, 'case' *kèsika*, 'cask' *kàsaka*, 'brick' *birìka*, 'mark' *màrika*, 'square' *sokèra*, and many others.

And now I must bring this paper to a close. I have tried to show, as far as I was able, the actual state of our knowledge of the Malagasy language at the present time. I have endeavoured to make clear both what has been

done and what still remains to be done. The points upon which least is known are naturally those that affect its relation to other languages. In itself the language of the Hovas is comparatively well known. It is used for purposes of public instruction by an increasing number of able speakers, it possesses the germs of a literature, and it bids fair to become the language of the whole island. The points that most need fuller examination are (1) the relation of the Hova to the other dialects, and (2) its precise place in the Malayan family.

I have been able to do little but pass in review the various sources of information, but I trust I have said enough to show the main points of interest. I shall feel amply repaid for the time spent in the preparation of this paper if, as the result of this evening's meeting, some fresh impulse is given to the study of a language possessing, I think, an unusual amount of philological interest.

After the reading of the paper, Mr. Whitmee from Samoa, and Mr. Moulton from Tonga, both bore very decided testimony to the similarity of the Malagasy, as described in the paper, to the Polynesian languages generally. Since this paper has been in type, I have received from Mr. Moulton the following remarks. A nasal *ng* is one of the commonest sounds in the Polynesian languages; and in the Fijian the combinations *mb*, *nd*, and *ndr* are used. As in the Malagasy, so in the Polynesian languages generally, open syllables abound. What is said in the paper about the distinctness of the roots in the Malagasy, and the ease with which the meaning of derivatives may be known, is, Mr. Moulton says, equally true in the Polynesian languages; as also is what is said about reduplication and about the inclusive and exclusive forms of the personal pronouns. In Tonguese the particle used in forming reciprocal verbs is *fe*, which nearly resembles the *if* of the Malagasy. So, too, a particle of familiarity is found which may be compared with the Malagasy *i* and the Javanese *si;* this in Tonguese is spelled *jii*, but is now pronounced nearly as if written *si*. In Fijian *ni* is used as a connecting particle, as *n* and *m* are in Malagasy. The Tonguese forms for the first personal pronoun are *eku*, *'aku*, and *au*, which are all very near the Malagasy *aho*. *Heni* and *ni* are used as demonstrative pronouns (=*iny*). *Fo'ou* means new, as *vao* in Malagasy; *tubou* means king, as *tupu* in Samoan, and *tompo* in Malagasy; *masima* means salt (=*màsina*). A long *a* is the sign of an imperative; and *vahe* is used in forming fractionals; thus the Tonguese *vahetolu* ($\frac{1}{3}$)=the Malagasy *fahatelo*.

VI.—THE ANGLO-CYMRIC SCORE. By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., Vice-President.

In my original paper on Palaeotype, read 7 Dec. 1866, exactly eleven years ago this evening, and printed in the Transactions of the Philological Society for the following year, I gave as a specimen of Palaeotypic Writing of hitherto "unwritten English" (Ex. 2) what I described as a "method of 'scoring sheep,' as used in the dales of Yorkshire, written down from the dictation of two Yorkshire ladies." These are the versions numbered C 1 and C 4 in the Appendix to this paper, taking the variants of C 4. I repeated these versions in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1870, p. 117, as an example of "Universal Glossic,"—an extension of the ["Neu Sistem ov Ingglish Speling, proapoa·zd faur konkur·ent eus, in aurder too remidi dhi difek·ts widhou·t ditrak·ting from dhi val·eu ov our prezent aur-thog·rafi,"] which is there explained on pp. 89–113, and will be here assumed to be known sufficiently well to understand the use of it in spelling some of the following examples,[1]—heading them as "Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales." The specimen was in each case selected because it had then never been written so far as I knew, or yet know,[2] and therefore furnished a convenient example of the power

[1] Glossic as applied to dialects is very fully explained in the Appendix to Mr. Elworthy's paper on the West Somersetshire Dialect, Trans. Philol. Soc., 1875-6, p. 218, and has been used by him in both his papers on that subject. For the purposes of this paper it is enough to note that *ee*, *ai*, *aa*, *au*, *oa*, *oo*, have their sounds in *ee*l, *ai*l, b*aa*, c*au*l, c*oa*l, c*oo*l, and *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *uo*, have the vowel sounds in kn*i*t, n*e*t, gn*a*t, kn*o*t, d*u*ll, p*u*ll; also that *ae*, *ah*, *uu*, represent broader sounds of the preceding *e*, *aa*, *u*, and that *y*, *w*, *ŭ*, added to a vowel form diphthongs with it, as *aay* in *aisle*, *aaw* in *owl*, *iŭ* in *near*, *eŭ* in p*air*. Also *dh*, *zh*, are used for *th*, *s*, in *th*e, vi*s*ion, and that *t'r*, *d'r*, represent a very dental form of *tr*, *dr*, common in some of our dialects. The turned period (·) marks the place of the accent, and when placed after a vowel shews that it is long, but when placed after a consonant or the *y*, *w*, *ŭ* of a diphthong, it shews that the preceding vowel is short. Words printed in Glossic in this paper are placed between square brackets [].

[2] It was even printed before the American Version F 9, which did not appear till 1868.

of the orthography proposed. The version C 1 had been repeated to me as a puzzle to see if I could write it, by a niece of my wife, who had learned it from her nurse in Swaledale, Yorkshire, and the variants were furnished by my wife herself, who came from Wensleydale, Yorkshire, and had also learned it in her youth. When it was printed for the second time in my Glossic, I thought that I had quite done with it, and I was beginning almost to forget its existence, when I received a letter dated 21 Feb. 1871, from Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., who has made a specialty of the North American Indian Languages, and has since served his year as President of the American Philological Association. His acquaintance with these languages is well shewn by his recent report upon them, in one of the Presidential Addresses of Dr. Morris (Philological Trans. for 1876). In his letter to me Dr. Trumbull said that: "Some years ago, a writer for the *Historical Magazine* (the American *Notes and Queries*) called attention to a series of numerals formerly used by a tribe of Indians on the sea-coast of the State of Maine, and 'handed down through the agency of a deeply graven tradition.' The writer suggested that these numerals might have been brought here by Madoc or his companions." Then, after quoting a passage from Kohl, which will be given in F 9, Dr. Trumbull proceeded to say: "I have not been able to follow back the 'deeply graven tradition' further than the first quarter of the last century,—and I have not at all accepted the hypothesis of the ante-Columban introduction of these numerals. Yet it was certain that they were not of [North American] *Indian* origin,—and that they must have come to the tribe by which they were used from the other side of the Atlantic. I never suspected them to be *Yorkshire*, till I found, among your examples, that they were employed in 'Scoring Sheep in the Yorkshire Dales.'—I have a tolerably good collection of local and provincial glossaries and illustrations of English dialects, —including all, or nearly all that has been published on the dialects of Yorkshire and the Borders. But I cannot

find any of this 'scoring,'—probably because I do not know where to look for it." See end of note to C 13.

This letter was accompanied with the version marked F 9 below, and a comparison of that list with C 1 shewed unmistakably that both must have been derived from the same source. This most unexpected discovery of a non-indigenous system of counting up to 20 in places so far apart and so differently inhabited, as the North of Yorkshire and the formerly Indian part of Maine, naturally excited my interest, and I immediately endeavoured to get more information in England, while Dr. Trumbull was on the look out for further traces of this system of counting among the Indians. By 6 Feb. 1874 I was able to lay before the Philological Society twenty-five varieties of this system of counting which I had found in Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Roxburghshire, and Westmorland, including three 'Indian' forms which Dr. Trumbull had then discovered. Pressure of other work prevented me from doing more than print a proof of these different versions for the use of the members of the Philological Society, who assembled to hear me read my paper on that day, but this was a fortunate circumstance, for several other 'Indian' as well as English versions have since come to hand, and I am now able to give you the results of a very careful examination of no less than forty-five which are appended to this paper. [See next page, line 20.]

The Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston, who was one of the gentlemen from whom I received great assistance, introduced the subject before the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society at its meeting at Furness Abbey on 16 Aug. 1877, and his paper was printed in the *Barrow Times* for 25 Aug. 1877, under the title of "Numerals formerly used for sheep-scoring in the Lake Country with their affinities," in which he attributed them to a Welsh origin, as I had done on 6 Feb. 1874, when I printed the Welsh and Gaelic numerals on my proof, to shew that the affinities were Welsh and not Gaelic, although several of my informants stated that the numerals were of Scotch origin. Both theories would be

reconciled, as I pointed out, by supposing them to have come from the ancient Cumbrian, or Strathclyde kingdom. To Mr. Ellwood's kindness I owe the versions A 1, B 6, C 9, 10, 14, 15, F 2, H 2, and other assistance.

In September, 1877, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, having been lately established as Rector of Settrington, near New Malton in Yorkshire, re-discovered the Rathmell version, A 2 below, (one of those which I printed for the Philological Society in 1874), and sent it to the *Athenæum*, where it appeared on 15 Sept. (No. 2603, p. 338), and, adopting the theory that they "are a relic of the language of the British kingdom of Strath Clyde or Cumbria," named them "the Ancient British Numerals." His letter attracted much attention, and several other letters have appeared on the subject, from which I have been able to collect some of the versions here examined. In July, 1878, Mr. Taylor kindly communicated to me in MS. a large number of letters and communications which he had received, and to these I owe the versions A 6, B 7, 8, C 16, F 12, 13, 14, 15, and several notes. The forty-five versions which I was enabled to lay before the Society when this paper was read, have thus increased to fifty-three, to which my analysis has been extended.

As the result of my examination is to shew that these numerals are Anglicised Welsh with curious interpolations, and as the numerals are strictly limited to twenty, I propose to call the system the Anglo-Cymric[1] Score, leaving it doubtful whether Cymric means simply Welsh, or both Welsh and Cumbrian.

The subject was by no means exhausted in my paper, as originally laid before the Society. On 10 Dec. Mr. Ellwood read another paper before the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society at its meeting at Whitehaven, when the whole subject was discussed, and from this I gathered much information, which is incorporated

[1] Pronounce *Cymric* as [Kum·rik], the *Cymr-* being considered as Welsh, and the *-ic* a mere English termination.

with my paper as now printed.[1] Thus much by way of preface.

The nature of these numerals is as follows. They are limited to 20, that is, a Score. The first 10 have all different names, which vary considerably in the different versions known. After 10, the counting proceeds by forms equivalent to 1+10, 2+10, 3+10, 4+10. There is then—generally at least—a new word for 15, and the count proceeds by 1+15, 2+15, 3+15, 4+15, and finally there is in general a new word for 20. Now this is precisely what happens in Welsh, where however the name for 15 is really 5+10, but the composition disguises it, and it is used as a new word in the expressions for 1+15, 2+15, 3+15 4+15. This is not the case in any other Celtic language, as will be seen by the Welsh, Cornish, Breton, Gaelic and Manx numerals given at the commencement of the Appendix I., 1-5. This peculiarity, therefore, in naming 16, 17, 18, 19, stamps the Score as most unmistakably Welsh in its construction.

Notwithstanding great variations in pronunciation, the words for 4, 5, 10, 15, 20, bear an unmistakable resemblance to the old Welsh *petuar*, *pimp*, *dec*, *pymthec*, *ucent*, and the modern *pedwar*, *pump*, *deg*, *pymtheg*, and *ugain*. There is therefore a great likeness between this and the Welsh Score. The word for 1 is also very nearly Welsh, *un*, but it has been confused with the northern dialectal word *yan* by a process of which the connecting links are preserved. The names for 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, have no distinct relation to the Welsh or any other Celtic language, as will appear from the

[1] These two papers have been subsequently printed in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, and the separate reprint bears the title "The Ancient British Numerals with their affinities, as contained in the numerals formerly used for sheep scoring in the Lake Country." By this reprint I have corrected the versions A 1, C 9, C 14, H 2, which Mr. Ellwood had communicated to me in MS., and C 10, which appeared in the *Barrow Times*, and have added B 6, which was given at the reading of the second paper. I have also added several notes and observations from these papers, and some corrections made on the proof by Mr. Ellwood, all of which are fully acknowledged below. The MS. of the present paper was sent to Mr. Ellwood for use at the Whitehaven meeting, and its publication was delayed in order to include any remarks found in Mr. Ellwood's, and thus give the utmost information on the subject at present attainable.

other scores in the Appendix, and form the principal difficulties in the investigation. They vary very much in the different versions, and apparently follow entirely different types, which it is not easy either to discover or account for.

The use of this Score in England is various. There is evidence of its having been used for scoring sheep, because not only is this frequently traditionally affirmed (see notes to I. 4, in Appendix, and to C 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 16, F 14), but one of my informants actually heard it so used at Helmsley Blackmore, near Scarborough (H 1). This use seems, however, to have become obsolete. There is evidence that it is used by old women to count their stitches in knitting (A 2, C 12). Most people, however, merely recollect it as a strange piece of gibberish, which they retail from memory, extending sometimes more than fifty years back, and in the process necessarily either forget or alter the words, to which they attach no value or importance, regarding them as an idle curiosity. The Score in fact seems to have descended to be a plaything, especially of girls and boys at school, used for the purposes of "counting-out," that is, of determining who is to take an objectionable part in a game, or to be excluded from something desirable when the admissible number is limited (A 4, B 1, 2, 3, 4, D 1, 2, F 1, G 1, 2). Now these schoolboys have contrived to pervert the original in a variety of ways. Several versions of the Score have certainly been thus used, and some of them shew the strangest and most inorganic changes. The schoolboy looked upon them merely as queer sounds, and had no compunction in making them queerer. Can the curious rhyming forms for 2 & 3, for 6 & 7, and for 8 & 9, have arisen in a similar manner? The schoolboy genius was, however, not content with the original. It often tacked on other nonsense, provided it rhymed, and instead of proceeding by fives as in the original, generally chose fours, compare counting cherry-stones as: "Soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor,—gentleman, apothecary, ploughboy, thief," or "This year, next year, some time, never."

In class K of the Appendix, I give numerous examples of these countings-out, only some of which retain any words

resembling those in the Score.[1] Besides schoolboys, nurses seized hold of the Score to amuse babies and keep them quiet, or give them something to do (A 3, B 7, C 1, 4, 7, 9, 15). The first example I heard from my wife's niece (C 1) was learned from her nurse in this way, no sense whatever being attached to the words. It was also natural that sounds resembling known English words should be reduced to an English form. Thus Welsh *un ar bymtheg* might be mispronounced [eeŭn u buomfik], and then be heard as [yaan· uboo·n], being taken to mean "one above, the last number," and Welsh *ugain* for 20, might be reduplicated to [gin ugeeŭ·n], and taken to mean "begin again." We have other forms of reduplication for this word, in which the Latin equivalent *viginti* would scarcely be recognised. I may say at once, that one of my own principal interests in this Score consists in the extraordinary variety of forms that have arisen from words considered to be utterly meaningless, which were never written, but passed entirely by oral tradition from a speaker who mispronounced to one who misheard, misrecollected, and misrepeated. In this respect alone the examination of these curious forms has considerable linguistic interest.

As to the locality over which this Score prevailed, it is difficult to speak precisely. It would seem to have existed over the old Cumbrian kingdom, and to have been thence exported. But to decide that these numerals are part of the original British speech there prevalent, would require great theoretical boldness. The Rev. Isaac Taylor, indeed, felt no hesitation about the matter. With fifty-three examples before me, I do not feel capable of deciding, but incline to regard them as a comparatively recent importation. It was said that one of these (A 1), from Dunnerdale, High Furness, was learned thirty years ago, from a Welshman who came to work at the mines there. But subsequent inquiry rather

[1] In the *Mill Hill Magazine*, got up by the boys of Mill Hill School, of which Dr. Weymouth (a member of our Council) is Head Master, and Dr. Murray (Vice President, when this paper was read, but now, July 1878, President of our Society) is another master, an almost exhaustive collection of such formulæ is given, in the numbers for June, October, and December, 1877, which I had accidentally not at hand when this paper was read, but which I have put under contribution for my Appendix.

dissipates that myth, and not only have the names in that version, 2 *peina*, 3 *para*, 6 *ithy*, 7 *mithy*, 8 *owera*, 9 *lowera*, no relation to the corresponding Welsh words, but the Score must have been in the country long before this Welshman made his appearance. Thus B 6 seems to have been there a century sooner. The lady who sent F 14 to Mr. Taylor, said she heard these words, 2 *tein*, 3 *tuthera*, 6 *shavera*, 7 *lackera*, 8 *ko*, 9 *debera*, actually used by Welsh drovers in Sussex. If so, the Welshmen must have learnt them in England, and more probably the lady mistook the nationality of the drovers, for a Sussex farmer heard Welsh drovers count in Welsh, and his report, of course grossly disfigured, given at the end of the note to I. 1, serves to shew how Welsh counting strikes English ears. There is not a particle of resemblance between the two in respect of the numbers just cited. Those who, like Mr. Powell in the *Athenæum* for 17 November (No. 2612, p. 629), first make a selection of the names for 6, 7, 8, 9, then re-sort them, and finally identify the sounds with the Welsh names, as for example *dovera* or *debera* with *naw*, do not seem sufficiently aware of the great complexity of the problem. There are upwards of thirty forms of 6, and at least as many of 7 in my fifty-three versions. There are perhaps three principal groups of the pair 6 & 7, each containing rather widely divergent forms, and a few forms which I cannot group at all, forming altogether nearly as many different pairs of names as there are versions. Again, 8 & 9 fall into three principal groups, and some isolated forms, also giving nearly as many pairs as there are versions. It seems to be thoroughly unscientific to sort these words at pleasure, select some of them, and identify the resulting words with Welsh or Old Cymric. It would appear to be best at first to collect the materials carefully, ascertaining what the words really are, and to what order they are assigned, and then to group them according to their phonetic affinities. This is what I have attempted to do in the present paper. But I must own that I have not succeeded in unravelling the mystery of 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.

The principal area of this Score would appear to be Cumberland, Westmorland, the N. W. of Lancashire, and N. W. of Yorkshire, with the adjoining part of Durham. There are traces in Roxburghshire, Renfrewshire, Northumberland, Mid, East and South Yorkshire, which may be all more or less importations from the other area. When S. Lancashire, East Lincolnshire, Epping, and, still more strangely, North American India contribute their quota, we may be sure that the versions given are entirely exotic. In the subsequent list I give the locality where each version was heard, so far as it could be ascertained. But there is no evident connection between the locality and the Score, which was clearly carried in memory far away from the time and place where it was first heard. Each version appears in the orthography in which it reached me, except when it was in Palaeotype, which I have replaced by Glossic, and when any version was given me by word of mouth, I have given it in Glossic. Of the pronunciation of the other versions I am never quite sure, and I must leave the reader to do the best he can with them. The following arrangement according to the localities where the several versions have been found will enable the reader to compare the versions from this point of view.

Cumberland, E.	Culgaith, near Penrith, F 1.
N. E.	Eskdale, C 14.
S. W.	Wasdale Head, H 2.
S.	Borrowdale, C 10.
Westmorland.	Kirkby Stephen, C 11.
	Heard on Stanhope Moors, Durham, C 16.
Cumberland and	Westmorland Dales, B 6.
North Lancashire.	Coniston, C 9.
	Dunnerdale, A 1.
South Northumberland.	Allendale, B 2.
Durham.	Weardale, A 4 & B 4.
	Teesdale,—Ashgill Head, E 2, Middleton C 5.

Yorkshire, North Riding.	Swaledale,—Marrick, C 1, 2 & 3. Reeth, C 13.
	Arkengarthdale, A 3.
	Wensleydale,—Spennithorne, C 4. Woodhall, C 12.
	Teesdale,—Forest of, B 5. Holwick, B 3.
	Lunedale, C 6.
	South Holme, C 8.
	Helmsley Blackmore, H 1
	Whitby, F 15.
	Holtby, F 3
	Nidderdale, Greenhow Hill, E 1.
———, East Riding.	Stamford Bridge, C 7
	Pocklington, B 7.
———, West Riding.	Rathmell, A 2.
	Knaresborough, C 15.
	Huddersfield, F 11.
	Sowerby Bridge, Halifax, B 1.
	Leeds, G 1.
	S.W. Border, F 12.
South Lancashire.	Rochdale, A 5.
	Penketh, Warrington, F 13.
East Lincolnshire.	G 2.
Essex.	F 2.
Surrey and Sussex.	F 14.
Scotland.	Roxburghshire, D 1.
	Renfrewshire, D 2.
Ireland.	Co. Mayo, A 6.
United States of America, supposed Indian.	
	Vermont, F 4.
	Maine, F 9.
	Massachusetts, F 10.
	New Hampshire, F 7.
	Rhode Island, F 5.
	Ohio, F 8.
	Connecticut, F 6.
Holland	B 8.

Considering this geographical classification unsatisfactory, I have attempted to arrange them by the peculiar names of the first four numerals, as follows.

Class A, has 1 *eina*, 2 *peina*, 3 *para*, 4 *peddera*; or nearly so, and consists of 6 versions.

Class B, 1 *eän*, 2 *teän*, 3 *tethera*, 4 *methera*, *pethera*, or *wethera*. Here the Welsh *un*, nearly [een], is taken as [eeŭn] or in Cumberland [ee-aan], which prepares the way for the local [yaan·]. There are 8 versions in this class.

Class C, 1 *yan*, 2 *tan*, 3 *tethera*, 4 *methera*, *nethera*, or *ethera*. There are 16 versions in this the most numerous class.

Class D, is a slight variant from Class C, 1 [*zeen·di*] or *zaindie*, 2 [*teen·di*] or *taindie*, 3 & 4 as in Class C. There are but 2 of these versions, and both are Scotch "countings-out."

Class E, is also a variant of Class C, having 1 & 2 the same, but 3 *edera*, 4 *pedera*. It also contains only 2 versions.

Class F, 1 *eina*, 2 *teina* (varying as 1 *eena*, 2 *teena*), 3 *tethery*, 4 *fethery*, has 15 versions, and among them the 7 so-called North American Indian versions, all obtained through Americans, the last (F 10) having been received as late as 3 December 1877.

Class G, 1 *yan*, 2 *tan*, as in Class C, but 3 *tethery*, 4 *fethery*, as in Class F, has only 2 versions.

Class H, almost entirely anglicised, 1 *yan*, 2 *daan*, 3 *anither*, 4 *adither*, contains only 2 incomplete versions.

Class K, consists of mere "countings-out," which contain traces of words whence the intercalated numbers in the Score may have been derived. They are numerous and varied, yet formed upon a tolerably recognisable type. Many are taken from Halliwell, and others have been added from the *Mill Hill Magazine* since this paper was read, but a few were specially communicated previously, and subsequently, making more than two dozen in all.

All these versions are given in the Appendix, with short notes on each showing how they were obtained. I proceed to consider the separate words for the numbers 1 to 10, 15 & 20. The numbers 11 to 14, and 16 to 19, will be considered in relation to 10 & 15 respectively.

One. This has six principal forms.

1. *Een* (varying as *ee, ene, eeni, eena, in*), F 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. This is most like the Welsh *un*, which is pronounced very nearly as [ee·n]. 10 versions.

2. *Eina* (with variants *heina, hyna, iny, ein*), A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, B 6, F 1, 15. It is probably derived from *een* in the same way that the vowel *i* changed its sound from the ancient [ee] to the modern [aay]. 9 versions.

3. *Eän* (with variants *eäna eën* [*eŭn*] *ain*), B 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, F 3, 13, 15. The sound [eeŭn] or [ee-an] is naturally formed from [een], and as it is one of the local forms of the word for *one* it was naturally confounded with it, and as [*eeŭ, e·ŭ*] are constantly interchanged in dialects, the form [*e·ŭn*] also arose. 10 versions.

4. [*Yeŭn*], a mere variety of [*e·ŭn*], E 1, completes the transition to the next form. 1 version.

5. *Yan* [*yaan·*] or *yen*, varying as *yah, yaen*, C 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, E 2, G 1, 2, H 1, 2, is the principal form, shewing that the Cymric was thoroughly incorporated with the English element. 21 versions.

6. [*Zeen·di*] and *zaindie*, D 1 & 2, are possibly only school-boy variants of *een* and *ain*, as [*teen·di*] and *taindie* in the same versions have also added on the termination *-die*. 2 versions.

Two. This had no less than thirteen forms. The Welsh word *dau*, nearly [*daay*], may indeed be the parent, but another origin is possible. When 4 *methera* was used, 3 *tethera* seems to have been coined as a rhyme, and this being confused with *t'other*, it suggested *t'one* as a natural antecedent, more or less reduced to its local form. This may have given rise to the forms 2 *teän*, 3 *tether*, so that the three first names became the local forms of *one, t'one, t'other*. And although *teän* may have been merely a rhyme to *eän*, as in countings-out, the speakers probably regard the first three numbers in the light of *one, t'one, t'other*. The forms are as follows:

1. *Teäna* (with variants *teän* [*tiŭn, teŭn*]), B 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, C 5, 12, 13, E 1, F 3, 13, 15. 13 versions.

2. *Taän, taen* [*taiŭn*], *tain, taena,* which is really only a variant of the preceding form, B 7, C 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 14, H 2. 8 versions.

3. [*Teen·di*] and *taindie,* having an added *die,* are found in the "countings-out" D 1, 2. 2 versions.

4. *Tyan,* varying as *tiah* in one syllable, is in fact a variant of No. 1 and occurs in C 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16. 6 versions.

5. *Tan,* a natural abridgment of *tyan,* is found in C 8, G 1, 2. 3 versions.

6. *Dan,* a mere variant of *tan,* H 1 only. 1 version.

7. *Teen,* varying as *tee,* F 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. 7 versions.

8. *Teeni, tena* in F 4, 12. 2 versions.

9. *Tin* in F 2. 1 version.

10. *Tein,* in B 6, E 2, F 14. 3 versions.

11. *Tiny* or *tyna* in A 4, F 1. 2 versions.

12. *Deina,* a variant of the last in A 5. 1 version.

All these Nos. 1 to 12 are formed on one type, *t'one,* which is not Welsh. But

13. *Peina* or *meina,* is found in A 1, 2, 3, 6. 4 versions.

This *peina* is totally unlike Welsh, although it occurs in the version A 1, supposed to have been used by a Welshman, and is difficult to understand except as a variant of *teina* (form 11), the speaker merely recollecting that it rhymed to *eina* (used for *one* in all the three versions where it occurs), and forgetting the proper initial. Similarly for *meina.* Not one version contains a trace of the Welsh form, which has no *n.*

On observing the construction of the countings-out K, as respects rhyme and swing, and the innate sense of rhyme and swing shewn in our proverbs, and more especially in German proverbs, it must be felt impossible to consider the words of the Score without examining its remarkable rhymes or semi-rhymes, and its swing. I have just gone over 1 & 2 separately, but a new light seems shed on the subject by taking them together, as I shall proceed to do, treating 3 & 4, and then 6 & 7, and finally 8 & 9, in the same way.

One & Two. We have five groups. 1. *eina peina,* 2. *een*

teen, 3. *eeŭn teeùn*, 4. *yan tyan*, & 5. *zeendie teendie*, which are all variants of one *een*, *teen*. These are distributed thus

1. eina peina A 1, 2; eina meina A 6; haaynu paaynu A 3; hyna tyna A 4; iny tiny F 1; ein tein B 6, F 14; eina deina A 5, which are grouped together because the rhyme evidently renders the initial consonant of little importance to the ear, and makes it therefore very liable to alteration. 9 versions.

2. ene tene or een dene in F 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; eeni teeni F 4; in tin F 2; ee tee or eena deena F 11; hena tena F 12. 10 versions.

3. eäna teäna B 1, eën tean B 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, F 13, 15, [eŭn teŭn] F 3, ain tain B 7. 10 versions.

4. [yaan· taiŭn] C 1; yan taen C 2, 3 (in which also yan tean is given as a variant), C 4, 9; yan tean C 5, 12; [yaan· tyaan·], C 6, 7, 10, 11, 16; [yaan taan] C 8 (which has also [teeŭn]), G 1, 2; [yaan· tiŭn] C 13; [yeŭn teŭn] E 1; yaena taena C 14; yen taen H 2; yan tein E 2; [yaan daan] H 1; yah tiah C 15. 22 versions.

5. [zeen·di teen·di] D 1, zaindie taindie D 2. 2 versions.

Here we find perfectly clear rhymes in the first three groups and the last, while the absence of rhyme in *yan tean* to our ears, is no absence of rhyme in the ears of these speakers, who treat them as practically having the same ending. As no such rhymes occur in Welsh or any Celtic form, though they are the very life-blood of countings-out, we have here a sufficient motive for the alteration of the form for 2, in addition to that already suggested. Practical dialectal familiarity with *yan tyan* has made this the prevailing form.

Three & Four. As 1 is evidently the same as the Welsh, and may have influenced 2 by rhyme, so 4 is almost always Welsh and has apparently suggested the name for 3. The Welsh for 4 is *pedwar*. The *w* drops naturally, and *pedder* results, which is readily lengthened by "swing" to *peddery* or *peddera;* the ending *-ery* being constant in countings-out. In the regions where the Score is chiefly found, there is a regular dentalisation of *d* before *r* or the final *-er*. This consists in putting the tongue as much against the teeth as for

th, and is written in Glossic [*ped'-er*]. The dental [*d'*] regularly passes in many dialects into [*dh*], so that [*pedh·er*], which would be written *pether* or *petha*, is also probable, and is in fact frequently found. That in "nonsense" words initial *p* should vary as *m*, *w* and *f*, is to be expected, and the *f* might readily be taken as *s*. All these changes really occur. To *pether*, *mether*, *fether*, the word *t'other*, suggested by *tyan*, that is, *t'one* or *that one*, easily accommodated itself, in the pronunciations *tether tither*, or was left as [*tuodh·er*]. Occasionally, however, mere rhyme seems to have prevailed, and [*ed'-er*, *edh-er*] to have been used.

These considerations account for the principal pairs in thirty-five versions. As regards five other versions, we have a strange form 3 *paira*, joined to a nearly regular 4 *peddera*, or an irregular 4 *pepra*. This *paira* I cannot properly account for. It has the appearance of being *pethera* with omitted *th*, which is possible, as in *whe'er*, an older form for *whether*, and may have been used as an alliteration to *peddera*. In that case *paira peddera* would be a short and long form of the same word used in two senses, as [boon buom·fit] C 11, both forms of 15, but used for 15 & 20. Two of the remaining versions give purely English forms, as *t'other another*, which again properly mean the same thing, but are used in different senses. The same may be said of *yan tyan*, that is, *one t'one*. At any rate this is the only theory I can form for *paira peddera*.

These considerations enable us to understand the groups 1 *tether mether*, 2 *tether fether*, 3 *ether pether* or *tether ether*, 4 *para pedra*, and 5 *t'other another*. The actual pairs are as follows:—

1. tether mether B 2, 3, C 5; tether a-mether D 2; tethera methera B 4, 5, 8, C 1, 2, 3, 10, 13, 15; tethery methery C 7, 8, 16; [taed'·ere maed'·ere] C 11; [taedh·eri muudh·eri] D 1; tithera mithera C 12; teddera meddera C 14; tedderte medderte C 9; tethera pethera B 1, 7, in which the original initial consonant of 4 is retained. 23 versions.

2. tether fether F 3, 5 (which differs only in orthography); tethery fethery F 1, 15, G 2; tethera fethera F 2, 11, 12,

13, G 1; [tudh·ur fedh·er] F 6, 8; tuthera futhera F 14; [tudh·eri fedh·uri] F 4; tuthery futhery F 7; tother fither F 9; [tudh·eri sedh·eri] F 10 (where I regard [sedh·eri] as a merely mis-heard [fedh·eri]); tethera wethera B 6 (where *w-* is a mere variation of *f-*). 18 versions.

3. tethera ethera C 4; [tedh·urum edh·urum] C 6, in which the initial consonant of 4 is lost; [ed'·uru, ped'·uru] or [edh·uru pedh·uru] E 1, in which the initial consonant of 3 is lost; piderin edderin E 2, in which perhaps 3 & 4 are transposed, and the initial consonant of 4 is kept. 4 versions.

4. para peddera A 1; paira puttera A 2; [paeŭ·ru p-haath·uru], where an aspirate is introduced after the p, A 3; para pepra A 4; para pepera A 5; para = [pairu] peppera A 6. 6 versions.

5. [unidh·u udidh·u] H 1; tudder anudder H 2. 2 versions.

In all pairs the influence of rhyme is unmistakable, and the Cymric 3 *tri* is entirely lost.

Five. This forms a number by itself and is the key of the system. The want of a fellow (speaking in the light of countings-out) is made up by emphasis and pause. The Welsh 5 *pump*, pronounced nearly as [*pimp*], is at the base of all. The *mp* final may dwindle into *p* as *pip*, or be changed into *mf* as *pimf*, which possibly may generate *th* as *pith*, or as *s* might be added as in *pips* [*pip·si*]. The *p* might be omitted and the word end in *m*, which would easily produce *n*, so that even *pen* might be a perversion of *pimp*. Of course the initial *p* may become *b*, *m* (and hence *n*), or *f*. These considerations account for nineteen out of the twenty-one forms assumed, but *mick* in C 3 seems to have been part confusion with *mip* and part with 10 *dick*, and *ten* in A 3 can only be regarded as a mistake, or one of the perversions of common names of numbers, which are frequent in countings-out. The following are the six groups into which the forms may be arranged, 1. with initial *p* as *pimp;* 2. with initial *b* as *bam;* 3. with initial *m* as *mimp;* 4. with initial *f* as *fimp;* 5. with initial *n* as *nimf*, & 6. with initial *t*. The actual forms are:

1. pimp A 1, B 2, 6, C 1, 2, 9, 10, 13, 14, F 9; pimpi B 7; pump A 5; pip B 5, C 4, 5, 6, 8, 15, E 2, F 5, 6, 7; [u-pip] H 1; pips B 1, E 1; pipsy C 7; pith A 2; pen A 4; pinn A 6. 29 versions.

2. a-bamf D 2; [baom·be] D 1. 2 versions

3. mimp C 11; mimph C 12; mip B 4; mep B 3; mick C 3; mincks B 8. 6 versions.

4. fimp F 3; fim F 14; fip C 16, F 2, 4, 10, 13, G 1; fips F 11, 12, G 2, written phips in F 1, 15; fib F 8. 14 versions.

5. nimph H 2 (possibly an error). 1 version.

6. ten A 3. 1 version.

Six & Seven. We now come to two pairs which have puzzled every one from their great variety. The Welsh words are *chwech saith*, pronounced nearly as [kwekh saayth], yet the *s* of the Score generally appears in the first word. I am unable to assign what could have been the original words. [Heet·uri zeet·uri] in D 1, [hai·tes sai·tes] in C 11, are the nearest approaches to the Welsh *chwech saith.* Suppose we start then from these sounds. We have them perhaps (by no means certainly) transposed in *seater heater* D 2, and *āsy kāsy* C 7. But we meet most commonly an inserted *l* as [*ai·tu slai·tu*] in G 1, and this *l* excludes the *s* altogether in *ātus latus* B 3, and *hitter litter* in C 12. If then we add an *s* to the first word, merely as a fulcrum to the rhyming syllable, the exact consonant being indifferent, we easily get [sai·tur lai·tur] in E 1, and the dental [t'] falling into [*th*] or [*dh*] as usual, *sethera lethera* might result as in C 10, which are already wonderfully far away from the Welsh. To allow of pursuing similar analogies, I have constructed the following groups of the different pairs of forms in these versions, without at all pretending to decide that they arose in this way.

1. *Six* has no initial consonant, or only an initial *h*, and *Seven* has also either no initial consonant, or any initial consonant: ith awith A 2, a rhyme possibly due to the peculiar use of *pith* for 5; ithy mithy A 1; ither lather F 1; azer razer E 2; aisha lowsha G 2; āsy kāsy C 7; [hai·tes

sai·tes] C 11; [heet·uri zeet·uri] D 1; [hai·turi slai·turi] C 8; ater slater F 13; [ai·tu slai·tu] G 1; haata slaata C 9; ātus lātus B 3; hatus latus B 6; hitter litter C 12; hofa lofa C 14, which last should probably mean 8 & 9.

16 versions.

2. *Six* commences with *s*, or *sh*, and *Seven* commences with *l*: [sae·thu lae·thu] A 3; sayther layther F 7; saythera lathera B 8; [sai·dhi lai·dhi] F 10; sethera lethera C 10; [sef·ru lef·ru] F 3; [dhu seez dhu lair] C 6; satha lala F 5; sater later F 12; [sai·t'ur lai·t'ur] or [seŭ·t'ur leŭ·t'ur] E 1; saitera laitera F 15; sat latta F 6; cĭter lĭter B 2; cettera lettera B 7; soter loter F 8; [saa·jis laa·jis] C 1; sargus largus C 2; seezar leezar C 15; shavera lackera F 14, compare 8, 9 seckera leckera C 14, and see end of last group.

19 versions.

3. *Six* commences with *s*, and *Seven* with any consonant but *l* or without a consonant: satta natta A 4; sēza āra B 4; seesa sara C 3; seeza rāra C 4; seza āzar B 5, C 5; sica dica B 1; seater heater D 2; sayta ayta F 11; [sai·dhur tai·dhur] or [hai·dhur tai·dhur], which belongs to the last group F 4.

10 versions.

4. Other pairs: [deŭ·tus leŭ·tus] C 13; teezie leezie C 16; lethera methera F 2 (apparently a mistake of memory, as *methera* should be 4, but sethera lethera, belonging to group 2, might have been the original); chester nester A 6; [uyoo·nu ——] H 1 wants 7; einer pump deiner pump A 5, should I think mean 16 & 17, the score is defective and may have been falsely assigned to the numbers, but on the other hand it may belong to the next case; een-pimp teen-pimp F 9, which is not an error, the whole set 6, 7, 8, 9, being exceptionally formed in this manner, and 16, 17, 18, 19, being formed regularly from 15. The version H 2 does not proceed beyond 5.

8 versions.

Eight & Nine present as much difficulty, in point of origin. Certainly it would be a wonderful intuition to feel the Welsh *wyth naw* in any one of the pairs that we meet with here. But yet three principal groups may be distinguished, with an omnium gatherum collection of isolated pairs.

1. Rhymes on *ova*, *over*, *overa*, *avera*, and *owra*, *owera*, or *oves*; ova (or hova) dova B 2, C 12, D 1, 2; [sao·vu dao·vu] C 1; overa (or hovera) dovera C 10, 13; obera dobera B 8; overa covera B 1, E 1, G 1; cauvera dabbera F 15; hovera govera F 12; avera (or navera) cavera F 11; lowra dowra C 9; owera lowera A 1; sour dowr B 6; [hao·ves dao·ves] C 11; sovas dovas C 2. 19 versions.

2. Not rhymes: 8 is of the form *co*, which seems to be the first syllable of one of the preceding or following words, or begins with *po*, while the second word is of the *debber* or *defra* type; co debbera F 2: ko debera F 14; [koa·w def·ru] F 3; [koa defri] F 10; ko jeffrey F 7, where jeffrey was evidently mis-heard for defri; corler debra F 13; poter debber F 8; poal defri F 6. 8 versions.

3. One of the words is of the type *cotter*, and although there is no real rhyme there is a false jingle; cottera horna (or ohna) C 4; cottera hōra B 5; cotter ōra B 4; cathera çona C 3; catrah horna C 5; cattera horna C 15; katra hornie C 16; [dhu kat·uru dhu hau·ni] C 6; caterom horom E 2; cuttery owsha G 2, where the 9 *owsha* rhymes to a 7 *lowsha*; catery corny C 7; [hau·ni kau·ni] C 8; cother quather F 1; [koa·dhur] or [kwoa·dher dai·dher] F 4; cather —— with a missing 9, F 5; —— [ukau·nu], with a missing 8, H 1. Compare *cutery corn* in K 14. 16 versions.

4. Isolated pairs: aira dickala A 2, where dickala resembles [taek·uri], tickery, ziccary, hickary in K 15 up to K 25; nera dickala A 6; [deu·thaa nau·thaa] A 3, where [nau·thaa] is the only sound which bears any resemblance to the Welsh *naw*; stōur tōur B 3; nutta noricle A 4; seckera leckera C 14 should probably be 6 & 7; pettera covera B 7 is a mistake, see note on B 7; tother-pimp fither-pimp F 9 as regular compounds of 3 & 5, 4 & 5; para-pump pepera-pump A 5 as a similar formation, if not meant for 18 & 19; Version H 2 has lost 8 & 9. 10 versions.

Ten. This is very regularly in the Welsh form *deg*, changing the final *g* into a *k*; but some irregularities occur. The forms are:

1. Welsh: dig A 1; dick dic dik [u-dik] dek A 2, B 2, 5,

C 1 to 16, D 1, E 2, F 2 to 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, G 1, H 1; tik B 3; dix diks dicks B 1, 6, 7, 8, E 1, F 1, 7, 11, 12, G 2; deckit D 2. 46 versions.

2. Various: pip B 4 (a confusion with 5, which is made into two names, *mip* and *pip*); ten A 3, an evident error; len A 4; nin A 6; geegee A 5, apparently an error for 20; gleeget F 9, a similar use of 20 for 10; absent in H 2.

7 versions.

Eleven to Fourteen. These are regularly formed when the names of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, are prefixed to the name for the number 10 in the same score, with or without a uniting vowel. They are semi-regular, when the names of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, are prefixed to a sound which does not mean 10 in that score. And they are altogether irregular, when no such system of formation is found. By far the larger number of versions are quite regular, notwithstanding differences in the names for 1, 2, 3, 4, 10.

1. Regular, A 1, 2, B 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, C 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 to 16 and E 1 (which has also [*uboo·n*] in place of [*diks*]), F 1 to 10, 12 to 15, G 1, 2. 39 versions.

2. Semi-regular; formed with [*uboo·n*] in place of [*dik*] C 1, 3, shewn by C 2 to be a mere error of memory; formed with *a dick* in place of *a dicks* B 6, F 11, probably the *diks* was an error; formed with [gee·glh] in place of *ten*, A 3, shewing probably that *ten* was a slip of memory and that the 10 of the version was really [gee·glh], compare 10 *geegee* A 5 and 10 gleeget F 9; formed with *dikera* in place of *nin*, A 6, where probably both *dikera* and *nin* are errors for *dick*; formed in a peculiar way by adding on the syllable *-cle* A 4, which occurs in 9 noricle, 11 hynicle, 12 tynicle, 13 paricle, 14 pepricle, but this version has evidently been much altered by being used in counting-out. 7 versions.

3. Irregular, in D 1, which in no respect follows the Score after 10, and degenerates into a mere "counting-out."

1 version.

The numbers are absent in A 5, C 7, D 2, E 2, H 1, 2.

6 versions.

Fifteen. The Welsh word is *pymtheg*, pronounced very

nearly as [*pumtheg*], which is in fact a regular compound *pump* + *deg*, with the usual mutations of sound, but was always taken as a new independent word in the Score. The words principally used are such English sounds as would naturally suggest themselves to an Englishman who heard such a strange word as [*pumtheg*] for the first time, thus *bumfit bumfik bumfit bumper bumpkin pumfit*, or abbreviations consisting of the first syllable only as *bump bum bob*. In a few cases the initial changes to *m*, as *mimp mimph mimphit*. It is also irregularly interchanged with the word used for 20. These form the following classes :

1. bumfit, bumfite, pumfit, bumfot, [buom·fet, buom·fuoŭt,] (and probably in all cases the inhabitants of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland pronounced [buom] and not [bum], but the word is usually spelled *bum;*) in A 1, 3, B 5, 6, 8, C 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, E 1, F 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, H 1; bumfik G 1; bumpit F 4, 5, 10; bumper C 15; bumpkin, [buom·kin] F 3, G 2; bumford C 16; bumfra F 9; [bung·ki] F 6; bumty F 14. 32 versions.

2. pump A 4; pumpi A 6; bump F 7; bum B 3, C 11; bob B 4. 6 versions.

3. mimph C 9; mimphit C 12; pimpits B 7. 3 versions.

4. Irregular forms: jiggit B 2, C 1, a confusion with 20; sherick C 3 probably a form of jiggit, so that again the names of 15 & 20 are confused; fib-dik F 8, in which version *fib* is the form of 5, so that a new compound is formed precisely equivalent in meaning to *pymtheg* but not very near in sound; toosh D 1 does not properly belong to the Score. 5 versions.

The number 15 is absent in A 2, 5, B 1, C 7, D 2, E 2, H 2. 7 versions.

Sixteen to Nineteen. These are formed regularly when the names of 1, 2, 3, 4 are prefixed to the name of 15 in the same Score, and irregularly when any other prefix or any other suffix is used. It is not unfrequent however to abbreviate the word for 15 into its first syllable; and in two cases this first syllable, with the prefix [u] as [ubuom·], is, I think, confused with the native [uboo·n], meaning

'above, or over.' This seems to be more natural than to suppose [uboo·n] to have been a translation of the Welsh *ar*, with which the speakers were unacquainted.

1. Regular. A 1, 4, 6, B 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, C 8 to 14, E 1, F 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 to 15, G 1, 2, H 1 (where 17 & 19 are absent). 31 versions.

2. Irregular. +[buomp] A 3, where 15 is [buom·fet]; +bum B 5 (where 15 is *bumfit*), C 4 & 5 (in both of which 15 is bumfot); +a boon B 6 (where 15 is *bumfit*), C 2 (where 15 is *pumfit*, explaining the mistake of 11 to 14 in C 1 & B 6); + [ugeeŭ·n] C 1 (another evident slip of memory, where the word for 20, confused with the word *again*, is used for *aboon*, which had already been employed for 11 to 14, see C 2); + de-bumper C 15 is only irregular in using the connecting syllable *de* in place of *a*, for 15 is *bumper*, and a variant of this version gives +*abump;* +bumptige F 5, where 15 is *bumpet*, seems more like a restoration of the original *pymtheg;* +bumteg F 8, where 15 is *fib-dick*, shews perhaps that 15 was originally *bumteg*, but having been lost the compound *fib-dick* was coined from the words used for 5 & 10 in the version; +abum or +bum or +bumford C 16, where 15 is *bumford*, possibly faults of memory. 11 versions.

The number 15 is absent in A 2, 5, B 1, C 3, 6, 7, D 1, 2, E 2, F 4, H 2. 11 versions.

Twenty. The Welsh word for 20 is *ugain*, pronounced nearly as [*ee·gaayn*] or [*ig·aayn*]. This would be readily confused with the English *again*, and to make sense, it was natural to prefix *gin* meaning *begin*, so that the Score would end with an injunction to *begin again*. This we find really the case in two versions as [gin ugeeŭ·n], and *ghin a gaen*, C 1 & 2, only one version, A 2, preserving the initial vowel as *iggam* according to my authority, and *iggan* according to Mr. Taylor's. The contraction of [gin ugeeŭ·n] into [gin·geeŭn] and the assimilation of the *n* was quite natural, and we actually find [gee·guom] in one version A 3. But all trace of the original meaning having thus been lost, the final consonant would soon change to produce a familiar ending like *it*, and this was probably the origin of [giŭ·giŭt] C 13 and

[gig·it] F 6. But then a very familiar word *jig* would naturally suggest itself, with the phrase *jig it!* meaning "go on," that is, the same as the presumed original *'gin again.* The writing *g* is doubtful in several of the versions, A 1, C 10, 14, F 2, and may mean "*g* hard" or "*g* soft," that is [*g*] or [*j*]. The choice is given in B 6. But in thirteen versions the use of *j* makes the "*g* soft" clear. Other transmutations, however, now shew themselves, natural in words half-heard, quite misunderstood, and regarded as valueless nonsense, and so we get *jig* B 4, *jigger* C 15, and even [*jib·lits*] F 3, evidently meant for *giblets.* All these then I regard as intelligible varieties of the Welsh *ugain,* with merely a prefixed *g* or *j,* arising perhaps originally from *gin again,* and perhaps from a real reduplication when *g* was used, falling naturally into *j* before a short *i,* and perhaps sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

There are, however, a few isolated cases where the connection is not at all clear.

In two versions, A 4, F 9, we have at first sight a reference to the Gaelic *fichead,* pronounced nearly as [*faekh·ud*], and the Manx *feed,* said to be pronounced as [feed]. A Weardale counting-out, A 4, a very suspicious source, has 5 *pen,* 10 *len,* 15 *pump,* 20 *feebu.* Here *pen, len,* remind us of *ten and eleven,* which appear in countings-out, as [*taen·ubu lev·n*] K 15, *ten-aby 'levem* K 16, *ten & eleven* K 19, and *pen and eevy* K 25. But *pump* is there a modification of *pymtheg,* a form unknown to Gaelic, which uses *còig deug,* pronounced nearly as [*kaayg dy'aig·*], so that it is unlikely that *feebu* should have been borrowed from a Celtic mode of enumeration, which has clearly had no effect on the rest of the system. What the pronunciation of *feebu* may be I do not know, but if it is [fee·beu] it may be meant for *fib you,* and being the last word of the counting out, may imply that the lot falls on the last boy addressed; *fib you* being tantamount to *have you,* or *catch you.* If it is [fee·bu], it may stand for *fibber,* meaning perhaps 'the one caught.'

One of the North American Indian versions, F 9, the first one that came to me, which presents the anomaly of counting

6, 7, 8, 9, as *een-pimp, teen-pimp, tother-pimp, fither-pimp* (evidently made up to supply words lost), uses 10 *gleeget*, which must be the proper form of 20. It thus became necessary to coin a new word for 20, and this version accordingly presents us with the rather anomalous arrangement, 5 *pimp*, 10 *glee-get*, 15 *bum-fra*, 20 *frith-en-y*. Now, without pretending to understand the last word, it seems to me a not unnatural growth from 19 *fither-bum-fra* in that system. In this case, instead of reading *frith-en-y*, which gives a false resemblance of composition, we should read *fritheny*= [fridh·uni] in one word, evolved at the spur of the moment from the preceding *fither* and *-fra*. As these North American Indian versions were certainly imported, for there is no resemblance between them and the native systems, and were due probably to various old sailors, any such alterations to fill the gaps of a defective memory are, to say the least, very probable.

Another North American Indian version, F 8, bears out this theory. Here 15 at least was deficient and was supplied by simple English means. This version gives 5 *fib*, 10 *dick*, 15 *fib-dick*, that is, 5 + 10. As for 20 *unick*, which Mr. Jenner says was pronounced [un·ik], it may be corrupted from *a nick*, or a *score*, which, as not at all unusual, was made in a piece of wood at the end of a count, hence called a Score. It may, however, also have been a corruption of the Welsh *ugain*, or finally a mere fault of memory. We have an example of a supplied 20 in G 2, which has 10 *dix*, 20 *twi-dix*, = *twice-dix*. In B 8 again 20 *dicksit* was clearly lost, and was made by adding the termination *-it* of 15 *bumfit*, to the 10 *dicks*.

Another version, C 3, has lost its 20, and uses 15 *sherick*. This I regard as a form of 20 *jiggit*, transposed, as *jiggit bumpit* in B 2, *jiggit* becoming *chiggit*, compare [*chik·it*] in E 1, and then *shiggit* and *sherick*. Perhaps 20 *ticket* in A 6 may also be a form of *chickit* or *shiggit*. It will be convenient to group the names for 15 and 20, so as to shew these analogies.

1. With "hard *g*" in *get*:—iggam A 2; pumfit ghin-a-

gaen C 2; [buom·fit gee·guom] A 3; [buom·fit giŭ·giŭt] C 13; bumpet geget F 5; [bum·pit gig·it] F 10; bumfit giggit F 11; [bung·ki gig·it] F 6; bumty gigget F 14.
9 versions.

2. With *g*, unknown whether "hard" as in *get*, or "soft" as in *gem*: bumfit gigot F 2; bumfite gigget C 15; bumfit giggy A 1; bump giggets F 7; bumfit giggot C 10, 14; mimph gigget C 9; pimpits gigits B 7. 7 versions.

3. With *j*: bumfit jiggit B 5, C 5, F 1, 12, 13; [buom·fit chik·it] or [jig·it] E 1; bumfot jiggit C 4; jiggit bumfit B 2; a mere reversal; bumfit jiget (or gigot?) B 6; [bum·fik jigit] G 1; bumpet jig·it F 4; bum jiggit B 3; mimphit jiggit C 12; bumfit jigglit F 15; bumford jiggot C 16; bumper jigger C 15; [buom·kin jib·lits] or [jid·lits] F 3; bob jig B 4.
18 versions.

4. Repetitions: [jig·it gin-ugeeŭn] C 1, two words for 20; [boon buom·fit] C 11, two words for 15. 2 versions.

5. New forms: pump feebu A 4; fib-dick un-ick F 8; bumpkin twidix G 2; bumfra fritheny F 9; pumpi ticket A 6; bumfit dicksit B 8, all of which have been already treated. 6 versions.

6. Absent 20; [bum·fit]—C 8, [buom·fit]—H 1, [buom·-fuoŭt]—C 6; sherik—C 3; toosh—D 1. 5 versions.

7. Absent both 15 and 20, A 5, B 1, C 7, D 2, E 2, H 2.
6 versions.

The result of this close examination of fifty-three versions collected during eleven years from very different sources seems to be as follows:

1. That the Score is a real system of counting which was possibly widely known two or three hundred years ago, but which was rare even fifty years ago, though it is not yet quite forgotten.

2. That the Score was actually used by shepherds in counting sheep, a custom which has been shewn to have survived to the present day H 1, but it has sunk from this high estate to be used by old women for counting loops in knitting or by nurses, mothers, etc., for amusing babies, or as a system of counting out by schoolboys, and probably

several others. And to these last uses are possibly due many of the variants observed. Of the systems of counting out we possess several other specimens, which proceed by fours instead of by fives, but often contain words apparently connected with some of the anomalous names for 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9.

3. That the Score was foreign to those who used it, as they attributed it generally to Scotch drovers, I. 4, A 2, C 2, 3, 11, and sometimes Welsh drovers, F 14, on which compare I. 4. That it was very taking and could be widely imported, and attributed to a wrong source, is shewn by the seven American versions, F 4 to F 10, which were attributed to the North American Indians, and which in at least one instance seem proved to have been actually used by a squaw, F 6. No native Indian system of counting resembles this. But there is a custom in America attributing outlandish words to Indians, F 4, 5. The Scottish drovers often speak Gaelic, and it was natural to suppose that the strange sounds which the Northern English shepherd occasionally used for counting sheep were due to these strangers (see note to I. 4, Gaelic, in Appendix). But the Score is little known in Scotland, and the Gaelic numerals are entirely unlike these. The Scotch hypothesis and the North American Indian must therefore be alike discredited.

4. The names of the numerals 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 20, can all be easily connected with the Welsh, but what is most important is that the structure of the names for 16, 17, 18, 19, as 1 & 15, 2 & 15, 3 & 15, 4 & 15, is peculiar to Welsh among all known Celtic languages and probably all known languages. This makes it indisputable that the origin of the Score is Welsh, unless the language of the Strathclyde kingdom, of which I know and have as yet been able to learn nothing, is the same. If it is, the Score may have sprung up in Strathclyde, as has been suggested. But the absolute divergence of the names for 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, from any Celtic type, invalidates the hypothesis of indigenous growth and confirms the notion of importation. At present its probable importation into English regions is quite as little understood as its

1 un *een*	6 chwech *kwhai·kh*	11 un ar ddeg *een aar' dhai·g*	16 un ar bymtheg *een aar' bum·thaig*
2 dau *daay*	7 saith *saayth*	12 deuddeg *duy·dhaig*	17 dau ar bymtheg *daay aar' bum·thaig*
3 tri *tree*	8 wyth *with*	13 tri ar ddeg *tree aar' dhai·g*	18 tri ar bymtheg *tree aar' bum·thaig*
4 pedwar *pai·dwaar*	9 naw *naaw*	14 pedwar ar ddeg *pai·dwaar' aar' dhai·g*	19 pedwar ar bymtheg *pai·dwaar' aar' bum·thaig*
5 pump *pimp*	10 deg *dai·g*	15 pymtheg *pum·thaig*	20 ugain *ee·gaayn*

A letter from Mr. J. W. Evans, which the Rev. I. Taylor communicated to me, shews how these Welsh words fall into English ears. The letter says: "A Sussex farmer more than 30 years ago, gave the following as the way that an old drover who sold him some sheep, counted them: 1 een, 2 doit, 3 tree, 4 perrereth, 5 pump, 6 sax, 7 ——, 8 with, 9 now, 10 dag, 11 innerdag, 12 diardag, 13 treerdag." Observe the *t* added to 2, the transformation of 4 & 6, the loss of the [dh] in 11, 12, 13; the insertion of *ar* in 12, meant for [dei-er-dag] and the reduction of 13 to two syllables. Here 2, 3, 6, 8, 9 are simply Welsh forms.

†† I. 2. Cornish.

The Roman letters form the version given me by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, the words in ( ) being older forms, the italic variants were extracted by Prof. Rhys from Edwin Norris's Cornish Drama, 1859, vol. ii. p. 240, for the Rev. T. Ellwood, and are appended by him to his paper on the Ancient British Numerals. I have collated them afresh with the originals, and added the ancient forms in [ ] from Zeuss, when they differed from Norris's. The words in italics and parentheses are Norris's corrections of Pryce's forms.

1 onen *un onan onon*	11 ednack *unnek*
2 deau (dou) *deu dyw dew* [fem. diu]	12 dowthack (*dewṭhek*) [dowzek]
3 trei *try*, fem. *tyr tyyr ter*	13 tardhack (tredhek) *tardhek triṭhuk*
4 padzhar (pider) *peswar*, fem. *pedyr*	14 padzhwardzhach *peswarṭhek*
5 pemp *pymp pym*	15 pemdhack *pymṭhek* [pymzek]
6 wheh *whe* [whea whegh whêh]	16 whettack *huettag* (*whetḥek*)
7 seith *seyth*	17 seitag *seytek*
8 eath *eyth* [eth]	18 eatag *eytheg*
9 naw	19 nawnzack (*naunṭhek*)
10 dêag *dek* [deak deag]	20 iganz *ugens*

Observe that while Cornish follows Welsh very closely as far as 15, the numbers 16 to 19 are formed on the plan of adding 6, 7, 8, 9, to 10, instead of 1, 2, 3, 4, to 15, as in Welsh and the Anglo-Cymric Score.

†† I. 3. Breton.

These numerals in Roman letters were given me by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, the italic variants were extracted from Le Gonidec's Grammar, 1838, p. 59, by Prof. Rhys for Rev. T. Ellwood, and were by him subjoined to his paper on the Ancient British Numerals. I have collated them afresh, and added the ancient forms in [ ] from Zeuss, when they differed.

1 unan [un ung]	6 c'houec'h [huech]	11 unnék	16 c'houézék[huezec]
2 daou [dou] f. *diou* [diu]	7 seiz	12 daouzék	17 seitéк [seizdek]
3 trî, fem. *teir*	8 eiz	13 trizék	18 triouec'h [eizdek]
4 pévar, fem. *peder*	9 naô [nau]	14 pévarzék	19 naoñtéк[naundek]
5 pemp	10 dék [dek]	15 pemzék	20 ugeñt [uguent]

Prince L. L. Bonaparte observes that "ñ is only a sign of nasality of the preceding vowel; *é* is *é fermé* with the tonic accent or not; *u* is always the French *u*, and *ou* the French *ou*; *ð'h* is χ, or the German *ch* in *nacht*; *g* is always hard as in *give*." The Welsh system is followed closely as far as 15. Then 16, 17, 19, are clearly 6, 7 and 9, added to 10, as in Cornish and Manx, but not in Welsh; 18 is noted as 'three sixes.' Observe ancient 18 or 'twice nine' in I. 1, and 20 twidix or 'twice ten' in G 2.

* I. 4. Gaelic.

Since so many persons in Yorkshire call the system *Scotch*, meaning *Gaelic*, the numerals are added with an approximate pronunciation in Glossic (from Niel McAlpine's *Argyleshire Pronouncing Gaelic Dictionary*, as well as I could understand his symbols), to show that there is no foundation for this, except perhaps in some words for 8 and 20. In the Glossic observe *uu'* which is *oo* with the mouth wide open, *dy'* an attempt to pronounce *d* and *y* at the same time, nearly *j*, the palatal *yh* (nearly as *ch* in German *nicht*), and guttural *kh* (as *ch* in German *nacht*. The old Irish forms in Zeuss are 1 oin oen, 2 da di de, 3 tri, *fem.* teoir teora, 4 cethir, *fem.* cetheoir cetheora, 5 coic, 6 se, 7 secht, 8 oct ocht, 9 noi, 10 deich, 12 di deac, 15 coic deac, 16 se deac, 18 aocht deac, 20 fiche.

1 aon *uu'·n*	6 sè, sia *shae·*	11 aon deug *uu'n dy'aig·*	16 se deug *shae dy'aig*
2 dadhà *daayhaa*	7 seachd *shy'aakh·k*	12 dha-deug *yhaa yhaig·*	17 seachd deug *shy'aakh·g dy'aig*
3 tri *tree*	8 ochd *oa·khk*	13 tri-deug *tree dy'aig·*	18 ochd deug *oa·khg dy'aig*
4 ceithir *kai·yhur'*	9 naoidh *nuu'y*	14 ceithir-deug *kai·yhur' dy'aig·*	19 naoidh deug *nuu'ykh dy'aig*
5 còig *koayg*	10 deich *dy'aiykh*	15 còig deug *kaayg dy'aig·*	20 fichead *faekh·ud*

R. S. Ferguson, Esq., adds the following note, as Editor of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, to the edition of the Rev. T. Ellwood's papers in those Transactions. "Some confusion has been caused by these numerals being called 'Scotch,' and by their having been used by cattle drovers, often Highlanders, for counting their cattle: hence some have concluded them to be Gaelic, imported by Highland drovers. But at one time every stranger or strange thing in Cumberland was called 'Scotch,' the great set of travel being southward. The shire toll of Cumberland, a toll (*inter alia*) on all cattle entering the county, is older than the beginning of the 13th century; it was not worth the collection, and was not collected from Westmorland into Cumberland, but was of great value from Scotland into Cumberland. The antiquity of the toll, and the fact that these numerals were (until steam abolished drovers and their droves) used for counting cattle, makes it possible that they may have come down from the early Cumbrian toll collectors, and have come to be called Scotch, just as in America they have come to be called Indian. This lends colour to the Strathclyde hypothesis, and would seem to show that the language of Strathclyde was Welsh, but at present the speculation is hazardous."

†† I. 5. Manx.

The words in Roman letters were given me by Prince L. L. Bonaparte, the words in italics below them form a version obtained by the Rev. T. Ellwood

from Mr. Quarry of Oxness, Torver, Coniston, High Furness, and were printed in the report of Mr. Ellwood's first paper published in the *Barrow Times* for 25 Aug. 1877, but do not appear in his later edition. They are evidently a misunderstood form of the older Manx.

1 unnane *nen*	6 shey *shea*	11 unnane-jeig *nen an jeig*	16 shey-jeig *shea an jeig*
2 jees *jeesh*	7 shiaght *shaugh*	12 ghan-jeig *dthea an jeig*	17 shiaght-jeig *shaugh jeig*
3 three *three*	8 hoght *haugh*	13 three-jeig *three an jeig*	18 hoght-jeig *haugh jeig*
4 kiare *kea*	9 nuy *neigh*	14 kaire-jeig *kea an jeig*	19 nuy-jeig *neigh jeig*
5 queig *quey*	10 jeih *jeigh*	15 queig-jeig *quey an jeig*	20 feed *fheed*

This is closely related to the Gaelic and is in every respect different from the Anglo-Cymric Score.

† I. 6. Gypsy.

The following was received from Mr. Leland, author of a work on the Gypsy language and of Hans Breitmann's Ballads, to whom I had applied for information. "I doubt," he writes, "if there are five gipsies in England who can count to ten, though what from one and another we know that the complete set up to ten is

1 jeck	6 shov
2 dui	7 hefta
3 trin	8 oitoo
4 shtor	9 enya or nenya
5 pange, or sponge	10 desh

They generally count to 5, and know *desh* or *dash* for 10. Some know *shov*. They generally reckon by 5 and 3 for 8, 5 and 4 for 9. In *deston*, 18*d*., *desh-oitoo-hori* or 10 and 8, pence." It is evident that the relations of this to the Welsh are merely Aryan, and that it affords no clue to the strange names for 6, 7, 8, 9, in the Anglo-Cymric Score.

II. Versions of the Anglo-Cymric Score.

CLASS A

(1 eina, 2 peina, 3 para, 4 peddera), containing 6 versions.

† A 1. Dunnerdale, Seathwaite, High Furness.

Communicated to me in MS. by Rev. T. Ellwood, to whom they were recited by Mr. Joseph Hellon, a farmer in Dunnerdale, who says he got them 30 or 40 years ago from Isaac Jones, an old Welshman, who came from Wales to work at the Old Duddon smelting works at Millom Hall, and who brought them from Wales as the Welsh numerals. The following version is corrected from the edition in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, 1848, where Mr. Ellwood adds: "Upon inquiring more particularly of Mr. Hellon, he says they did not come direct from Isaac Jones to him. My own impression is therefore that they may have come from the secluded mountain valley of Seathwaite, High Furness, rendered classic ground by 'the Wonderful Walker' and Wordsworth's references in 'the Excursion.'"

1 aina	6 ithy	11 ain-a-dig	16 ain-a-bumfit
2 peina	7 mithy	12 pein-a-dig	17 pein-a-bumfit
3 para	8 owera	13 par-a-dig	18 par-a-bumfit
4 peddera	9 lowera	14 pedder-a-dig	19 pedder-a-bumfit
5 pimp	10 dig	15 bumfit	20 giggy.

There is no proof that these came from Wales, and it is evident that 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, are very different from Welsh. The variant 1 eina occurs in one copy sent by Mr. Ellwood.

* A 2. Rathmell, near Settle, W. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated by the Rev. M. Wood (see C 12), to whom it was sent by Miss Geldard, who had recently heard it from an old woman there.

1 einǎ	6 ith	11 einǎ-dick	16	—
2 peina	7 awith	12 peinǎ-dick	17	—
3 pairǎ	8 air-ǎ	13 pairǎ-dick	18	—
4 puttera	9 dickǎla	14 puttera dick	19	—
5 pith	10 dick	15 —	20 iggam	

In the proof with my paper of 6 Feb. 1874, I gave 3 and 13 as unknown, and 4 and 14 as pairǎ and pairǎ dick. The next day I heard from Mr. Wood, that the old Rathmell woman had recollected 4 puttera, and by this I corrected the version as above, 3 pairǎ being vouched by several other versions. This version is identical with that sent to the *Athenæum* of 15 Sep. 1877 (No. 2603, p. 338, col. 2), by the Rev. Isaac Taylor, of Settrington Rectory, except that he writes 3 para, 4 pattera, 8 ara, 20 iggan, which are merely orthographical variants. Mr. Taylor says: "The copy which I possess was carefully taken down for me, a few weeks since, from the lips of Elizabeth Tomlinson, an old woman seventy-two years of age, who now resides in the almshouses at Rathmell, near Settle. She states that she never used the numerals regularly herself, but that she learned them, when about twelve years old, from her uncle, who himself always used them." Miss Geldard's letter, sent me by Mr. Wood, writing from near Settle, says: "I had a very amusing visit this morning to an old woman near here who knits. She told me that when she was a child she had learnt from a *Scotch* cousin to count, but unfortunately had forgotten one or two numbers." Then followed the version. "She said fifteen was a short word by itself, but she could not remember it, and I think she must have forgotten 4 or 3, but she seemed to think not." On a subsequent visit from Miss Geldard, she remembered 4 puttera, but could still not remember 15, and did not recognize either *bum* or *bumfit*. It is evident that the same person Elizabeth Tomlinson gave both Mr. Taylor's and my version, and that mine was made known independently to the Philological Society three years previously, on 6 Feb. 1874, when I shewed a proof which I still possess, but publication was delayed for further collections. See also note to B 7.

† A 3. Arkengarthdale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Obtained by Mr. Goodchild in 1876 from a man of Brough, Westmorland, who learned it 40 to 50 years ago as a nursery rhyme from his mother, a Booze woman, Arkengarthdale. Put into approximative Glossic from the original very accurate palaeotype. No. 16 is missing. It should probably be *haay'nu buomp*. After 20 the order was "repeat the first ten and begin again." The *t'* is dental, almost *th*. There is clearly a mistake about 5 and 10.

1 *haaynu*	6 *sae·thu*	11 *aay·nu gee·glh*	16 —
2 *paaynu*	7 *lae·thu*	12 *paay·nu gee·glh*	17 *paay·nu buomp*
3 *paeŭru*	8 *dew·thaa*	13 *paeŭru gee·glh*	18 *paeŭ·ru buomp*
4 *p-haath·uru*	9 *naw·thaa*	14 *paat'·uri gee·glh*	19 *paat'·uri buomp*
5 *ten*	10 *ten*	15 *buom·fet*	20 *gee·guom*

* A 4. Weardale, Durham, No. 1.

Evidently much corrupted by school use. Communicated by the Rev. W. R. Bell of Laithkirk Vicarage, Mickleton, Barnard Castle. See B 4.

1 hyna	6 sătta	11 hynicle	16 hyna-pump
2 tyna	7 nătta	12 tynicle	17 tyna-pump
3 para	8 nŭtta	13 paricle	18 para-pump
4 pepra	9 noricle	14 pepricle	19 pepra-pump
5 pen	10 len	15 pump	20 feebu

† A 5. Rochdale (?), S. Lancashire.

Communicated by Mrs. Augustus De Morgan, to whom it was given more than 50 years ago by an old lady who came, Mrs. De Morgan thinks, from Rochdale.

1 eina or einer	6 einer pump
2 deina or deiner	7 deiner pump
3 para	8 para pump
4 pepera	9 pepera pump
5 pump	10 geegee

The g hard in geegee. It is evident that the numbers given as 6 to 10 were meant for 16 to 20. In this case the names of 10 and 15 being forgotten, the name of 5 pump was used for 15 bumfit, probably contracted to *bum*, a word which the old lady might not have liked to use. Other ladies have certainly been unwilling to give *bum* or *bumfit*. This reminds me of a young lady to whom I was teaching Italian many years ago, who refused to say *dammi* "give thou to me," because it sounded like swearing.

‡‡ A 6. County Mayo, Connaught, Ireland.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me the following version sent him from the very Rev. Ulick J. Bourke, M.R.I.A., President of St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, to whom it was given by his nephew, then a student of the college, who wrote them from the lips of Patrick Mac Hugh, now deceased, formerly living about 40 miles from Tuam, but who was certainly some time in Lancashire, the North of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland, being of that class of Irishmen who spend part of each year in farming districts of the North of England. The Rev. President Bourke notes that *e* in *pera nera* has the sound of *a* in English [ai], as is common in Ireland, and *i* has the sound of *e* in England [ee, i].

1 eina	6 chester	11 eina dikera	16 eina pumpi
2 mina (meina)	7 nester	12 mina dikera	17 mina pumpi
3 pera	8 nera	13 pera dikera	18 pera pumpi
4 peppera	9 dickera	14 peppera dikera	19 peppera pumpi
5 pinn	10 nin	15 pumpi	20 ticket

The Rev. President Bourke derives *nester* from *eina+chester* = 1+6. With regard to 9, 10 *dickera, nin*, he says he has two versions, and in one the names are reversed 9, 10 *nin, dickera*, which he esteems correct from 11, 12, 13, 4. The version

much resembles A 2 and A 4, but in A 2 we have 9 *dickala*, 10 *dick*, and possibly 10 *nin* may be a mere rhyme to 5 *pinn*, as we have in A 4, 5 *pen*, 10 *len*. In this case possibly 9, 10 *dickera dick*, were the words heard by Mac Hugh, and *dickera* in 11, 12, 13, 14 was a mistake for simple *dick*. With the forms 8, 9 *nera* (pronounced [*nai·ra*]) *dickera*, compare 8, 9 *aira dickala* A 2, either A 6 has added or A 2 had omitted an *n* in 8 nera aira. In a letter to me the Rev. President Bourke says that in the last word 20 *ticket*, *t* has a semi-sibilant sound, and that probably the form as heard would be better expressed by the French *ch* [sh], or English *z*. The word then heard by Mac Hugh was probably *chickit* G 1, or *sherick* as in C 3.

CLASS B

(1 eän, 2 teän, 3 tethera, 4 methera, pethera or wethera), containing 8 versions.

* B 1. Sowerby Bridge, near Halifax, W. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated by the Rev. Matthew Wood, residing at Settle (see C 12), as the recollection of what his brother-in-law, Rev. J. Stansfeld, of Coniston Cold, had been taught when at school at Sowerby Bridge.

1 ëana	6 sica	11 ëana dix
2 tëana	7 dica	12 tëana dix
3 tethera	8 obhera	etc.
4 pethera	9 cobbera	
5 pips	10 dix	

* B 2. Allendale, South Northumberland.

Communicated by the Rev. W. R. Bell (see A 4). It is evident that 15 should be *bumfit*, and 20 should be *jiggit*, and that in 16 to 19 *jiggit* should be altered into bumfit.

1 eën	6 cĭter	11 eën-a-dic	16 eën-a-jiggit
2 tean	7 lĭter	12 teän-a-dic	17 teän-a-jiggit
3 tether	8 ōva	13 tether-a-dic	18 tether-a-jiggit
4 mether	9 dōva	14 mether-a-dic	19 mether-a-jiggit
5 pimp	10 dic	15 jiggit	20 bumfit

* B 3. Holwick, N. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated by the Rev. W. R. Bell (see A 4).

1 eän	6 ātus	11 eän-a-tik	16 eän-a-bum
2 teän	7 lātus	12 teän-a-tik	17 teän-a-bum
3 tether	8 stōur	13 tether-a-tik	18 tether-a-bum
4 mether	9 tōur	14 mether-a-tik	19 nether-a-bum
5 mep	10 tik	15 bum	20 jiggit

* B 4. Weardale, Durham, No. 2.

Communicated by Rev. W. R. Bell (see A 4). Used by school children only in "counting out," and games generally. Some call it the *Scotch* way of counting.

1 eän	6 sēzar	11 éän-a-pip	16 eän-a-bob
2 teän	7 ära	12 teän-a-pip	17 teän-a-bob
3 tethera	8 cŏtter	13 tether-a-pip	18 tether-a-bob
4 methera	9 ōra	14 mether-a-pip	19 mether-a-bob
5 mip	10 pip	15 bob	20 jig

* B 5. Forest of Teesdale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated by the Rev. W. R. Bell (see A 4).

1 eän	6 sēzar	11 eän-a-dik	16 eän-a-bum
2 teän	7 ūzar	12 teän-a-dik	17 teän-a-bum
3 tethera	8 cŏttera	13 tether-a-dik	18 tethera-a-bum
4 methera	9 hōra	14 mether-a-dik	19 mether-a-bum
5 pip	10 dik	15 bumfit	20 jiggit

† B 6. Cumberland and Westmorland Dales.

Reprinted from the Rev. T. Ellwood's papers, No. 6, with the notes attached. Obtained by Mr. Ellwood from W. Browne, Esq., of Tallentire Hall, Cockermouth, who says: "These numerals were obtained as the result of a number of letters of inquiry in the Cumberland and Westmorland dales. They are from a female traditioner, who got them as a girl thirty years since from a woman fifty years old, who got them from an old woman of eighty years of age when the woman of fifty was about fifteen. The aged lady had known of them time out of mind. That makes 30+35+say 65=130 years."

1 ein	6 hatus	11 ein-a-dic	16 ein-a-boon
2 tein	7 latus	12 tein-a-dic	17 tein-a-boon
3 tethera	8 sour	13 tethera-a-dic	18 tether-a-boon
4 wethera	9 dowr	14 wethera-a-dic	19 wether-a-boon
5 pimp	10 dics (or dix?)	15 bumfit	20 jiget (or giget?)

The following footnote is added in Mr. Ellwood's paper to 18 in this version. "The jingle and euphony and the pronunciation of the 'wethera-a-dic' and 'tether-a-boon' look very old. Then the simplicity of utilising the ein, tein, etc., by invoking their aid three times is very simple in its mode of rude adaptation of language. The 'one aboon 15' for sixteen is amazingly near to the simplest form of natural language." It is probable that ein-a-boon is a corruption of *ein-a-bum*, contracted for *bumfit*, and pronounced [*buom*], almost [*boom*], which would be readily assimilated with the familiar *aboon*.

‡‡ B 7. Pocklington, E. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated to me by Rev. Isaac Taylor, of Settrington Rectory, who obtained it from Mr. T. Cumberland, of Harborne, Birmingham. Mr. Cumberland's sister learned it from her grandfather, who lived in the Wolds near Pocklington, and who had been brought up by his grandmother who migrated from just over the Scottish Border during the rebellion of 1745, from whom Miss Cumberland always understood that her grandfather learned them when a little boy, and who could count considerably beyond twenty. The Score is given in Mr. Cumberland's corrected form. The spelling is said to be phonetic. The *ai* in 1 *ain*, 2 *tain*, is said to be as in *Spain*; the *tt* in *cettera*, *tettera*, *pettera* to be dental [*set'ru*, *let'ru*, *pet'ru*], *g* in *gigit* hard, and *c* in *cettera* soft. Of course *tettera pettera* in 13, 14, should be *tethera pethera*.

1 ain	6 cettera	11 aina-dix	16 aina pimpits
2 tain	7 lettera	12 taina-dix	17 taina pimpits
3 tethera	8 pettera	13 tettera-dix	18 tethera pimpits
4 pethera	9 covera	14 pettera-dix	19 pethera pimpits
5 pimpi	10 dix	15 pimpits (pumpits)	20 gigits

Miss Cumberland, who has been in the habit of repeating these numerals to children with great rapidity for their amusement, makes some slight variants.

Thus she makes 18, 19 *cettera pumpit, lettera pumpit*, which of course ought to be 21, 22 on her system. But Mr. Cumberland finds that a curious error has crept into her list between 10 and 15, that she has a number too many, and omits 13 tethera-dix altogether, counting 11 aina-dix, 12 taina-dix, cettera-dix, lettera-dix, pettera-dix, and then 15 pumpits. The fact is that 8 pettera is a slip of memory altogether. It will be seen that 6, 7 *cettera, lettera*, belong to Group 2 of the names for 6, 7; and that 8, 9 *pettera covera*, are altogether anomalous, the real form being probably 8, 9 *overa covera* as in B 1, E 1 belonging to Group 1 of the names for 8 and 9. Hence I would eliminate *pettera* altogether as merely generated by the preceding *cettera lettera*, and read *overa* in its place. In a letter to me, however, Mr. Cumberland says his sister does not recognise *overa* before *covera*. Of course *cettera-dix*, *lettera-dix*, and *cettera-pumpits*, *lettera-pumpits* are pure mistakes for *tethera-dix*, *pethera-dix*, etc.

Mr. Cumberland says also that more than 25 years before Sep. 1877, he remembers a farmer in Craven near Bolton Abbey, W. R. Yorkshire, with whom he was living, repeating for the amusement of the youngsters a list of numerals similar to A 2, from the same neighbourhood, but that his memory is not good enough to supply the omissions in the list.

Miss Cumberland knows of a servant at York, a native of Craike near Easingwold, N. R. Yorkshire (but in an isolated part of Durham), who used to repeat a list of numerals, 1 to 20, which was quite different from this, except that they could always recognize 5, 10 and 15. This was possibly like the neighbouring Knaresborough C 15, or Nidderdale E 1.

† B 8. Holland.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me a note from Mr. H. Woollen, which states that his mother knew that about 50 years ago a party of Dutch sailors being in the habit of visiting a tavern in Hull, Yorkshire, were observed by the hostess, whenever they transacted business among themselves involving the transfer of money, invariably to use the following terms, which were regarded by the hostess as forming part of an exotic *patois* or code of slang. They have no relation at all to Dutch and must have been learned from some Yorkshire sailors and used for secrecy.

1 eeän	6 saythea	11 eeän dicks	16 eeän bumfit
2 teeän	7 lathera	12 teeän dicks	17 teeän bumfit
3 tethera	8 obera	13 tether dicks	18 tether bumfit
4 methera	9 dobera	14 mether dicks	19 mether bumfit
5 mincks	10 dicks	15 bumfit	20 dicksit

This 20 *dicksit*, is clearly an error of memory, and related to 10 *dicks*. The 5 *mincks* is possibly some confusion with the English *minx*, the proper word having been forgotten.

CLASS C

(1 yan, 2 tan, 3 tethera, 4 methera, nethera or ethera), containing 16 versions.

** C 1. Marrick, Swaledale, N. R. Yorkshire, No. 1.

This version was written from the dictation of my wife's niece, born in this

neighbourhood, who remembered learning it from her nurse, and who gave it to me as a Yorkshire sheepscoring and a puzzle to write phonetically.

1 *yaan·*	6 *saa·jis*	11 *yaan uboo·n*	16 *yaan ugeeŭn*
2 *taiŭn*	7 *laa·jis*	12 *tain uboo·n*	17 *tain ugeeŭn*
3 *tedh·uru*	8 *sao·vu*	13 *tedh·ur uboo·n*	18 *tedh·ur ugeeŭn*
4 *medh·uru*	9 *dao·vu*	14 *medh·ur uboo·n*	19 *medh·ur ugeeŭn*
5 *pimp*	10 *dik*	15 *jig·it*	20 *gin ugeeŭn*

This was one of the two first which I published in 1867. But the recollection of my wife's niece was very imperfect. C 2 & 3 give the nurse's own account, which restores the order and makes everything clear.

* C 2. Marrick, Swaledale, N. R. Yorkshire, No. 2.

My wife's niece having inquired of her old nurse, Alice Wagget, of Marrick, in 1871 obtained this and the following two versions, not one of which exactly agrees with her own recollection, C 1. The present version is due to Alice Wagget's cousin, who "had learned it when a boy, but did not know what it meant."

1 yan	6 sargus	11 yan a dick	16 yan a boon
2 taen	7 largus	12 taen a dick	17 taen a boon
3 tethera	8 sovas	13 tethera dick	18 tethera boon
4 methera	9 dovas	14 methera dick	19 methera boon
5 pimp	10 dick	15 pumfit	20 ghin a gaen

* C 3. Marrick, Swaledale, N. R. Yorkshire, No. 3.

This was sent by her old nurse to my wife's niece. It is written twice over, the second spelling being thought "more correct." The authority was John Shaw, of the Crook Farm, who was taught by his mother when a boy, and was told by her that it was the way the Scotch shepherds counted their sheep. The sender (see C 2) says, "The above is all that we remember relative to Scotch counting." The version is incomplete, and evidently 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, were forgotten, and the names for 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, given to them. It is clear that the real order is 11 yandik, 12 taen dik, 13 tethera dik, 14 methera dik, 15 bumfit, bun or boon (see C 2), 16 yan a boon, 17 taen a boon, 18 tethera boon, 19 methera boon, 20 sherik.

1 yan	6 sesa	11 yan a bun	16	—
yan	ceasa	yan a boon		—
2 tean	7 sara	12 tean a bun	17	—
taen	sala, sara	taen a boon		—
3 tethera	8 cathera	13 tethera bun	18	—
tethera	cathera	tethera boon		—
4 methera	9 cona	14 methera bun	19	—
methera	cona	methera boon		—
5 mick	10 dick	15 sherick	20	—
mik	dik	sherik		—

* C 4. Spennithorne, Wensleydale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Sent by my sister-in-law, who had learned it when a child from servants, and was quite clear that she remembered them as they were taught her. The orthography is her own, the final *a* or *ă* was said to be "pronounced short," probably as in *China*. The variants *horna*, *bumfit*, were furnished by my wife, to whom are due the variants given in the versions I published in 1867. My wife had heard

it from her father's sister, Mrs. Timothy Hutton, Clifton Castle, near Masham, Bedale, N. R. Yorkshire (now deceased), who had probably learned it at Spennithorne, where she resided as a child. The 4 etherǎ is probably an error for metherǎ or petherǎ.

1 yan	6 seeza	11 yan dick	16 yan bum
2 taen	7 rāra	12 taen dick	17 taen bum
3 tetherǎ	8 cottera	13 tether dick	18 tether bum
4 etherǎ	9 ohna (horna)	14 ether dick	19 ether bum
5 pip	10 dick	15 bumfot (bumfit)	20 jigget

* C 5. Middleton, Teesdale, S. Durham.

Obtained by the Rev. W. R. Bell (see A 4), from a youth who learnt it from his grandmother, a person of about 80, now living at Middleton.

1 yan	6 sezar	11 yan-a-dik	16 yan-a-bum
2 tean	7 azar	12 tean-a-dik	17 tean-a-bum
3 tether	8 catrah	13 tether-a-dik	18 tether-a-bum
4 mether	9 horna	14 mether-a-dik	19 mether-a-bum
5 pip	10 dik	15 bumfit	20 jiggit

Mr. Bell's Schoolmaster, Mr. Is. Robinson, whose home is in the forest of Teesdale, heard a version from a Scotchman, who was formerly shepherd on Micklefell, which differs from the above only in: 3 tetherma, 4 metherma, 9 horum.

* C 6. Lunedale Head, N. R. Yorkshire.

Obtained in 1876 by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, of the Government Geological Survey, from some old people there, who could not recollect more. Put into approximate Glossic from the original very accurate palaeotype.

1 *yaan*	6 *dhu seez*	11 *yaan u dik*	16
2 *tyaan*	7 *dhu laïr*	12 *tyaan u dik*	17
3 *tedh·urum*	8 *dhu kaat·uru*	13 *tedh·uru dik*	18
4 *edh·urum*	9 *dhu hau·ni*	14 *medh·uru dik*	19
5 *pip*	10 *dik*	15 *buom·fuoŭt*	20

Probably 4 *edh·urum* is a mistake for *medh·urum*, as this appears in 14.

* C 7. Stamford Bridge, E. R. Yorkshire.

This imperfect version was given me by a lady and gentleman (a nephew and niece of my wife's brother-in-law) as having been told them by their nurse as "something funny." They had never heard more. I follow the gentleman's orthography.

1 yan	6 ăsy
2 tyan	7 kăsy
3 tĕthĕry	8 cătĕry
4 mĕthĕry	9 corny
5 pipsy	10 dic

* C 8. South-Holme, near Malton, N. R. Yorkshire.

Dictated by George Hick, Esq., of Leeds, who heard it from his housemaid, who again had been taught it by her younger sister, who in turn had learned it from her grandfather at South-Holme, who himself said that when he was a boy the old farmers used it for counting their sheep.

1 *yaan*	6 *hai·turi*	11 *yaan· dik*	16 *yaan· bum·fit*
2 *taan teeĕn*	7 *slai·turi*	12 *teeĕn dik*	17 *teeĕ bum·fit*
3 *tedh·uri*	8 *haw·ni*	13 *tedh·u dik*	18 *tedh·u bum·fit*
4 *nedh·uri*	9 *kaw·ni*	14 *nedh·u dik*	19 *nedh u bum·fit*
5 *pip*	10 *dik*	15 *bum·fit*	20 —

4 *nedh·uri* is probably a mistake for *medh·uri*.

† C 9. Coniston, High Furness, North Lancashire.

Communicated in MS. by the Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, Coniston, as the recollection by Mrs. Ellwood of what she was taught as a little girl to count on her fingers, by her mother, the wife of a considerable landowner and sheep farmer in Coniston, subsequently printed in the *Barrow Times*, 25 Aug. 1877, and in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, 1878, from which last editions this version has been corrected. Mr. Ellwood adds: "These numerals have been known at Coniston from time immemorial."

1 yan	6 haata	11 yan-a-dik	16 yan-a-mimp
2 taen	7 slaata	12 taen a-dik	17 taen-a-mimp
3 tedderte	8 lowra	13 tedder-a-dick	18 tedder-a-mimp
4 medderte	9 dowra	14 medder-a-dick	19 medder-a-mimp
5 pimp	10 dick	15 mimph	20 gigget

†† C 10. Borrowdale, Keswick, Cumberland.

Obtained from W. Browne, Esq., of Tallentire Hall, Cockermouth, and communicated to Rev. T. Ellwood at the meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc., at Furness Abbey, 24 Aug. 1877, and first published in the *Barrow Times* of 25 Aug. 1877, and subsequently in the Transactions of the Society, from which edition the present version has been corrected. Mr. Browne says: "I got this list of numerals when I was a boy (I am now about 68 years old), from my cousins the Ponsonbys, at the time that Captain Ponsonby was residing at Barrow Hall, close to the entrance of Borrowdale. It is just 60 years since this list of numerals was got from the shepherds of Borrowdale, as being then used by them—considering the retired character of the vale at that time, and the slowness of the people to take up anything new, and their small intercourse with others, from whom they could learn them,—I think there is an absolute certainty that they must have been in use there *very long* before A.D. 1818."

1 yan	6 sethera	11 yan-a-dick	16 yan-a-bumfit
2 tyan	7 lethera	12 tyan-a-dick	17 tyan-a-bumfit
3 tethera	8 hovera	13 tether-a-dick	18 tether-a-bumfit
4 methera	9 dovera	14 mether-a-dick	19 mether-a-bumfit
5 pimp	10 dick	15 bumfit	20 giggot

In the version in the *Barrow Times*, bumfit in 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, appears as mimph. The substitution of *bumfit* was made by Mr. Browne after consulting with some relations, who had also known the numerals from childhood.

* C 11. Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland.

Transliterated into Glossic from the palaeotype of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, who wrote it from the dictation of Mr. W. H. Thompson, of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, where it is called *Gaelic*.

1 *yaan·*	6 *haĭ·tes*	11 *yaan·edik*	16 *yaan·eboon (buom)*
2 *tyaan·*	7 *saĭ·tes*	12 *tyaan·edik*	17 *tyaan·eboon (buom)*
3 *taed'·ere*	8 *hao·ves*	13 *taed'·eredik*	18 *taed'·ereboon (buom)*
4 *maed'·ere* *med'·ere*	9 *dao·ves*	14 *maed'·eredik*	19 *maed'·ereboon (buom)*
5 *mimp* *mimhp*	10 *dik*	15 *boon buom buum*	20 *buom·fit buum·fit*

* C 12. Woodhall, Wensleydale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated by the Rev. Matthew Wood, residing at Settle in 1872 (but a native of Woodhall), taken down by his cousin (the Rev. Richard Wood, incumbent of Askrigg, in Wensleydale, who lived at Woodhall) from the mouth of Mrs. Knowles, who kept the village inn, and died 1845; she knitted much, and used this system for counting her loops in knitting. Mr. M. Wood thinks it very improbable that this scoring was used only by her, but says that it is certainly now extinct.

1 yan	6 hitter	11 yan-dick	16 ane-a-mimphit
2 tean	7 litter	12 tean-dick	17 tane-a-mimphit
3 tithera	8 over	13 tither-dick	18 tither-a-mimphit
4 mithera	9 dover	14 mither-dick	19 mither-a-mimphit
5 mimph	10 dick	15 mimphit	20 jiggit

* C 13. Reeth, Swaledale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Obtained by Mr. C. Clough Robinson (author of the Mid-Yorkshire Glossary, published by the English Dialect Society in 1876) and sent in Glossic.

1 *yaan·*	6 *deŭ·tus*	11 *yaan u dik*	16 *yaan u buom·fit*
2 *tiŭn*	7 *leŭ·tus*	12 *tiŭn u dik*	17 *tiŭn u buom·fit*
3 *tedh·uru*	8 *ov·uru*	13 *tedh·ur u dik*	18 *tedh·ur u buom·fit*
4 *medh·uru*	9 *dov·uru*	14 *medh·ur u dik*	19 *medh·ur u buom·fit*
5 *pimp*	10 *dik*	15 *buom·fit*	20 *giŭ·giŭt*

The late Captain Harland, of Reeth, close by Marrick, where he had resided for very many years, the author of the "Glossary of Words used in Swaledale, Yorkshire," published by the English Dialect Society in 1873, wrote to me on 16th March, 1870, that he had never heard any of the names in my list for Swaledale, and thought that the lady who gave me the version C 1 must have made a mistake. The only numerals he knew were the usual set, which in Swaledale speech he wrote thus:

1 yan	6 sex	11 l'yavn lee-avn	16 sexteen
2 twee-ah tw'yah	7 seeav'n s'yavn	12 twolve	17 simteen seeavnteen
3 three	8 eight	13 thirteen	18 eighteen
4 fow'r	9 neen	14 fowteen	19 ninteen
5 five	10 ten	15 fifteen	20 twonty.

Though this list has nothing to do with our Score, the forms 9 neen, 19 ninteen, 14 fowteen, 17 simteen, are worth notice; while the fact that the collector of terms for a glossary in this neighbourhood should have failed to hear the peculiar list given above, serves to shew how easily such terms are overlooked. The Rector of Marske, Swaledale, who had lived there many years, and another old resident near Richmond, Swaledale, had also never heard of this Score.

† C 14. Eskdale, Cumberland, near foot of Scawfell.

Communicated to the Rev. T. Ellwood by Dr. Kendall, of Coniston, who obtained it from a servant that had brought it with him from Eskdale, whence he came. The present edition has been corrected from the Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. Soc. 1878, where Mr. Ellwood adds: "As received from the servant the numbers 11 to 14 were yaen-a-pimp, etc., which really represents the numbers 6, 7, etc. The exact order has evidently become confused at that point."

1 yaena	6 hofa	11 yaen-a-dec	16 yaen-a-bumfit
2 taena	7 lofa	12 taen-a-dec	17 taen-a-bumfit
3 teddera	8 seckera	13 tedder-a-dec	18 tedder-a-bumfit
4 meddera	9 leckera	14 medder-a-dec	19 medder-a-bumfit
5 pimp	10 dec	15 bumfit	20 giggot

Here 6 & 7, and 8 & 9, are apparently transposed, at least analogy would require, 6 seckera, 7 leckera, 8 hofa, 9 lofa. The first version communicated to me has dec in 10 to 14, bumfite in 15 to 19, and gigget for 20. The corrections were made by Dr. Kendall after consultation with friends who also knew the Score.

† C 15. Knaresborough, W. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated in MS. by Rev. T. Ellwood, who received it from W. F. Hunter, Esq., 1, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, who stated that it was taught him when a child by his nurse maid, a native of Knaresborough, in Yorkshire. Mr. Hunter says that he has never heard of anything resembling this used in Scotland, but this may easily be the case, notwithstanding the Roxburghshire and Renfrewshire Versions, D 1 and D 2, without at all proving that it did not exist, compare note to C 13. The following is corrected by the copy in the Trans. Cum. and West. Ant. Soc. 1878.

1 yah	6 seezar	11 yah-dick	16 yah-de-bumper
2 tiah (one syllable)	7 leezar	12 tiah-dick	17 tiah-de-bumper
3 tethera	8 cattera	13 tether-a-dick	18 tether-de-bumber
4 methera	9 horna	14 mether-a-dick	19 nether-de-bumper
5 pip	10 dick	15 bumper	20 jigger

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me a Knaresborough version signed W. F. H. evidently from the same writer, in which he slightly varies the spelling, thus 2 tyah (one syllable), 6 cesar, 7 lesar, 12 tyahdick, 16 yahnabump, 17 tyahnabump, 18 tetherabump, 19 metherabump. This serves to show how easily variants are taken up.

‡‡ C 16. Westmorland.

The Rev. I. Taylor of Settrington has communicated to me a note from Mr. H. T. Crofton of 24 Dover Street, Manchester, referring to articles in *Notes and Queries* for 1871 (4 Ser. viii. 328, 424, 540, and ix. 86), where Rev. E. Leeton-Blenkinsopp of Springthorpe (near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire), in discussing *decker* and *dicker* (*ten* hides, and compare 10 *deckit* in D 2 below), says that 40 years previously (that is in 1831) a shepherd from Westmorland on Stanhope Moors, Weardale, Durham, scored sheep thus, correcting the misprints according to indications kindly sent to me in answer to inquiries by Mr. Leeton-Blenkinsopp himself.

1 yan	6 teezie	11 yan-a-dick	16 yan-a-bumford (yan-a-bum)
2 t'yan	7 leezie	12 t'yan-a-dick	17 t'yan-a-bumford
3 tetherie	8 katra	13 tetherie-dick	18 tetherie-bum
4 metherie	9 hornie	14 metherie-dick	19 metherie-bum
5 fip	10 dick	15 bumford	20 jiggot

CLASS D.

(1 zeendi, 2 teendi, 3 and 4 as in Class C), containing 2 versions.

* D 1. Roxburghshire, Scotland.

Communicated by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in palaeotype (here transliterated) as a boy's school method of "counting out."

1 *zeen·di*	6 *heet·uri*	11 *mu*	16	—
2 *teen·di*	7 *zeet·uri*	12 *dao·nul*	17	—
3 *taedh·eri*	8 *ao·ver*	13 *rahn·*	18	—
4 *muudh·eri*	9 *dao·ver*	14 *tahn·*	19	—
5 *baom·be*	10 *dek*	15 *toosh·*	20	—

Here only the first ten belong to our system.

† D 2. Renfrewshire, Scotland.

Communicated by Henry Muirhead, Esq., M.D., of Bushy Hill, Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, as a rhyming formula which half a century ago himself and the children in Pollokshawes, three miles south of Glasgow, a part of old Cambria, were in the habit of employing for "counting out." This is evidently identical with the former.

1 zaindie	6 a seater	[these are evidently
2 taindie	7 a heater	transposed.]
3 tether	8 a hover	
4 a mether	9 dover	
5 a bamf	10 deckit	

"Some rhymes," says Dr. Muirhead, "were apppended to this, but those I remember were not numerals, such as

Deckit out, deckit in
Deckit about the nevel pin."

CLASS E.

(1 and 2 as in Class A, 3 edera, 4 pedera), containing 2 versions.

* E 1. Greenhow Hill, Nidderdale, N. R. Yorkshire.

Obtained from a peasant woman, by a correspondent of Mr. C. Clough Robinson (see C 13), who was told that "a good many of the sheepkeepers know part of the numerals, but none seem to know the whole." It was not without much inquiry that Mr. Robinson's correspondent found one peasant woman who knew the whole. Communicated to me by Mr. Robinson in Glossic.

1 *yeŭn*	6 *sai·t'ur*, *seŭ·t'ur*	11 *yeŭn diks* *yeŭn uboo·n*	16 *yeŭn buom·fit*
2 *teŭn*	7 *lai·t'ur*, *leŭ·tur*	12 *teŭn diks* *teŭn uboo·n*	17 *teŭn buom·fit*
3 *ed'·uru*, *edh·uru*	8 *ov·uru*	13 *ed'·uru diks* *ed'·ur uboo·n*	18 *ed'·uru buom·fit*
4 *ped'·uru*, *pedh·uru*	9 *kov·uru*	14 *ped'·uru diks* *ped'·ur uboo·n*	19 *ped'·uru buom·fit*
5 *pips*	10 *diks*	15 *buom·fit*	20 *chik·it jig·it*

† E 2. Ashgill Head, Teesdale, Durham.

From Ashgill Head, near High Fort, on the Tees, used 20 years ago. Communicated by C. T. Clough, Esq., H.M. Geol. Survey, Moor Houses, Garrigill, Carlisle, his own orthography.

1 yan	6 azer
2 tein	7 razer
3 piderim	8 caterom
4 edderim	9 horum
5 pip	10 dik

It seems probable that 3 & 4 are transposed, and that we should read 3 edderin, 4 piderin. In 6 & 7 the letter may have been intended for *y* by the writer, but it looks more like *z* with a tail, and this agrees better with other versions.

CLASS F.

(1 eina, 2 teina, 3 tethery, 4 fethery), containing 15 versions.

†† F 1. Culgaith, near Penrith, Cumberland.

Communicated by Mrs. Anderson, of Winderwath (near Penrith, Cumberland), on 7 March, 1878, as having been given her by Mrs. Powley, who forty years previously used it in children's games, while living at Culgaith (also near Penrith, Cumberland), where old people spoke of it as having been probably left in the village by Highland drovers, who from time immemorial had driven Highland cattle to the great Brough hill fairs in Westmorland and to Barnet and other great fairs in the South, and had halted here for rest. (See Mr. Ferguson's note on the Gaelic numerals, I. 4.) A gentleman at Kirkby Thore in Westmorland, three miles distant from Culgaith, and likewise on the great Highland drove road, also remembered it in school games fifty years ago, but though recognising it when heard, he could not repeat it.

1 iny	6 ither	11 iny dix	16 iny bumfit
2 tiny	7 lather	12 tiny dix	17 tiny bumfit
3 tethery	8 cother	13 tethery dix	18 tethery bumfit
4 fethery	9 quather	14 fethery dix	19 fethery bumfit
5 phips	10 dix	15 bumfit	20 jiggit

This version was also communicated to the *Athenæum*, 22 Sep. 1877 (No. 2604, p. 371, col. 3), by Prof. J. O. Westwood, of Oxford, as having been heard 60 years ago in South Yorkshire or Staffordshire, probably the former. Into either of these places it was most likely imported.

† F 2. Epping, Essex.

Obtained forty-two years ago by A. Harris, Esq., from an old lady at Epping, Essex, and communicated to me by Rev. T. Ellwood, who obtained it from R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle, editor of the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, from which this version has been corrected. The old lady was probably of Northern extraction.

1 in	6 lethera	11 in-dick	16 in-a-bumfit
2 tin	7 methera	12 tin-dick	17 tin-a-bumfit
3 tethera	8 co	13 tethera-dick	18 lether-a-bumfit
4 fethera	9 debbera	14 lethera-dick	19 mether-a-bumfit
5 fip	10 dick	15 bumfit	20 gigot

It is evident that 7 methera is wrong, for methera is used as 4 in 19 *mether-a-bumfit*, and is the usual word for 4. There is also a mistake in 6 lethera, for it is used as 4 in 14 *lether-a-dick*, and 3 in 18 *lether-a-bumfit*. I am inclined to suppose that the correct version is 6 *sethera*, 7 *lethera*, 14 *fethera dick*, 18 *tethera bumfit*, 19 *fethera bumfit*; at least, this would best harmonise with the rest.

* F 3. Holtby, near York, N. R. Yorkshire.

As recollected by Mr. C. Clough Robinson (see C 13), and sent in Glossic.

1 *eŭn*	6 *sef·ru*	11 *eŭn dik*	16 *eŭn buom·kin*
2 *teŭn*	7 *lef·ru*	12 *teŭn dik*	17 *teŭn buom·kin*
3 *tedh·u*	8 *koaw*	13 *tedh·u dik*	18 *tedh·u buom·kin*
4 *fedh·u*	9 *def·ru*	14 *fedh·u dik*	19 *fedh·u buom·kin*
5 *fimp*	10 *dik*	15 *buom·kin*	20 *jid·lits jib·lits*

* F 4. Vermont, U.S. Indian (?).

Written in Glossic by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., from the dictation of two gentlemen of the same place (the elder 55 in 1871), sons of a Baptist minister, educated near Boston, and settled near Windsor, Vermont, now deceased, who taught it them in their childhood as Indian. Dr. Trumbull took the words down from them separately, and they precisely agreed, except for 6 and 8, where the younger brother's words are given in a parenthesis. He is, however, inclined to think that they were called "Indian" simply because no other probable origin could be ascribed to them. This version Dr. Trumbull subsequently sent to the *Athenæum*, 24 Nov. 1877 (No. 2613, p. 662, col. 3). They were first communicated to me in MS. and in Glossic spelling on 27 June 1871. On the 5 April 1871, Dr. Trumbull had already sent me the same version, given to him by a gentleman of Hartford (evidently one of the two above named), as having been received twenty-five or thirty years previously from his uncle, a physician, who formerly lived in Vermont, as "the Indian way of counting." On inquiring of the physician, it was found that he knew nothing about the Score, but on making inquiries *after* the receipt of Dr. Trumbull's letter, he obtained the version F 5.

1 *ee·ni*	6 *sai·dher* (*hai·dher*)	11 *ee·n dik*	16	—
2 *tee·ni*	7 *tai·dher*	12 *tee·n dik*	17	—
3 *tudh·eri*	8 *koa·dher* (*kwoa·dher*)	13 *tudh·er dik*	18	—
4 *fedh·eri*	9 *dai·dher*	14 *fedh·er dik*	19	—
5 *fip*	10 *dik*	15 *bum·pit*	20 *jig·it*	

* F 5. Rhode Island, U.S. Indian (?).

Communicated to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull (see F 4) by a lady, a native of Rhode Island, as having been taught her when a child by her mother, who lived near the Narraganset Indians there, as 'Indian.' The orthography is that of the lady herself. 'Ene, tene,' are each said to be of one syllable, and 'g' to be hard in 'geget.' Whether '-ige' in bumtige is *ig* or *ij* was not stated. Dr. Trumbull was inclined to think that these sounds were called Indian simply because they were unknown, but it will be seen in F 6 that he has direct evidence

of a similar system of counting having been used by an Indian squaw of a related tribe. Mr. Spurrell, the well-known author of a Welsh and English Dictionary, remarks that Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams, a native of Carmarthen, North Wales.

Mr. Leland (see I. 6, Gypsy) writes, 20 June, 1876, "I am *very positive* that the numerals given as from Maine, Massachusetts (F 9), and Rhode Island (F 5), are *not Indian* at all. They were probably derived from the early settlers, who only knowing that they were not English called them Indian. Certainly there must be Penobscot and Algonquin numerals extant. There are plenty of living Indians who use the same as those known of old to their forefathers." In the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1874 Dr. Trumbull published a paper on "Numerals in American Indian Languages and the Indian mode of counting." None of the numerals there given in the slightest degree resemble these, either in sound or structure. There is no doubt of the *importation*. The questions are how and when? and indeed whether these numerals were ever really used by Indians at all, to whom they are certainly attributed in the United States themselves. See note to F 6.

1 ene	6 satha	11 ene-dik	16 ene-bumptige
2 tene	7 lala	12 tene-dik	17 tene-bumptige
3 tether	8 cather	13 tether-dik	18 tether-bumptige
4 fether	9 —	14 fether-dik	19 fether-bumptige
5 pip	10 dik	15 bumpet	20 geget

This version continues thus—
21 geget-ene, 22 geget-tene, 23 geget-tether, 24 geget-fether, 25 geget pip.

† F 6. Hebron, Connecticut, U.S. Indian (?).

Written in Glossic by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, from the dictation of a gentleman of Hartford, Connecticut (about sixty years old in 1874), who had been taught the scoring when a child by an old Indian woman who used to come to his father's house in Hebron, Connecticut (about 20 miles S.E. of Hartford), to sell baskets, brooms, etc. "She must have been," says Dr. Trumbull, "a Narragansett, Piquot, or Mohegan squaw. The remnants of these tribes," he adds, "had reservations of land, the Narragansetts in Rhode Island, the Piquots and Mohegans in Connecticut, about 25 miles from Hebron. The women used to stroll about the country, gipsylike, selling articles of their own manufacture." In reference to this version, Dr. Trumbull writes to me, 18 July 1874: "For the first time I have direct and positive testimony that these scorings were used by Indians of New England. My impression, heretofore, was that—like many other strange words—they were *attributed* to the Indians by those who had learned them in childhood, without suspecting their true origin. I am now inclined to believe that the Indians who lived near the sea-coast learned them from the English at the beginning of the English colonization, and used them afterwards in their dealings with the colonists."

1 *een*	6 *sat*	11 *ee·ndik*	16 *ee·n bungk·i*
2 *teen*	7 *lat·ta* (? *lat·tur*)	12 *tee·ndik*	17 *tee·n bungk·i*
3 *tudh·ur*	8 *poal*	13 *tudh·ur dik*	18 *tudh·ur bungk·i*
4 *fedh·ur*	9 *def·ri*	14 *fedh·ur dik*	19 *fedh·ur bungk·i*
5 *pip*	10 *dik*	15 *bungk·i*	20 *gig·it*

† F 7. New Hampshire, U.S. Indian (?).

In a novel called "Scrope, or the Lost Library," by Frederic R. Perkins, Boston, 1874, p. 161, a German professor expresses an interest in Indian philology. A young gentleman from New England, meeting the professor at an evening party in New York, offers to teach him the "Popatomcock numeration table," and "solemnly recited the following mysterious list, sometimes taught to young persons in New England." As this Mr. Perkins was an old schoolmate of Dr. Trumbull, that gentleman wrote at once for further information, and was told in reply that the "Popatomcocks" were of course "purely mythical," but, Mr. Perkins wrote, "the numerals were recited to me by a New Hampshire woman, a very intelligent person, in New York, who said her grandmother taught them to her, and who reported them to be Indian, as supposed by the grandmother. I wrote the words from her reciting," adds Mr. Perkins, "and read them over to her." The orthography is that in the novel.

1 een	6 sayther	11 een dix	16 een bump
2 teen	7 layther	12 teen dix	17 teen bump
3 tuthery	8 co	13 tuther dix	18 tuther bump
4 futhery	9 jeffrey	14 futher dix	19 futher bump
5 pip	10 dix	15 bump	20 giggets

† F 8. Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S. Indian (?).

The following version was communicated to me 15 February, 1875, by Mr. H. Jenner, of the British Museum, who had heard it that day from Mr. E. A. Guy, from Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S., who was visiting the Museum. Mr. Guy stated that he had been taught them when a child by his mother, a native of the same place, who told him that they were the same numbers as those used by the Indian hunters, and that she had learned them from white hunters and trappers, who had come in from the forests. He stated that he had never met with any one else (except his own brothers) who knew them, and that they were said to be used by the Miami Indians, a now extinct tribe formerly living in the South of Ohio. Dr. Trumbull, to whom I forwarded this information, says that the Miami Indians were Algonkins, and could not have used the scoring in this form, because they can end a word only in a vowel or aspirate, thus they could not have ended in simple "dick," but must have gone on to "dick-a" or "dick-ou." "So," says Dr. Trumbull, "I am convinced that this scoring travelled from East to West, through, possibly, two or three lines of descent,—a grandfather or grandmother, perhaps, from Connecticut or Maine, if not the father or mother of the informant." The orthography is that of Mr. Jenner, *feather* as in English.

1 een	6 soter	11 een dick	16 een bumteg
2 teen	7 loter	12 teen dick	17 teen bumteg
3 t'other	8 poter	13 t'other dick	18 t'other bumteg
4 feather	9 debber	14 feather dick	19 feather bumteg
5 fib	10 dick	15 fib dick	20 un-ick

* F 9. Maine, U.S. Wawenoc Indian (?).

Sent by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., who took them from the *Historical Magazine*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 179 (New York, March, 1868), and who received them also in a private letter from the late Rev. Edward Ballard, D.D., Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, by whom

they were communicated to the above Magazine, under the signature *Brunovicus*, indicating that he came from Brunswick, Maine. Dr. Ballard says, that "the gentleman [R. K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset] who gave our Historical Society a brief description of this tribe, stated in his paper, that 'there had been preserved a clear traditionary record of the sounds embodied in their system of numeration, extant as early as A.D. 1717, well understood and often used by aged white men of that day, who had been long resident on the Sheepscot waters [in the Wawenoc territory] and on terms of intimacy with the surviving natives," and this information, as Dr. Ballard told Dr. Trumbull, was "given by a worthy man, now (July, 1868) in his 81st year." Wawenoc, which, as Dr. Trumbull informs me, he has been told to call *Wauwee'nok*, is the name of a place, whence the anglicised plural Wawenocs is used for the tribe, which, he says, were "a band of the Abnaki nation, and their territory is said to have extended from Sagadahock (the mouth of the Kennebee River) eastward to Muscongas River, along the coast of Maine, including the peninsula of Pennaquid, now in Lincoln County, Maine. Only two or three families of this tribe were living in 1747, and a few years later these removed to Canada, to join the Abnaki settlement begun at St. François and Becancourt." Dr. Trumbull does not find the Wawenocs "mentioned as a distinct tribe after 1750. They are referred to by an historian of Maine, in 1804, *as extinct*." Dr. J. G. Kohl, in his "History of the Discovery of Maine," in series 2, vol. i. of the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (Portland, Maine, 1869), on p. 91, says (as Dr. Trumbull informs me): "Also among the Wawenoc Indians of Maine, near Pennaquid, certain numerals have been handed down by tradition, bearing a resemblance to the Icelandic, which may have been derived by them in their barter with the Northern strangers." Dr. Ballard informed Dr. Trumbull that Mr. Kohl relied on the words 1 *eyn*, 4 *fiorde*, 5 *fim*, which are usually spelled 1 *einn*, 4 *fjögur*, *fjórir*, *fjórar*, 5 *fimm*; but on comparing the whole Norse numeral system, it will be found that there is not so much resemblance as between Norse and Welsh. As Dr. Trumbull correctly observes: "If these numerals were in common use by the Wawenocs in the XVIIIth century, it is more probable that they borrowed them from English sailors or colonists after 1607 than that they learned them from Thorfinn in the beginning of the XIth century, or from Madoc and his companions in the XIIth." Notwithstanding the evidence that this system of counting was used by some of the Wawenoc Indians in their dealings with the English colonists, Dr. Trumbull doubts whether it was ever used by the Indians among themselves, as there is such a tendency among Americans to call every unknown word "Indian." See also Dr. Trumbull's letter in the *Athenæum*, 24 November, 1877, No. 2613, p. 662, to which he contributed this version.

1 een	6 een-pimp	11 een-gleeget	16 een-bumfra
2 teen	7 teen-pimp	12 teen-gleeget	17 teen-bumfra
3 tother	8 tother-pimp	13 tother-gleeget	18 tother-bumfra
4 fither	9 fither-pimp	14 fither-gleeget	19 fither-bumfra
5 pimp	10 glee-get	15 bumfra	20 frith-en-y

† F 10. Westfield, Massachusetts, U.S. Indian (?).

Communicated on 19 Nov. 1877, by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, who took the words down in Glossic from the mouth of Rev. Henry James (æt. 76), of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who had learned them from his grandmother, born

about 1745, who learned it in her childhood in Westfield, Massachusetts, and believed it to be "the Indian mode of counting."

1 *een*	6 *sai·dhi*	11 *een-dik*	16 *een-bumpit*
2 *teen*	7 *lai·dhi*	12 *teen-dik*	17 *teen-bumpit*
3 *tudh·ĕri*	8 *koa*	13 *tudh·ri-dik*	18 *tudh·eri-bumpit*
4 *sedh·eri*	9 *def·ri*	14 *teth·eri-dik*	19 *sedh·eri-bumpit*
5 *fip*	10 *dik*	15 *bum·pit*	20 *gig·it*

†† F 11. Huddersfield, W. R. Yorkshire.

Communicated to the *Athenæum* of 29 Sept. 1877 (No. 2605, p. 402), by Mr. Bradley, of Sheffield, as having been repeated to him by a friend about a year ago. The words in ( ) are Mr. Bradley's impression of the words his friend used then, but the other words are what his friend is firmly convinced he said. This discrepancy is of value as shewing how easily a vowel may be subjoined or consonant prefixed or altered when strange sounds are communicated orally and remembered without being immediately fixed and verified in writing. The same fate has doubtless befallen many versions. All Mr. Bradley's friend knew was "that, some 40 years since, an old soldier, living in a village near Huddersfield, used to teach them to the children, pretending that he had learned them in the course of his wonderful travels in foreign parts."

1 ee (eena)	6 sayta	11 eeäna dick	16 eeäna bumfit
2 tee (deena)	7 ayta	12 teeäna dick	17 teeäna bumfit
3 tethera	8 avera (navera)	13 tethera dick	18 tethera bumfit
4 fethera	9 cavera	14 fethera dick	19 fethera bumfit
5 fips	10 dicks	15 bumfit	20 giggit (*g* hard)

‡ F 12. South-west Border of W. R. Yorkshire.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me a letter from Mr. M. Rawlings, of Parnell, Auckland, New Zealand (18 Dec. 1877), which contains the following version learnt from an elder brother thirty-five or forty years ago, when residing in the above-named district. His brother called the Score Welsh, but he himself always considered it as mere jargon. It strongly resembles the American set F 4 to 10, and also the preceding F 11. The *bŭm* is presumably [*buom*].

1 hĕnā	6 sāter	11 hena dix	16 hena bumfet
2 tĕnā	7 lāter	12 tena dix	17 tena bumfet
3 tĕthĕrā	8 hŏvĕrā	13 tethera dix	18 tethera bumfet
4 fĕthĕrā	9 gŏvĕrā	14 fethera dix	19 fethera bumfet
5 fips	10 dix	15 būmfĕt	20 jĭggĕt

‡ F 13. Penketh, Warrington, S. Lancashire.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me a version from Mr. H. Ellis, Avenue Road, Leicester, which his mother heard, at least 80 years ago, probably between 1786 and 1796, from her grandfather, who came from Penketh and said he learnt it from the drovers who thought they were Welsh numerals.

1 ean	6 āter	11 ean dick	16 ean bumfit
2 tean	7 slater	12 tean dick	17 tean bumfit
3 tethera	8 corler	13 tether dick	18 tether bumfit
4 fethera (veathera)	9 debera	14 fether dick	19 fether bumfit
5 fip	10 dick	15 bumfit	20 jiget

Mr. H. Ellis says that his father's family, who came from South East of Yorkshire, also learnt these or a similar set, but that their pronunciation was different, and he instances the variants 15 *bomfit*, 20 *giglet*.

‡ F 14. Surrey and Sussex.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated to me a letter from a lady at Worthing containing the following version which she had heard from a lady more than fifty years old in 1844, who as a child (say about 1800) used to hear the Welsh drovers bringing cattle from the West Country Fairs into Surrey and Sussex, count out the droves of oxen through the gate of a meadow below her seat of observation in this way.

1 ein	6 shavera	11 ein dick	16 eina bumty
2 tein	7 lackera	12 tein dick	17 teina bumty
3 tuthera	8 ko	13 tuthera dick	18 tuthera bumty
4 futhera	9 debera	14 futhera dick	19 futhera bumty
5 fim	10 dick	15 bumty	20 gigget (g hard)

It is highly probable that the drovers heard by the lady were not Welshmen. See note to I. 1, at end. See also B 8, where the numerals were mistaken for Dutch.

‡ F 15. Whitby, N. R. Yorkshire.

The Rev. I. Taylor has communicated the following to me, as sent to him by Mr. Rob. T. Gaskin of Whitby, who states that it is a version known in his neighbourhood.

1 e'ean	6 saitera	11 e'ean-dick	16 e'ean-bumfit
2 te'ean	7 laitera	12 te'ean-dick	17 te'ean-bumfit
3 tethery	8 cauvera	13 tethery-dick	18 tethery-bumfit
4 fethery	9 dabbera	14 fethery-dick	19 fethery-bumfit
5 phips	10 dick	15 bumfit	20 jigglit

CLASS G

(1 & 2 as in Class C, but 3 & 4 as in Class F), containing 2 versions.

* G 1. Leeds, W. R. Yorkshire.

This was dictated to me by Mr. George Hick (see C 8) as his father's recollection of what he was accustomed to repeat along with other boys in Leeds, probably at school, as mere gibberish.

1 *yaan*	6 *ai·tu*	11 *ee·n dik*	16 *ee·nu bum·fik*
2 *taan*	7 *slai·tu*	12 *tee·n dik*	17 *tee·nu bum·fik*
3 *tedh·uru*	8 *ov·uru*	13 *tedh·u dik*	18 *tedh·uru bum·fik*
4 *fedh·uru*	9 *kov·uru*	14 *fedh·u dik*	19 *fedh·uru bum·fik*
5 *fip*	10 *dik*	15 *bum·fik*	20 *jig·it*

† G 2. East Lincolnshire.

Communicated by Mr. E. R. Hornton, of University College School, London, as remembered by two ladies of his family to have been used some 55 years ago, during their childhood, in playing children's games in East Lincolnshire. One of them thinks that the task of repeating the numbers correctly used to be imposed as a "forfeit."

1 yan	6 aisha	11 yana dix	16 yana bumpkin
2 tan	7 lowsha	12 tana dix	17 tana bumpkin
3 tethery	8 cuttery	13 tethery dix	18 tethery bumpkin
4 fethery	9 owsha	14 fethery dix	19 fethery bumpkin
5 fips	10 dix	15 bumpkin	20 twidix

Note, *ai* in *aisha* has the sound of long *i* or [*aay*].

CLASS H

(almost completely anglicised), containing 2 versions.

* H 1. Helmealey Blackmoor, N. R. Yorkshire.

This is as much as Mr. Samuel Waymouth, of the College of Preceptors, could recollect of what he heard from a farmer there counting sheep. Mr. Waymouth had been attempting to count the sheep himself, but failed from want of practice, whereupon the farmer told him to send them back into the field, and began counting them himself, in the following manner. Written in Glossic from Mr. Waymouth's dictation. On application to a resident landowner at Helmealey Blackmoor, I found that nothing was known of these curious forms. See note to C 13.

1 *yaan·*	6 *uyoo·nu*	11	16 *yaan· buom·ft*
2 *daan·*	7	12	17
3 *umidh·u*	8	13	18 *nidh·ur buom·ft*
4 *udidh·u*	9 *ukau·nu*	14	19
5 *upip·*	10 *udik*	15 *buom·ft*	20

† H 2. Wasdale Head, Cumberland.

Given to Mr. Ellwood from Mr. Ritson, who promised a more complete version but died without having sent it.

1 yen
2 taen
3 tudder
4 anudder
5 nimph

Evidently inaccurate as well as incomplete.

CLASS K. "Countings-Out."

K 1. Communicated by Mr. A. J. Hipkins. It seems to contain 1 eena, 2 deena, 8 cattala of the Score. Mr. Hipkins says he learned it when a child in Westminster, and that the lines are so universally well known in the west of London that probably any child in Kensington Road could repeat them. See observations at the end of this class.

Eena deenă [deină] dūs
cattălă wheelă [weela] wheila [weila] wūs
spit spot must be done
twiddleum twaddleum twenty one
O. U. T. spells out
a rotūn dotūn dirty dishclout
now all you boys and girls
are fairly push-ed out.

The Rev. I. Taylor informs me that Mr. Thomas Browne, of 12, Moorgate Street, varies the second line thus:

Kethera, wiela, weina, wus

and alters the two last lines into

One out, two out, three out
Ont goes he (*or* she).

and Mr. J. W. Evans (I. 1) has:

One dead, two dead, three dead.

K 2. Two students in Whiteland's National School Training College, Chelsea, told me on 5 Dec. 1877, that at Cuckfield and Eastbourne all the children knew this in the following form, which runs correctly in fours.

Eena deena dīna dust
kakla weela wīla wust
spit, spat, mus' be done,
tweedlum twoddlum, twenty one.

Observe the variant *kakla* for *cattala*. *Dīna wīla* were pronounced [*dei·nu, wei·lu*]. I have subsequently found many others who knew it.

K 3. Halliwell (Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, p. 135) gives a different version:

Igdum, digdum, didum, dest,
Cot-lo, we-lo, wi-lo, west;
Cot-pan, must be done,
Twiddledum, twaddledum, twenty-one!

Adding the lines, apparently as a different version—

K 4. Hytum, skytum
Perridi styxum
Perriwerri wyxum
A bomun D.

Here hytum skytum remind one of 6 haata, 7 slaata, in C 9, to the extent, at least, of being formed on the same analogy.

K 5. Mrs. Atkinson (see F 1) says she remembers a rhyme very similar to K 4, used at Langwathby, near Culgaith, Cumberland, which ran thus:

Hytum, pytum, peni, pye,
Popul, orum, jiggum, jye,
Stand thee oot bye.

Mrs. Powley reads *eetum*, *peetum*. Observe *orum* and *jiggum*, the last for the common 20 *jiggit*, and the other for 9 *horna* C 4, 5, *hōra* B 5, *ōra* B 4, *horom* E 2. *Peni*, *pye* seem to be "penny pye," and *popul orum*, may be *populorum* in Latin, which with jiggum reminds me of a school game called "High cockulorum jig, one, two, three."

K 6. Halliwell (*ibid.*) also gives the following Swedish version, from Arwidsson,

iii. 492, which in "extra lara, kajsa sara!" reminds one of 6, 7 [saa·jis laa·jis] C 1, *seesa sara* C 3, *seeza rāra* C 4.

Apala, mesala,
Mesinka, meso,
Sebedei, sebedo!
Extra, lara,
Kajsa, Sara!
Heck, veck,
Vällingsäck,
Gack du din långe man veck,
Ut!

The *Mill Hill Magazine* for October, 1877, contains several varieties of the form K 1, of which it is enough to quote the first couplet—

K 7.	Eena, deena, dina, duss,	Catala, weena, wina, wuss.
K 8.	Eena, deena, dina, duss,	Catalaweena, wina, wuss.
K 9.	Heena, deena, dina, dust,	Cattla, weela, wina, wust.
K 10.	Ena, mena, mona, mite,	Pisca, lara, bara, bite.
K 11.	Eeny, meeny, moany, mite,	Butter, lather, boney, strike.
K 12.	Hana, mana, mona, mite,	Barcelona, bona, strike.
K 13.	Eeney, meeny, tipty te.	Teena, Dinah, Domine.

K 8 is said to be South-Western, and K 10, 11, 12, 13 to be American.

K 14. Dr. Trumbull, who first drew my attention to these countings-out when sending me one of the North American Indian versions in 1871, said that this was common in New England when he wrote. It is given by Halliwell in his "Nursery Rhymes of England" (Surtees Society, p. 83). But Dr. Trumbull says: "The versions of these counting-out scores are innumerable. Every village in New England has its local form or half-dozen forms."

Intery, mintery, cutery, corn
Apple seed, and apple thorn:
Wine, brier, limber lock,
Five geese in a flock,
Sit and sing by a spring
O-U-T, and in again.

K 15. Communicated by Dr. Murray, as used for the same purpose as his D 1 in Roxburghshire, but evidently not related to that version, although, as he says, "alike efficacious and held in equal respect" (translated from palaeotype into glossic). See observations at end of this class.

yaen·eri twiü·ri taek·uri sev·n
ahl·ubu krahk· tahn·ubu lev·n
tin tahn· mahs·ki dahn·
tidlum tuoü·dlun twuun·tiz wahn

This agrees with K 1 in the last couplet. The [mahs·ki dahn·] appears as 'masky dan' in K 16, and as 'must be done' in the English versions.

K 16. Communicated by Rev. W. A. Stark, Kirkpatrick-Durham, Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire.

One-ery two-ery tick-ery seven
Alliby crackiby ten-aby 'levem.
Pin pan musky dan
Teedletum toodletum twenty 'tem
Black fish white trout
Eerie Orie you are to be put out.

This is identical with K 15 as far as it goes and the second couplet agrees with K 1. In the *Mill Hill Magazine* for June, 1877, a version from Aberdeen is quoted from *Notes and Queries* for August, 1854, which contains the first four lines of the above, with the variant 'ak-aby crack-aby, ten and eleven' for the third line, and without the last couplet.

K 17, 18. Two other Scotch versions are also quoted in the *Mill Hill Magazine*, one K 17 from Glasgow and another K 18 from Aberdeen with *tuckery* or *duckery* for tickery, and 'alama crack ten am eleven' or 'halaba, crackery, ten or elayven.'

K 19. The most curious alteration given in the *Mill Hill Magazine* is

One-ery, two-ery, tickery, teven,
Eight-ery, nine-ery, ten or eleven,
Pip, pop, must be done,
Nick-abo, nack-abo, twenty *one!*

K 20. The following from Halliwell (Popular Rhymes, p. 135) begins in the same way:

One-ery, two-ery, tickery, teven
Alabo, crackabo, ten and eleven,
Spin, spon, must be gone,
Alabo, crackabo, twenty one.

'Alabo, crackabo' appear as 'Hollowbone, crack a bone' in K 21, 25.

K 21. This is another variety, also from Halliwell (Surtees Soc. p. 86):

One-ery, two-ery, ziccary, zan
Hollow-bone, crack-a-bone, ninery ten
Spittery spot, it must be done,
Twiddleum twaddleum twenty one.

Several other lines are added in Halliwell in a different metre, and evidently belonging to something else.

K 22. Dr. Trumbull says that the following from Halliwell was the common version in Connecticut in 1830:

One-ery, two-ery, hickary, hum,
Fillison, follison, Nicholson, John.

Which is apparently the same as

K 23. One-ery, two-ery, Hickory, Ann,
Filliston, Follaston, Nicholson, John,
Queech, Quawby, Virgin Mary,
Singalum, Sangalum, Buck.

in the *Mill Hill Magazine* for June, 1877.

K 24. Mr. R. Garnett, of the British Museum, communicated the following form of K 23 to the Rev. I. Taylor, who sent it on to me.

Winnery ory accory han
Phillisy phollisi Nicholas jam
Queby quorby Irish Mary
Sink sank sock.

K 25. This again appears in Halliwell (Popular Rhymes, p. 134) as

One-ery, two-ery, tickery teevy,
Hollow-bone crack-a-bone pen and eevy,
Ink, pink, pen and ink,
A study, a stive, a stove and a sink.

Compare from Halliwell (Surtees Soc. p. 123):

K 26. Hickory (1), dickory (2), dock (3),
The mouse ran up the clock (4),
The clock struck one (5),
The mouse was gone (6),
O (7), U (8), T (9), spells OUT!

This again appears (*ibid.* p. 89) as:

K. 27. Zickety, dickety, dock,
The mouse ran up the nock,
The nock struck one,
Down the mouse run,
Zickety, dickety, dock.

Swinging rhyme, totally absent from the Welsh numerals, and reckless fabrication of nonsense words in endless variety, form the great point of resemblance between these countings-out and the Anglo-Cymric score. Both also are systems of counting, and both have been used for the same purpose. Whether any words have passed from one to the other cannot be affirmed with certainty, but K 1 eena, deena, cattala, K 3 cotlo, K 8 catala, K 9 cattla, K 4 hytum skytum, K 5 orum jiggum, K 14 cuttery corn, K 15 [taek·uri sev·n], K 19, 20 tickery teven, K 21 ziccary zan, K 22 hickary hum, K 23 Hickory Ann, K 26 dickory dock, certainly recall old friends. At any rate no consideration of the Score would be complete without its congener the Counting-out.

Since the above was in type, on 28 July, I received a letter from Prof. Max Müller saying that he knew many countings-out in Germany as a child, and that he thinks the numerals of the Score "are originally continental and German, but adapted to Celtic." Of course he finds 15 *bumfit* "very strongly Celtic," but he refers to the common German 15 *mandel* (generally applied either to eggs or sheaves of corn, and usually referred to a low Latin *manduali*s, a heap), and he suggests that *bumty*, *bumfit*, *bumfik*, *bumpkin*, were treated like *dick* and *dix*, and the smaller numerals *eina*, *teina*, etc., repeated mechanically in counting-out.

K 28. Prof. Max Müller remembered the German counting-out (*Abzählen*),

Eenechen, Teenechen, Tintefass,
Geh in die Schul und lerne was,
Lerne was Dein Vater kann,
Dein Vater ist ein Schnitter,
Schnitt er sich ein Pfeifchen—
Pfeife alle Morgen
Hören ihn die Storchen,
Pfeife alle Abend,
Hören ihn die Raben—
Geht die Mühle Klipp Klapp,
Ei du alter Pfeffersack!

the first two lines of which were also remembered by Herr Klaus Groth, and in G. Scherer's *Illustrirter Deutsches Kinderbuch*, vol. ii. 1877, I found two variants of this:

Ene bene Fingerhut
Stirbt der Bauer, ist's nicht gut.——
Ene dene Taffetband
's ist nicht weit von Engelland.

Both go off into mere doggrel rhymes of the above character, without any new counting words (compare K 26). Herr Klaus Groth referred me to K. Simrock's *Deutsches Kinderbuch*, which I have not seen. Prof. Max Müller, however, was able to refer me to a remarkable book by Ernst L. Rochholtz, called *Allemannisches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel aus der Schweiz*, 1857, which I found in the British Museum (uncut). In the 9th section, on *Finger-Sprache*, Rochholtz gives a large number of different child's ways of counting, which in Swiss dialect have a singular appearance. He has a variant of Prof. Max Müller's (No. 271), beginning:

Aenige bänige Dintenfass
Gang i d' Schuel und lern was.

but going on quite differently. Thus, for buttons he gives (No. 251).

K 29. Eindli-Beindli, Drittmann-Eindli
Silberhanke, Finggesanke,
Pärli puff, Bettel dûsz!

Explaining: "Man zählt bis zum dritten Beinknopf, zur fünften Silberhafte, welche funkelnagelneu ist (finggesanke) und schliesst mit dem letzten Knopfpaare am Kleide (Pärli puff)." And

K 30 (No. 256). Anege-hanige, Serege-strige
Ripeti-pipeti-knoll.

Then for beans he has:

K 31 (No. 259). Ene dene Dunkefunke
Rabeschnabe Diebedabe
Kesselitille, puff-ruesz!

K 32. The following in Rochholtz is from Aargau :

Wanni Kanni, Chessibode
Was du seist, ist alls verloge.
Ahnis, Kahnis, Bigeboge,
Postpapier und Bändeli.

K 33. And this from Oldenburg :

Ene zene zerz, gieb den Ziegen Herz.

K 34. But the only attempt at real counting (which he considers in this case as alphabetical) is his No. 272 :

Eis, zwei, drei
vierli vierli fenf
zwierlizwierli wierliwierli
vierli vierli salz—
meinst i cha nit zwäz-ge zähle
sind sie doch scho da.

Though it is as difficult to make out 20 here, as 21 in K 15, 19, 20, 21. Rochholtz gives two countings of 23, equally difficult to force into the rhythm. He also gives :

K 35. Eins zwei drei
Simmelti Sammelti sei.—(Fiedler, 67).

K 36. Anola tranola
pizze fontanola.—(Neapolitan, Pentamerone).

K 37. Eni-meni, figgi-fäggi,

as used by Jewish children in Zurich and Lengnau. Rochholtz also quotes the following from Russwurm, Eibofolke 2, 122, as used by Insular Swedes in Ruckö and Worms :

K 38. essike tessike
sômer mâker
dicker dacker
kilter kalter
waggane walter
tippan tillan pois

with the initial variants,

issicken tissiken
sîmon mâmon

and

issikenne tissikenne
sâkin mâkin

And similarly in Finland :—

K 39. Essike tessike
touko louko
sîmike mâke
kulte kalte
mâkama tais
tillere tippan tuttan pois.

My own impression is that such baby rhymes have no direct relation with our Score proper, which is a regular system of counting, once used habitually by grown-up men in their vocation, but they serve to shew that when the numbers 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9 were lost, their place could be supplied by other methods of counting probably familiar to the same men when children. To me the Welsh numerals seem to be the framework of the whole Score, and the infantile rhymes to be mere succursals. It is however very possible, also, that some schoolboys, having heard the Score, may have occasionally woven it into their counting-out, as the unintelligible Welsh furnished a supply of strange words, among which *bymtheg* and *ugain* were very suggestive. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Score possesses a peculiarity consistently carried out in all versions, which exists in no known language but Welsh (the method of counting 16, 17, 18, 19), of which there is not the faintest trace in the Counting-out proper, shewing that the two must have had totally different origins, and that they have been only accidentally interwoven.

CLASS L. "Charms."

After reading my paper on 7 Dec. 1877, Mr. H. Jenner (see F 8) suggested that several of the queer words might have their origin in misheard and hence mispronounced because thoroughly misunderstood Latin words, and instanced the following "Charm for stopping blood" used in Cornwall. The charmer is to make the sign of the cross over the wound and to repeat the following words in one breath, as they have no efficacy otherwise. The words in Roman letters are Mr. Jenner's orthography of the sounds he heard (*ar* having the sound of *ah*.), the Italics give his interpretation of the same into Latin.

Sanguy marny inty	*Sanguis mane in te*
Siccus crissus fusus insy	*Sicut Cristus fuit in se*
Sanguy marny inter veena	*Sanguis mane in tua vena*
Siccus crissus in subpeena	*Sicut Christus in sua pœna*
Sanguy marny fixus	*Sanguis mane fixus*
Siccus fusus crissus	*Sicut fuit Christus*
Quandy fusus crusus fixus	*Quando fuit crucifixus*

Similar perversions are: Hocus pocus = *Hoc est corpus*, O dear me = *O Deus meus*, All my eye and Betty Martin = *O mihi, beate Martine*, fiery faces = *fieri facias*, I'll take my davy = *affidavit*, the German oath sapperment = *sacramentum*, and perhaps deuce = *Deus*, used euphemistically for devil. Compare K 5.

On the contrary, English or German is sometimes put into a Latin form, as: Iambicum as amandum = *I am become as a man dumb*, and the following from Rochholtz, which he calls *Sauerkrautlatein* (p. 48):

Felix, pax filia!	1. *Felix, pack s' Viehli a!*
Veteres canonici.	2. *Vetter, es cha no nig zieh!*
Musici.	1. *Muss i zieh?*

Which is a dialogue between ploughmen: "1. Felix, harness in (or whip, lit. lay hold of) the young ox! 2. Cousin, it can't pull yet. 1. Must *I* pull?"

VII.—SEVENTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 17TH MAY, 1878. BY HENRY SWEET, ESQ.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

REPORTS BY—	PAGE
The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society* in 1877–8	373
The PRESIDENT, on *English and Germanic Philology*	376
The PRESIDENT, on *Phonology* ...	392
The PRESIDENT, on *Dialectology* .	398
The PRESIDENT, on the *Future of English Philology*	410
Dr. L. TOBLER, on *Swiss-German Dialects*	419
The Rev. S. J. WHITMEE, *On the Languages of Polynesia*	424
M. VON BOECK, on *Quichua* ...	439

THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM MAY, 1877, TO MAY, 1878.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

OUR work for the past year has remained true to its two main characteristics—preference for special investigation of details over wider generalizations, and devotion to the study of our own language.

The only papers dealing with general questions were two of my own. In that on "Gender" I attempted a classification of its various forms, and showed that many forms which are quite opposed to the traditional ones of the older Indo-germanic languages have developed themselves in the living Teutonic dialects and colloquialisms.[1] In my paper on the "Practical Study of Language," I pointed out the defects of the present methods, and attempted, on the basis of my own practical experience and of the various systems that have been tried, to determine the general principles on which a reform must be based.

Turning to English, I must first note and deplore the absence of any contribution to Old English. This reminds

[1] The substance of this paper will form part of my forthcoming "Comparative Studies in the Living Teutonic Languages."

us that although the study of the oldest stage of our language has made considerable progress of late years, it has by no means attained that position it deserves, as the indispensable foundation of historical English philology. There is an enormous amount of work to be done in Old English, and a great dearth of conscientious and competent workers. It is, indeed, little creditable to English philology that such texts as Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Lupus's Homilies, and Werferhð's translation of the Dialogues of Gregory, should still remain unpublished, not to speak of the want of anything like trustworthy grammars and dictionaries. Here is work for a legion of editors, grammarians, and lexicographers.

In Middle English we must first welcome Mr. Nicol's two papers on "Some Points in Early English Pronunciation." In the first of them he showed that *ee* and *oo* in sixteenth century English had not the sounds (ii) and (uu), as hitherto assumed, but those of very close (ee) and (oo), as in the present Danish pronunciation, and that short *i* and *u* had both the present wide and the older narrow sound, according to the nature of the following consonant, also as in Danish. In his second paper Mr. Nicol showed that final French *u* (as in *due*) was diphthongized into (eu) in Chaucerian English, although preserved as (yy) before a consonant. He also showed (independently of his predecessor Jessen) that such words as *name* in the Ormulum preserved the short vowel, and that double consonants, as in *sunne*, were really double in pronunciation down to Chaucer's time.[1]

Contributions to English etymology were made by Messrs. Skeat, Nicol, and Métivier. Mr. Dawson cleared up the puzzling irregularity in the "Use of *an* and *a* in the Authorized Version of the Bible," by showing that in those cases in which the translators followed Tyndal without alteration they retained his *n*. Dr. Sattler, of Bremen, contributed a very elaborate paper on the distinction between "Part from" and "Part with" in Modern English, and Mr. Ellis reported on the returns received to his "Word-lists for Provinc

[1] These results will form part of Mr. Nicol's forthcoming "History of Fr Sounds in English."

Pronunciation," characterizing the results as meagre on the whole, described his new system of phonetic notation "Engytype," and gave additional particulars about the curious numerals employed in sheep-scoring, which he proves to be Welsh, and of no great antiquity, although some have imagined them to be remains of the ancient British language. [See *antè*, pp. 316–372.]

French was represented by Prof. Cassal's elaborate paper on "French Genders," and by Mr. Nicol's remarks on the "Compound Tenses of Romanic Reflexive Verbs."

Of other languages the Slavonic family was represented by Miss Coleman's paper on "Russian," and that of Mr. Morfill, of Oxford, on "Bulgarian," especially in its relation to Palæo-slavonic. M. Gunlögsen discoursed on Icelandic, and the Rev. W. E. Cousins came forward with a very valuable account of "Malagasy," together with a history of the study of the language. I need not go into details, as this paper has been printed in full, and will form part of our next number. [See *antè*, pp. 283–315.]

Among the papers read during the preceding session, one of the most important and interesting was Mr. E. L. Brandreth's on the "Non-Aryan Languages of India," giving a comprehensive survey and classification of these, for the most part, little known but most important languages, together with a sketch of the characteristic features of each group. This paper has been printed this year in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. pp. 1–32, and has excited much interest among Orientalists and philologists generally, being a great advance on previous attempts of the kind.

We have also during past sessions listened with interest to Mr. F. T. Elworthy's various papers on the dialect of West Somerset, which showed a fineness and accuracy of observation unfortunately still rare among dialectologists. The last of them has appeared both in our own Transactions (*antè*, pp. 143–257) and, as a separate volume, in those of the English Dialect Society, under the title of "An Outline of the Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset."

Mr. Elworthy intends to crown his labours with a Glossary of the dialect, which will consist entirely of original matter, no word being admitted which is not actually in use, and for which he can vouch himself. When the other principal dialects have been worked up in the same way, we shall be able to look forward to that great desideratum—a Comparative Grammar of the living English dialects, a work which would throw the greatest light on the standard language, as well as on the dialects of Middle English.

English and Germanic Philology.

A great step has been made in English philology by the filling up—after many years of tedious waiting—of the Bosworth professorship of Old English. In my last Address I pointed out our member, Mr. Skeat, as the one Cambridge man worthy of being appointed to it. That the choice of the electors *has* fallen on Mr. Skeat is an especial matter of congratulation to us, with whom, as also with our kindred societies, Professor Skeat has worked so long and harmoniously. We, if any, ought to be able to appreciate his extraordinary energy, accuracy, and disinterested zeal in forwarding the interests of English philology and literature. His appointment will infuse new life into Old English studies, will raise their prestige at our universities, and, let us hope, will incite many of the younger generation to tread in his footsteps.

The only work bearing on Old English that has appeared in England during the last year is a little book of under 100 pp. by Professor Earle, of Oxford, consisting of a short grammar, with some selections from the Gospels.[1] There can be no question that such a work was much needed, but, excellent as the plan of Professor Earle's work is, his feeble and uncertain grasp of the elements of scientific philology deprives it of much of the value it would otherwise have. The defective and unsystematic

[1] A Book for the Beginner in Anglo-Saxon, by John Earle, M.A.; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877.

way in which the quantity is marked makes the work very misleading to the beginner, and in the extracts the few accents of Thorpe's edition of the Gospels seem to be copied literally, although they often directly contradict the accentuation of Prof. Earle's own grammar. And yet we are told (p. 3), speaking of the accent-mark, "great sense-differences hinge on it." It is, of course, possible that the accents in the grammar may be marked on some system of Prof. Earle's own, but as that system differs entirely from that which has been followed by scientific scholars for the last thirty years, it is clearly his duty to justify his views by confuting those held by them: the *onus probandi* falls on him, not on his critics.

The following remarks in the preface no one will quarrel with: "It can hardly be denied that there is an untoward breach between our academic learning and the general intellect of the land." But the writer goes on to say: "Might not this be somewhat mended if our more recondite studies were fringed around with a border of native culture, opening a common frontier for barter of thought with the non-graduate world?" This is, perhaps, carrying deference to the *status quo* a little too far. At least I think most of you will agree with me in deprecating any attempt to make English philology into a "fringe" round anything else—least of all round ornamental scholarship.

It is a relief to turn to Germany, where Old and Middle English are not regarded as "fringes," but are studied with more and more zeal every year for their own intrinsic worth. That indefatigable scholar, Prof. Zupitza, has come out with an edition of Cynewulf's poem of Elene,[1] with a full glossary, and, what gives the work a unique value, a new collation of the Vercelli MS. original. The result of the collation, which was not made till after the text was printed off, was to confirm many of the editor's conjectural emendations.

Prof. Wuelcker of Leipzig promises us a new edition of

[1] Cynewulf's Elene, hgg. v. Julius Zupitza. Berlin, 1877.

Grein's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen poesie," with new collations of all the texts with the MSS.,[1] and also talks of continuing Grein's projected "Bibliothek der ags. prosa," after previous collation with the MSS., promising also a supplementary collation to the first (and only) volume of the series, published by Grein entirely on the basis of the printed English text. Prof. Wuelcker's re-edition of Wright's glossary will appear in the course of this summer. The details of Wright's slovenliness in editing are almost incredible: he often skipped whole pages, not to speak of separate glosses. The re-edition will, therefore, enrich our dictionaries with several new words.

Prof. Wuelcker's paper on the Old-English version of the Soliloquies of Augustin[2] is of great interest. He shows that part of the text consists of a translation of another composition of Augustine's, *De Videndo Deo*. He strongly and, as far as I can judge at present, successfully vindicates the translation as King Alfred's own, comparing the spirit and style of the various original additions with his other known works. Finally he starts the bold hypothesis that in the present text we have a portion of the *Manuale* or "Handbóc" of the king, mentioned by Asser, which has hitherto been assumed to be no longer extant. The text was published by Mr. Cockayne in his *Shrine* under the title of *Blooms*, but it is not very accessible there, and we are promised a new edition as part of the continuation of the *Library of Anglo-Saxon Prose*.

Of the two periodicals for English philology founded last year in Germany, the "Anglia" edited by Prof. Wuelcker and Dr. Trautmann, and the "Englische Studien" by Dr. Kölbing, the first volumes, for 1877, are now complete. The "Anglia" is, as yet, decidedly the more successful of the two as regards both the quality and the variety of its contributions, and seems likely to maintain its position, judging from the support it has received from the best

[1] Anglia, i. 3. 556.
[2] Ueber die angelsächsische bearbeitung der Soliloquien Augustins (Paul u. Braune's Beiträge, iv. 1877).

scholars of Germany. To give an idea of the variety and importance of its contents, I will mention some of the more important contributions:—

a) Essays, etc. J. Zupitza: On the Poema Morale. M. Trautmann: The poet Huchown and his works. K. Regel: Proverb and metaphor in Layamon. F. Rosenthal: The English alliterative metre of the fourteenth century. R. Wülcker: On the poet Cynewulf. B. ten Brink: Contributions to English phonology.

b) Texts, etc. J. Zupitza: Poema Morale. K. Horstmann: The legends of Celestin and Susanna. Collations of O. E. texts by A. Holder and H. Sweet.

c) Reviews. W. Wagner: Ward's History of English dramatic literature. R. Wülcker: Englische Studien. M. Trautmann: H. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader. E. Sievers: Zupitza's edition of Cynewulf's Elene.

The contributions of Prof. Zupitza and of Prof. ten Brink appear to me to be specially interesting: I will, therefore, notice them more at length, only regretting that I am not able to do the same with the others.

Prof. Zupitza first gives an apparently minutely accurate print of the Digby MS. of the Poema Morale, which was previously only known in the extracts given by Hickes in his Thesaurus. Then comes a genealogical classification of the six MSS., which Zupitza divides into two independent groups, the one consisting of the Digby and Trinity MSS., the other of the four remaining ones, which, again, are related to one another in various degrees. None of the existing MSS. are copied from one another. Lastly comes a discussion of the age of the poem. Dr. Morris's view of its being a copy of a tenth century Old English original is criticized and rejected on account of the numerous rhymes which would be impossible in the earlier period, such as *sende, ende*=O.E. *sendan, endc; þere, were*=O.E. *ðǽr, wǽron*, etc. Also on account of rhymes like *laðe, baðe; wille, ille*, where the second rhyming word is a Scandinavian one of late introduction.

The second of Prof. ten Brink's "Contributions to English Phonology" is a really valuable one on Chaucer's

distinction of close and open *ee* (*éé* and *èè*) based on an examination of his rhymes. The result is that Chaucer's usage differed considerably from that of Modern standard English. Thus, such words as *deed* appear not only in the Midland form of *dééd*=Old Mercian *déd*, which is the only one that is recognized in Modern English, but also as *dèèd*= West-Saxon *dǽd*. Chaucer's language was, therefore, in this respect more southern than the present English. Prof. ten Brink neatly contrasts Dr. Weymouth's work at this question with my own, by saying that Dr. Weymouth has made industrious but unmethodical observations, while I have materially advanced the theory without observing much. The fact is that I simply made an exhaustive comparison of the two extremes, Old and Modern English (the latter in its earlier sixteenth and seventeenth century stage as well), and contented myself with the laws thus deduced, without entering into the endless investigation of the usages of Middle English. The first part of these Contributions, devoted mainly to the question of the pronunciation of the O.E. *g*, which Ten Brink agrees with many of his countrymen in considering to be an open consonant (spirant), and to some allied problems, does not impress me so favourably. It is not merely that I hold a different opinion from that of Prof. ten Brink on nearly all the questions of O.E. phonology discussed by him here, but it also seems to me that his reasoning is often rash and unsound. It is, at any rate, rather startling to find the M.E. *on*, *om*, etc., for *un*, *um*, of purely French origin, extended to O.E. as well, so as to justify the assumption that the O.E. *o* in *geong* was simply a short *u*. The assumption, too, that the O.E. scribes had a mysterious horror of certain letter-combinations, even when they represented sound-combinations that actually occurred in the language, as, for instance, *eu* or initial *i* as a consonant (=German *j*), is often very convenient for theories which are contradicted by the graphic evidence, but is really guesswork opposed to what we know of the tendencies of ancient orthographies.

With the Englische Studien I feel myself less competent

to deal, as the greater part of its contents are more literary than philological. From the latter point of view the most noteworthy contributions are the editor's collation of the printed text of the Ormulum with the MS., and H. Varnhagen's "Contributions to the Text Criticism of the Ayenbite." He shows that many of the obscurities in Dan Michel's text are due to his imperfect comprehension of the French original, which often led him not only to frame utterly un-English sentences, but also to write more or less pure nonsense. Among texts may be mentioned the later recension of the story of Theophilus, and two Middle English versions of St. Patrick's Purgatory. There are a considerable number of literary essays, several of which deal with quite modern works, such as those of Ben Jonson, Otway, Pope and Fielding. The editor tries to prove that the early Middle English poem *On Ureisun* is partially founded on the Old English poem of the Phœnix in the Codex Exoniensis—a very improbable hypothesis, for which the author's arguments do not seem convincing. Dr. J. Koch gives a "Contribution to Chaucer Criticism," in which he investigates the older form of the Palamon and Arcite and endeavours to fix the date of the Parlement of Birds.

It would certainly be a gain to English philology if these two periodicals could carry out a strict division of labour, the one confining itself to the linguistic, the other to the literary side of the study. If not, one or other of them must prove superfluous.

The want of a trustworthy history of English literature has long been felt, nor has this want been at all supplied by the patched-up editions of Warton that have from time to time appeared. Now, however, Prof. ten Brink has come out with the first part of an entirely new and original work,[1] very appropriately dedicated to our countryman, Mr. Furnivall. It would be difficult to find any one better qualified for the arduous task he has undertaken than Prof. ten

[1] Geschichte der englischen literatur, v. B. ten Brink. 1. Band. Bis zu Wiclifs auftreten. Berlin, 1877.

Brink, who not only possesses an intimate knowledge of English, but also of Old French literature, and has thus been able to bring out the European importance of the latter and its great influence on English literature in a new light —at least for English readers. Another valuable feature of the work is the high and earnest view the author takes of the history of literature as indissolubly connected with, and the truest interpreter of the whole political and social development of the people among whom it arose. Hence he does not confine his attention to such works as have literary value for us moderns, but widens his view beyond mere belles-lettres, so as to include even such works as the translations of Alfred from the Latin, and others which, whatever may be their present literary worth, exerted a powerful influence on their contemporaries, and, in fact, on the whole course of English intellectual history.

The most noteworthy contribution to general Teutonic philology that has appeared during the last year is Sievers's investigation of the treatment of unaccented vowels in the Old Teutonic languages,[1] mainly as regards their elision,—an important but difficult subject hitherto much neglected. Sievers treats first of the vowels in medial syllables, and shows that the East-Teutonic languages (represented by Icelandic) treat them according to laws directly opposed to those followed by the West-Teutonic languages (best represented by Old English). The law for Old English is that originally short vowels are elided after a long, preserved after a short root-vowel. Thus *ēðel*, *engel*, form their genitives *ēðles*, *engles*, instead of *ēðeles*, *engeles*, while *hæleð* has plural *hæleðas*, *rodor* has *rodoras*. Hence also *mōdor* inflects *mōdru*, *fæder* inflects *fæderas*. This new law often helps to fix doubtful quantity. Thus *hrēðer* (heart) is often assumed to have had a short vowel, but if so, it would inflect *hreðeres*, etc., but the actual form is *hreðres*, pointing clearly to *ē*. Sievers then goes on to investigate the laws of the elision of final vowels. It has hitherto

[1] Zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germanischen Sprachen, v. E. Sievers. Halle, 1878.

been generally assumed without question in Germany that the vowel end-laws (auslautgesetze) formulated by Westphal and Scherer from an examination of Gothic, were already carried out universally in the parent Teutonic language—in short, that such Gothic forms as *dags*, *gasts*, *sunus*, for original **dagaz*, **gastiz*, **sunuz*, with their dropping of *a* and *i*, and retention of *u*, must be assumed as the parent-forms for all the Teutonic languages. Sievers has a very easy task when he shows that the *i* (*e*) in such Old Saxon and Old English words as *cumi*, *cyme*, or *slegi* (=slagi), *slege*, is nothing but the original *i*, and that the usual assumption of such words having preserved the *i* only by going over to the *ja*-stems is untenable, for, if so, such a word as *slege* would appear as **slecg* in O. E., just like *hrycg* from original **hrugja*.[1] He also calls attention to the direct evidence of such third century runic inscriptions as that of the golden horn, *ek hlewagastir holtingar horna tawido* (I, Hlewagast, the son of Holt, made the horn), where both *i* and *a* are preserved. These remarks will suffice to give a general idea of the character of these remarkable investigations. Among the more special details the explanations of the Gothic forms *harjis*, *hairdeis*, and the Old English *hirde*, *rīce*, and of the plural *rīcu*, are very ingenious and convincing.

Sievers's parallel-text edition of the Heliand, mentioned in my last Address, has come out.[2] He also promises a complete dictionary, together with a grammar.

Sievers's comparative Teutonic grammar, which will form one of a series of "Indogermanic Grammars,"[3] is anxiously expected by all Germanists. We may confidently expect to find in it not only a masterly and critical summary of all

[1] I may mention that Mr. H. Nicol called my attention to the groundlessness of this *ja*-theory nearly twelve years ago.

[2] Heliand, hgg. v. E. Sievers. Halle, 1878 (Zacher's germanistische handbibliothek).

[3] The first volume of this *Bibliothek indogermanischer Grammatiken* is Sievers's *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, which has already appeared. The other volumes (which are promised in quick succession) are the following: 2) Indische Grammatik, von W. D. Whitney. 3) Iranische, H. Hübschmann. 4) Griechische, G. Meyer. 5) Lateinische, F. Bücheler. 6) Deutsche, E. Sievers. 7) Irische, E. Windisch. 8) Litauische, A. Leskien. 9) Slavische, A. Leskien.

that has been done during the last few years, but also a large number of original observations.

Finally, while on the subject of Indogermanic philology, it is my duty to mention a work by an Italian scholar, Pezzi,[1] which gives a summary of the general results obtained during the last ten years (since the last edition of Schleicher's Compendium), and also of the different views expressed on many disputed questions of phonology (such as the occurrence of *l* in the parent language, the two *k*s), on the origin of the accentuation, of the inflexions, and on morphology, roots, etc. This work ought to be translated into English, for it is quite popular in style.

Having now noticed the more important works published during the last year which have come under my notice, I will make a few remarks on the characteristics of the present school of German philology, especially as regards the Teutonic language.

Those whose acquaintance with German philology is based only on such summaries as Heyne's *Laut- und Flexionslehre der alt-germanischen dialekte* and Schleicher's *Compendium* can have no idea of the important revolutions that have been effected, especially during the last ten years. Unfortunately the results of these investigations are still scattered through a number of separate essays, often written in such a way as to make them almost unreadable except by those who are familiar with all the details both of fact and theory, the really solid results being often buried under huge heaps of unprofitable conjecture and controversy.

In the first place, the present school of German philologists acknowledges as fully as their English brethren the absolute necessity of basing all scientific study of language on phonology, and it has quite taken away the reproach still occasionally directed against the German conception of letter-comparison and sound-comparison as convertible terms. The defect of German phonetics is that it is hardly practical enough, and until German philologists see clearly that it is

[1] Glottologia Aria recentissima. D. Pezzi. Milano, 1878.

impossible to acquire an adequate knowledge of sounds by mere reading without long practice in their practical formation and discrimination, many of them will continue to retard rather than advance their science by hurried generalizations based on erroneous conceptions of the real nature of the sounds they treat of, and the physiological possibility or impossibility of the various changes. As instances of what I should consider very questionable hypotheses set forth and accepted on very questionable grounds, I may mention Scherer's attempts to explain sound-changes as due to a general tendency to raise or lower the tone, as the case may be: he is thus forced to assume directly opposite tonic tendencies for Old and Middle English, for instance, all of which is unproved and unprovable. Further, some of J. Schmidt's attempts in his well-known *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus* to explain a variety of vowel-lengthenings and diphthongizations in the different Indogermanic languages, by the equally unproved assumption of previous developments of so-called "irrational" vowels (svarabhakti) out of adjoining liquids and nasals. Even Sievers, who is by far the soundest of German phoneticians, is too free with assumptions of certain consonants in dead languages having "timbres" of various kinds—'dark,' 'clear,' 'u'-timbres, etc.

The most important result of recent investigations is the bringing of the changes of inflexional sounds and syllables under strict laws.

The study of inflexions is now based primarily on the *auslautgesetze* or "end-laws," namely the laws which govern the various changes of the sounds in the final syllables of words—laws which are often quite distinct from those which govern the changes in root-syllables.

It was Westphal's essay on the Gothic end-laws (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, ii.), which first made possible a scientific view of the relation between the inflexions of the Teutonic languages and those of the older languages. Then came Scherer, who in his book *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* showed that Gothic is far from representing the oldest stage of the

Teutonic languages in every case, and that this oldest stage can only be determined by a comparison of *all* the old languages, Old High German, Old Icelandic, Old English, etc. Then followed a number of special investigations, of which the most important are Braune's on the *Quantity of the Old-High-German final syllables* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache v. Paul und Braune, vol. ii.), and Paul's on the *Vowels of inflectional and derivative syllables in the oldest Germanic dialects* (Beitr. iv.). It is from the introductory remarks to the latter essay that the present remarks are mainly taken.

These latest investigations have materially modified the vowel end-laws as laid down by Westphal and Scherer, but the general result is that the correspondence of inflexional vowels follows rigorously consistent laws of its own, which often oblige us to modify the views previously held.

It has, for instance, been shown by Paul and Braune that Gothic inflexional *a* regularly corresponds to *u* in O.H.G. and O.E., never becoming *e* in O.H.G., and consequently that the Gothic *daga* cannot possibly correspond to the *tage*, *dæge* of the two latter, while, on the other hand, it corresponds exactly to the O.H.G. instrumental *tagu*. It has hitherto been assumed that the *a* of *daga* is the Indo-germanic dative -*ōi* (=a-ai), or else the locative -*a-i*, but Braune has proved that these endings can only become Gothic -*ai*, O.H.G. and O.E. -*e*, so that, in fact, it is the *tage*, *dæge* of the two latter languages which show the original dative or locative. The final vowels of *daga* and *tagu*, on the other hand, correspond exactly to the original instrumental -*ā*, according to the regular end-laws.

There is one case in which Gothic final *a* corresponds to an O.E. *a* instead of the regular *u*, namely in the weak masculine nom. sg. *hana*, where O.H.G. and Old Saxon have *o*—*hano*. In a paper of mine (Prehistoric Forms of O.E., Phil. Soc. Trans. 1875–6) I showed the original O.E. form was *hana* also, my investigations being carried on in complete ignorance of those of which I am now speaking. Paul has now shown conclusively that the *o*-forms must

have been the older ones everywhere, including Gothic, where the older *o* was levelled under the *a* of the acc. *hanan*.

A very important factor in inflexional changes is the tendency to approximate and level originally distinct forms by analogy, by which many phonetically impossible changes may be satisfactorily explained. Those analogical changes which are so common in modern languages, by which in English, for instance, substantives originally feminine take the *s* of the masc. genitive and plural, and strong verbs go over to the weak declension, etc., were formerly ignored as much as possible by the older school of philologists, who were very unwilling to acknowledge "false analogy" or "inorganic" formations in the ancient languages. It is now, however, admitted that the processes by which the oldest Indogermanic, as well as the Teutonic, languages changed and diverged, were not essentially different from those we observe in living languages, and that, in fact, the mere existence of a complex system of inflexions such as we find in the oldest accessible stages of those languages absolutely necessitated a very free use of the resources of analogical distinction to counteract the confusion which would otherwise result from phonetic decay and neglect of shades of meaning.

Some of the most instructive cases of analogy are those shown in the relation between pronominal and adjectival flexion. A very important contribution to this question in the Teutonic languages is an essay by Sievers, *The strong adjective declension* (Paul u. Braune's Beiträge, ii.). Starting from such a Sanskrit adjective as *sárwas*, with its mixture of substantival endings, such as sg. nom. masc. *sárwas*, neut. *sárwam* (but *anyád* pronominal), and pronominal, such as masc. sg. dative *sárwasmai*, pl. nom. *sárwai*, etc., he first shows the general agreement of the Gothic strong adjective inflexions with this scheme, which was not, as in Sanskrit, restricted to a few, in meaning half-pronominal adjectives, but was extended to all without distinction, and then traces the further influence of the pronominal declension in the

separate languages. Thus he shows that the nom. sg. adjective inflexions *blindēr, blindiu, blindaz,* in Old High German are quite late innovations due to the influence of the pronominal *der, diu, daz, der* itself owing its *r* to the analogy of the personal pronoun *er,* its older form being *de.* This removes the divergence between High German and the two other West-Germanic languages, Old Saxon and Old English, and shows that the loss of the inflexions of the nom. sg. was universally carried out through the whole group both in substantives and adjectives, in contradistinction to the two East-Germanic languages, Gothic and Scandinavian. Sievers's explanation of the long *ē* of *blindēr* is extremely ingenious. He supposes that *de*=English 'the' lengthened its final vowel before assuming final *r* by analogy, thus becoming *dēr,* and that the length of the vowel was carried into the further analogical development *blindēr.*

The Teutonic languages have been brought into unexpectedly close connexion with the oldest forms of Indogermanic speech by the discovery of the Danish scholar Verner that many of their hitherto obscure consonant changes can only be explained on the assumption that they preserved till after the first lautverschiebung a system of accentuation totally different from the logical one they afterwards adopted (namely of uniformly accenting the root-syllable), one which is substantially identical with that of Vedic Sanskrit. It is in this way that Verner has been able to explain the mysterious alternation of *þ* and *d,* etc., in such words as *fadar* and *brōþar,* and in verbal inflexions, such as O.E. *weorȝan, wurdon,* by showing that original *t* appears as *þ* only in those syllables which are accented in Sanskrit, as in *brōþar*=**bhrā́tār,* otherwise becoming *d,* as in *fadar*=**patā́r.*

Osthoff, in his essay on the *Origin of the Teutonic* n-*declension* (P. and B.'s Beitr. iii.), has shown that the distinction between the so-called "weak" and "strong" cases in Sanskrit is entirely the result of the different place of the accent in the parent Indogermanic language. He starts from the following

hypothetical paradigm (confining ourselves to the singular) of an *n*-stem such as *uksán-*:

sg. nom.	uksā́n	
gen.	uksanás	
loc.	uksaní	
acc.	uksánam.	

From these forms the later Sanskrit and Teutonic (as represented in Gothic) ones explain themselves without difficulty, the accented vowels in the second syllable being either retained unchanged or lengthened, the unaccented weakened or dropped, both extremes being represented in classical Sanskrit, the intermediate changes in Gothic:

sg. nom.	ukshā́	hana	(=hanā́)
gen.	ukshnás	hanin	(=hanenás)
loc.	ukshní	hanin	(=hanení)
acc.	ukshā́nam	hanan	(=hanánam).

We see that the Gothic *i* in the gen. and loc. is due to the original non-accentuation of the *a* of which it is a weakening (through *e*), while the *a* of the acc. owes its preservation to its having retained the original accent during the period of weakening. In its preservation of the original distinction between weak and strong cases Gothic is more archaic and nearer Sanskrit than any other member of the European branch. In Latin, for instance, the original acc. **homōnem* has had its vowel levelled under the gen. *hominis*, dat. *homini*, becoming *hominem*.

I must lastly mention Brugman's treatise *Nasalis sonans in the Indogermanic parent-language* (Curtius' Studien, ix.), in which he proves that just as there is an *r*- and *l*- vowel in Sanskrit (generally most absurdly transcribed *ṛi* and *ḷi* and pronounced accordingly), so also *m* in the parent language was capable of forming a syllable by itself. Among other very remarkable results Brugman shows that the *a* in the Sanskrit *vēda* and Greek *oîda* is a vocalization of original *m*, the primitive form being **wáidm*. In the Teutonic languages these syllabic nasals frequently developed an *u* before them, and the loss of *t* in Gothic *sibun*=original **saptm* is ex-

plained by the tendency to simplify the consonant-group, the stages being *saptm, sapm,* whence *sebn* and finally *sibun.*

I can, unfortunately, do nothing more than merely mention Leskien's *Die declination im slavisch-litauischen und germanischen* (Leipzig, 1876), as I have not yet been able to study the work myself. I will, therefore, conclude with a free abridgment of a portion of Paul's general observations on Analogy in Language with which he begins his above-mentioned treatise on the Teutonic inflexional and derivative vowels.

"The chief aim of comparative philology originally was to reconstruct the original forms, and then to dissect them into their elements, which was, indeed, the only way in which the science could lay its foundations. This onesidedly analytical tendency, has, however, prevailed too long, often leading to a neglect of the relations of the special forms to the groups they belong to, and to a mechanical formalism which prevents a clear conception of the actual phenomena of the history of language.

"There is one simple fact which should never be left out of sight, namely, that even in the parent Indogermanic language long before its split-up, there were no longer any roots, stems and suffixes, but only ready-made *words,* which were employed without the slightest thought of their composite nature. And it is only of such ready-made words that the store is composed, from which every one draws when he speaks. He has no stock of stems and terminations at his disposal from which he could construct the form required for each separate occasion. Not that he must necessarily have heard and learnt by heart every form he uses. This would, in fact, be impossible. He is, on the contrary, able of himself to form cases of nouns, tenses of verbs, etc., which he has either never heard, or else not noticed specially; but, as there is no combining of stem and suffix, this can only be done on the pattern of the other ready-made combinations which he has learnt from his fellows. These latter are first learnt one by one, and then gradually associated into groups which correspond to

the grammatical categories, but are never clearly conceived as such without special training. This grouping not only greatly aids the memory, but also makes it possible to produce other combinations. And this is what we call *analogy*.

"It is, therefore, clear that while speaking, every one is incessantly producing analogical forms. *Reproduction by memory* and *new-formation by means of association* are its two indispensable factors. It is a mistake to assume a language as given in grammar and dictionary, that is, the whole body of possible words and forms, as something concrete, and to forget that it is nothing but an abstraction devoid of reality, and that *the actual language exists only in the individual*, from whom it cannot be separated even in scientific investigation, if we will understand its nature and development. To comprehend the existence of each separate spoken form we must not ask 'is it current in the language?' or 'is it conformable to the laws of the language as deduced by the grammarians?' but 'has he who has just employed it previously had it in his memory, or has he formed it himself for the first time, and, if so, according to what analogy?' When, for instance, any one employs the plural *milben* in German, it may be that he has learnt it from others, or else that he has only heard the singular *milbe*, but knows that such words as *lerche*, *schwalbe*, etc., form their plural *lerchen*, etc., so that the association *milbe* —*milben* is unconsciously suggested to him. He may also have heard the plural *milben*, but remembers it so imperfectly that he would forget it entirely, were it not associated in his mind with a series of similar forms which help him to recall it. It is, therefore, often difficult to determine the share memory and creative fancy have had in each separate case."

Paul goes on to protest against the epithet "false" analogy, remarking that it is really "correct," working, as it does, with unerring psychological instinct. I have not space or time to follow him in his remarks on the classification of the various kinds of analogy, but enough has been said

to give an idea of the importance and interest of these new views.

PHONOLOGY.

Since our last anniversary meeting, the two works bearing on the subject of phonetics, which I alluded to in my address as in preparation, have been published. That of Mr. Ellis,[1] being written with special objects and for a special class of students, rather summarizes the views set forth elsewhere at length by the author (especially in his *Early English Pronunciation*) than introduces the specially phonetic student to any very marked novelties, although, like all Mr. Ellis's works, it is full of originality both of observation and treatment.

My own *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877), on the other hand, aims at being a guide to the study of sounds generally, whether as a preparation for the practical study of languages or for scientific philology. The distinctive feature of the work is that it summarizes and—as far as possible—harmonizes the often widely-divergent results of English and Continental phonetic investigation. I cannot but hope that I have succeeded in removing some of the obstacles to a due appreciation of Bell's wonderful discoveries in vowel-mechanism—obstacles due both to certain errors in his analysis, and, perhaps, still more to the extraordinary and unaccountable mis-identifications of several of the commonest foreign sounds, such as the French *u*. It is, of course, almost superfluous to state that my own work contains many errors of appreciation and analysis, but it is a step in advance, and that is all that can be expected in the present transition state of phonetics.

I have also to mention a little book by the well-known Shakespearian scholar, Mr. Fleay,[2] intended as a popular introduction to the question of spelling reform. Mr. Fleay

[1] Pronunciation for Singers; with especial Reference to the English, Italian, and French Languages. By Alexander J. Ellis, B.A. Curwen & Sons, 1877.

[2] English Sounds and English Spelling, by F. G. Fleay, M.A. London and Glasgow, William Collins, Sons & Co., 1878. (Collins' School and College Classics.)

has succeeded in giving within the brief limits of a little over a hundred pages a very readable summary of the latest views on the nature of the sounds of the English language, the history of their changes, and the various principles on which a phonetic alphabet may be constructed, together with a variety of other collateral matter. Although the work is professedly mainly a compilation, which is sometimes rather deficient in criticism, it will be read with interest even by phonetic specialists. Specially valuable are the remarks on the "Indirect æsthetical effects of our present spelling on Modern Poetry" (Ch. V.), which deserve to be expanded into a separate essay. I quote a paragraph from p. 45. "Now this system of rhyming by spelling instead of by sound has so infected the ears of this generation that no cure is possible except a reformation of spelling, and a statement by good authority of what are generally admissible rhymes. Of course there must, in a language like ours, be left to the poet as great a discretion as to using false rhymes as there is to the musician as to introducing discords; but the present system of allowing *purposeless* false rhymes has no parallel in other arts. A system that admits such rhymes as Mrs. Browning's, and that has not produced one poet in whose works cannot be shown rhymes that are harsh and grating to an unsophisticated ear, must be radically bad. Yet so it will be till poets submit to study their art as musicians and painters do theirs; until they cease to place the necessary preliminaries of Phonetic (in its larger sense) in a different category from that which contains metre and the rhetorical effect of varied grammatical forms." Mr. Fleay then goes on to speak of the hitherto unanalyzed effects produced by the various successions of quantity and vowel-quality, etc., and says: "It would, however, be almost impossible to pursue an investigation of these laws of the melody of vowel sequence through our present involved and tortuous spelling. It could only be effected with a phonetic alphabet; only then could its principles be recognized, and the continued infringement of them by inferior verse-writers be pointed out."

Mr. Fleay's book was written before the appearance of my *Handbook*, and his abstract of my views on the representation of sounds was based on the system of notation employed by me in the earlier *History of English Sounds*. However, I have treated the whole question of Spelling Reform at length in an appendix to the *Handbook*, and have at the same time given a brief sketch of the broader distinctions of the English sounds, especially as regards the unaccented vowels, and the influences and changes of *r*—subjects on which very erroneous ideas still prevail among many would-be spelling reformers.[1]

A question of primary importance for the future progress of phonology is that of *notation*. We have now, thanks to the persevering labours carried on especially during the last ten years, an enormous mass of on the whole trustworthy observations, but the comparison and general utilization of these materials is enormously impeded by the divergent systems employed in writing them down. This diversity is, of course, unavoidable at first, for it is only by extensive and varied experiments that we can hope to arrive at those definite principles on which a generally received phonetic alphabet can alone be constructed. The idea of regulating practical spelling reform on international principles is generally denounced—on what grounds I am wholly unable to perceive—as visionary and chimerical, but the absolute need of an international, universal system for scientific purposes is self-evident. We cannot study the most obscure and out-of-the-way dialect without being continually confronted by difficulties that can only be solved by comparison with many other dialects of many other languages, and it is practically impossible to carry out such comparisons through a number of complex, divergent and generally more or less arbitrary notations.

[1] It is, for instance, very common to hear unphonetic spelling reformers talk of the *r* in *hear* and *hard* as a 'shade' of that in *red*, and consequently deprecate all attempts to distinguish them. They are so completely the slaves of the written symbols that they cannot hear any difference between a consonant (*r*ed), a vowel murmur (hea*r*) and nothing at all (ha*r*d). They might as well call the *g* in *gem* and *deign* a 'mere shade' of that in *go*.

We owe especial gratitude to Mr. Ellis for his numerous notational experiments, which have special value on account of his practical knowledge, not only of the sounds to be symbolized, but also of the resources of the printer's office. But I must confess to not appreciating his last effort—"Engytype." I hold entirely with his former rejection of diacritics, which he carefully excluded from all his former systems. Diacritics, as Mr. Ellis himself has pointed out, act like new types, being cast only for a few founts; they are also troublesome to write and deficient in the compactness of new types, which are much to be preferred to them.

This leads me to speak of a remarkable experiment which is now being made in Sweden, namely that of introducing a uniform scientific alphabet to be used in writing down all the dialects of the country. This alphabet, which has been mainly elaborated by Mr. J. H. Lundell, of the University of Upsala, is based on an older one of Sundevall,[1] which, again, seems to have borrowed largely from Messrs. Ellis and Pitman's Phonotypy. The Swedes will not hear of those digraphs which play so prominent a part in our present English systems, and object to the italics and turned letters employed with so much success by Mr. Ellis. They also reject diacritics in favour of new types, among which we find the Phonotypic *ʃ* for (sh), *η* for (ng), etc. No capitals are employed. All the types are italic. This is the first serious attempt to carry out a uniform system of notation for a whole country—a system, too, which is not a mere compromise, like Mr. Ellis's Glossic and Universal Glossic, which are largely employed in writing the English dialects, but is based on a consistent and thorough-going application of purely scientific principles, as far as they were accessible to the framers of it. It will, therefore, deserve to be studied with attention by all English dialectologists.

My own views on the question of notation up to the time of the publication of my Handbook of Phonetics will be found stated in that work, pp. 100–108, and again, from

[1] Om Fonetiska Bokstäfver (Vetenskaps-Akademiens handlingar, 1855).

the practical Spelling Reform point of view, in the Appendix. The most important principles I then upheld (and still uphold) were that every alphabet, whether scientific or practical, must be based, as far as possible, on the original Roman values of the letters, that the letters must be applied with the minimum of arbitrariness, and that we require not only a minutely accurate symbolization, but also a less elaborate system marking only the broader distinctions of sounds, but so constructed as to be able to adopt more minute symbols from the other system if necessary, the two being harmonized as much as possible. I thus formed the two systems, *Broad* and *Narrow Romic*, mainly on the basis of Mr. Ellis's *Palæotype*, from which the latter differs mainly in the values assigned to the letters. To the relation between my two systems corresponds that between Mr. Ellis's *Glossic* and *Universal Glossic*, which are, however, based not on the Roman values of the letters, as is the case with Palæotype, but on an attempt to retain their present English value. In my Appendix (p. 202 foll.) I have tried to show that such attempts can only lead to a break-down of the fundamental principles of phonetic writing, not only from a scientific, but also from a purely practical point of view, nor has the recent controversy in the *Academy* between Mr. Ellis on the one hand and Mr. Nicol and myself on the other done anything but strengthen my convictions.

The most important result (from the notational point of view) of the practical experience gained in the preparation of my *Handbook* has been the break-down of digraphs in any minutely accurate system. In Mr. Ellis's Palæotype the impracticability of any thorough-going system of digraphs is disguised from several causes. One of these is the connexion between his choice of letters and his theories about the originality of certain sounds. In this way he is enabled, for instance, to employ the unmodified (e), (ee), (o), (oo) in denoting the pronunciation of Chaucer, but according to my views (which are those of many others besides) he would have to write (E), (*ee*), (ɔ), (AA)—all modified letters. Although digraphs are not employed here, these examples will

show how a slight change of theory may seriously impair the convenience of a notation. Again, there are certain sounds which Mr. Ellis does not seem to recognize practically, such as Bell's 'mixed' varieties of *o*. Thus he regards the French *o* in *homme, dot*, simply as the ordinary open 'back' sound, and writes it accordingly with his unmodified (o). Bell, Storm and myself, however, all agree in regarding it is a 'mixed' vowel, that is to say, as an approximation to the 'front' vowels in *peu*, etc. On this theory the French short *o* must be written (oh) in Palæotype. In my Narrow Romic I have carried out consistently the principle, initiated by Mr. Ellis, of denoting all mixed vowels by an (h). Hence the necessity of denoting the very common unaccented vowel heard in the second syllable of the German *gabe* by (eh) instead of Mr. Ellis's simple (ə), which on my principles has to denote a different sound. Now the more minute the analysis of vowels, especially in diphthongic combinations, the greater the number of mixed vowels that have to be recognized. Hence it is that the English diphthong in *wine*, which Mr. Ellis writes with two letters, appears in my Narrow Romic with no less than four—(*eh*ih). In representing some simple sounds I have been obliged to have recourse to trigraphs, as in the Danish soft *d*, which I am obliged to write (dh*j*) to distinguish it from the English (dh) in *the*, with which it was formerly confounded. The result of all this is, as I stated at first, the practical break-down of digraphs (and trigraphs) for purposes of consistently accurate notation.

The fact is, that if we want minute accuracy, we must have new types. When we have availed ourselves of the resources offered by the utilization of otherwise superfluous letters, such as *c*, *q*, *x*, and by turned letters and the other devices employed in Palæotype, we must have new types for the commoner simple sounds, such as (sh), (th), (dh). But we must not rush into the opposite extreme of banishing digraphs altogether. Digraphs can never be entirely avoided, as is sufficiently shown by the fact that even Visible Speech, which is entirely independent of the defects of the Roman

alphabet, frequently employs them. Such general modifiers as (*j*), to indicate palatalization, etc., are absolutely required. All we require is to make digraphs *exceptional*—not to abolish them entirely—and to get rid of trigraphs. In fact we want *elasticity*, and not to require to cast a new type for every insignificant shade of sound. Marks of accent and quantity, etc., should be cast on separate types, to avoid such unpractical monstrosities as *á*, etc., necessitating as they do the cutting of a number of subordinate types for every new letter. Such combinations should be analyzed into (aa′) or something of the kind. The objection to employing accents in the middle of a word, as in (bev·′aara), is pure prejudice, the result of habit and association. What types should be adopted is a question which I cannot go into now; it is, however, evident that the new letters must be such as to show most clearly the relations of the sounds they denote to those denoted by the old letters, and to admit of being easily written, besides having distinctive forms. These principles would exclude such letters as, for instance, the Old English *þ* and ȝ, the former being easily confounded with *p*, the latter troublesome to write.

For rougher phonetic notation, and for purely practical purposes, digraphs are perfectly admissible, as is shown both in Mr. Ellis's Glossic and my Broad Romic. There can, however, be no doubt that here also they will be gradually superseded by new types.

Dialectology.

At the first rise of modern scientific philology, there was a tendency rather to underrate the importance of dialects. It is well known that Grimm attributed only a very subordinate value to them, as compared with the literary language, although he admitted the value of such work as that of Schmeller on the dialects of Bavaria. Although from an abstract point of view this narrowness of Grimm must, like his want of interest in phonology as distinct from mere letter-comparison and in the characteristic features of modern

languages generally, be deemed a defect, it is a defect which has greatly increased the value of his work. Grimm's exclusively literary and antiquarian tendencies, which were so strong that, as he himself humorously says somewhere, "he could be led over the whole country after an Old German book," must be regarded as a healthy instinct of limitation, without which it would have been impossible for him to have laid the solid foundations of historical and comparative philology not only for the Germanic languages, but also, to a great extent, for language generally.

It is this necessity of limitation to which the division of such a family of languages as the Germanic into a definite number of literary dialects is due. The division of the living Teutonic languages into its six literary dialects, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, and English, is, from a scientific point of view, a purely arbitrary one, whose retention can only be defended on grounds of practical convenience. The criteria by which these six subdivisions are regarded as 'languages' in contradistinction to mere 'dialects,' such as Frisian and the various forms of Low-German, are purely external—mainly literary and political, and hence very frequently contradict the actual relations between these 'languages' and 'dialects.' Our conceptions of the meaning and relations to one another of the terms 'language' and 'dialect' are derived from those cases in which the practical, external criteria agree with the scientific ones. But in many cases, as already remarked, the two classes of criteria contradict each other.

When we talk of 'two languages' and then of 'two dialects of the same language,' the former expression suggests the idea of marked individuality and separation, the latter that of comparatively slight divergence and of subordination to a higher unity, namely, that of the 'language' of which the two are dialects. Hence also we are inclined to assume that the two languages, however close their relationship, must be mutually unintelligible, but that speakers of the two dialects must be able to understand each other's native speech—to some extent at least. But if we examine the

real relationship between the six Teutonic conventional languages, we shall find that while English and German, for instance, are almost as distinct and unlike one another as is possible for two cognate languages to be, there are two others, namely, Swedish and Danish, which really stand to one another in the relation of dialects. Not only is their general agreement in grammatical structure and vocabulary greater than that between many Italian dialects, but the speakers of the two languages are able to understand one another when speaking slowly, and with a little practice to understand one another perfectly. In fact, a Swede understands a Dane better than many of his own dialect-speaking countrymen, as, for instance, the peasants of Skåne in the extreme south of Sweden, and vice versâ. From a purely scientific point of view, Swedish and Danish are nothing but dialects of a common Neo-Scandinavian language, and their separation and independent development are due mainly to political and secondarily to literary causes. The relation between Spanish and Portuguese is very similar.

Again, the natural and political divisions often overlap one another. The various Low-German dialects, for instance, especially that of Westphalia, are simply continuations of Dutch, although politically they belong to a High-German area. Similarly, the Catalan and Valencian dialects of Spanish have no connexion beyond a political one with the standard Castilian, and are really dialects of what was once a literary language — the Provençal of southern France. Galician also, although spoken in Spain, is a dialect of Portuguese.

A curious instance of these cross-divisions is afforded by the language of Norway. The Norwegians lost their chance at the Reformation by neglecting to translate Luther's Bible into their own language, and had to adopt Danish as their literary language, with, of course, many peculiarities of pronunciation and additions to the vocabulary. On their separation from Denmark and union with Sweden at the beginning of this century the national spirit of the Nor-

wegians awakened, and they began to call their own Danish 'Norse,' in opposition to that of the Danes themselves.[1] Of late years, however, the remarkable movement called the 'Maalstræv,' literally 'dialect-striving,' has arisen and made considerable progress. The object of this movement is nothing less than the complete expulsion of Danish, and the substitution of Norse. But as Norse is spoken in upwards of a hundred dialects, many of them mutually unintelligible, the practical carrying out of the reform is no easy task. Ivar Aasen, one of the most profound dialectologists of Norway and himself a son of the people, goes on historical and antiquarian principles, and selects from each dialect its most ancient and 'organic' forms, thus constructing an entirely artificial language. Others urge that all literary languages have arisen by the natural preponderance and special cultivation of some one dialect, which gradually spread over the whole country, as in Spain the Castilian, in Italy the Tuscan, in English the Midland dialect, and that such a hodgepodge as that prepared by Aasen is a monstrosity which cannot live and thrive. These reformers, who certainly seem to have experience and reason on their side, urge, therefore, the general adoption and literary cultivation of a special dialect, such as that of Thelemarken, which has distinct and archaic forms, and is, to a certain extent, intermediate between the two most marked groups of dialects, namely, those of West and East Norway.

Hitherto the results of the movement have been more scientific than practical, a great impetus having been given to Dialectology, to which we owe the admirable Norse grammar and dictionary of Aasen, and the publication of many valuable dialectal texts. What the practical results may be is still quite dubious, owing, in a great degree, to the

[1] A Danish school-grammar was once published simultaneously in Denmark and Norway, the only difference between the Danish and Norwegian copies being that the former had on the title-page "Danish," the latter "Norse Grammar."

intemperate and uninstructed zeal of many of the reformers.[1] Those, however, who laugh at the whole thing as a mere fantastic dream, which can be ignored from a practical point of view, are very much mistaken. It is impossible for me here to enter on the interesting question of the relation between language and nationality, but no one can look about him without seeing many analogies to the Norse Maalstræv. The Flemish movement in Belgium and the Finnish one in Finland are, like the Maalstræv, significant tokens of a new spirit which animates the nationalities of Europe, and the inseparable connexion between language and nationality is attested by the attempts of the Russians and Prussians to stamp out the popular speech of Poland and Slesvig. While wishing all these experiments the success they deserve, we cannot deny that some of them have very dubious prospects, but this does not seem to be the case in Norway, where the movement is too strong and independent ever to be put down, even if it only results in some sort of compromise between Danish and the native dialects. Anyhow, its progress is well worthy of the attention, not only of philologists, but also of all who interest themselves in the great problems of national development.

As already remarked, the main division of the dialects of Norway is into those of the East and the West. The latter distinguish themselves not only from those of the East but also from literary Swedish and Danish by their retention of the old diphthongs, and by many archaisms. All the Norwegian dialects show a marked similarity to Swedish, and, indeed, to a Danish ear, the ordinary literary Norse appears to be nothing but Danish with Swedish pronunciation. East Norwegian and the literary 'Upper Swedish approximate more closely in many respects, especially in phonetic structure, than literary and dialectal South Swedish do. In fact, from the adoption of an Ea-

[1] The last news I heard of the movement (now several months ago) w[illegible] rather startling, namely, that a proposal was to be brought before the Storthi[illegible] to introduce the use of the dialects in the elementary schools, the result of wh[illegible] would be that a teacher who happened to speak a dialect different from that [illegible] his scholars might easily be totally unintelligible to them.

Norse dialect as the national language to that of literary Swedish the step would not be great, the main difficulty being that of the number of words peculiar to the Swedish vocabulary.

The above details will suffice to show the endless complexity of the relationship between the political and the scientific conception of dialect. It is clear that from a rigorously scientific point of view we cannot speak of languages at all, but only of groups of dialects, each group shading off by indefinite gradations into its neighbouring group, and the same relations subsisting between the individual dialects of which each group is composed. The accident of one particular dialect being raised by purely external causes to a political and literary supremacy over the whole group is one which, strictly speaking, does not concern the scientific philologist at all, any more than the political divisions by which, for instance, Catalan is Spanish, while Provençal is French. In a rigorously scientific grammar the distinction between French and Spanish would be ignored, and Catalan and Provençal would be treated as members of one group of dialects, on a level with those groups represented respectively by Parisian French and Castilian. Similarly East Norwegian would be thrown into the same group as Upper Swedish, while all the dialects of the extreme south of Norway and Sweden would form special transition-groups between Swedish-Norse and Danish. The recognition of these transition-dialects is one of the most important results of the study of living speech-groups, and it is now generally admitted that the existence of two cognate though sharply distinguished literary languages in immediate geographical proximity always postulates the original existence of an indefinite number of intermediate dialects, however much they may have been swallowed up by the encroachments of the literary languages.

It is this awkward tendency of dialects to disappear altogether which offers such serious—often insurmountable—obstacles to the actual carrying out of such an ideal comparative grammar as I have sketched above. Even in older

languages, in which, on account of the want of literary or political centralization, several of the dialects often attained a certain amount of culture and independence, one or other of them generally gained the upper hand at last, so that our knowledge of dialects that once had a flourishing literary existence is often limited, as in the case of the Umbrian and Oscan dialects of Old Italian, and several of the Old Greek dialects, to what can be gleaned from a few fragments preserved by accident. English is especially fortunate in possessing an almost uninterrupted series of dialectal linguistic documents from the Old English period down to the present day—no inconsiderable period.

While in dead languages the study of the dialects offers no more difficulty than that of the preponderating literary language itself, the case is widely different in living languages. The investigator who were to attempt to grapple singlehanded with even only a tithe of the dialects of such a family as the Germanic, or even of a single language, such as German, would soon find himself confronted by insurmountable obstacles. The observation and description of the characteristic features of a hitherto unwritten dialect postulates a long and arduous preparatory training, and even then is a task of great difficulty and labour. The necessity of training for dialectal work has been so ably and eloquently urged by Mr. Ellis in one of his Presidential Addresses (see our Transactions for 1873–4, p. 447 foll.), that it is unnecessary for me to say anything more on this subject. How we are to get our training is a dubious question to which I shall return presently.

It is evident that the value of dialectal work will vary according to the natural ability and training of the observer, and the circumstances under which he works. Assuming that the two first requisites are satisfactorily fulfilled, it becomes of great practical importance to ascertain what are the conditions of their producing reliable results. It is, think, self-evident that a perfectly full and accurate analysis of a dialect cannot be furnished except by one who speaks it naturally. When we consider that even he, with all the

advantages of a thorough phonetic training, will often meet with considerable difficulties, it seems unreasonable to expect one "not to the manner born" to be able to surpass him. My experience is that statements made about dialects spoken even in the immediate neighbourhood—perhaps at only a few miles distance—of the investigator must often be received with the greatest caution,[1] and that when any one attempts unaided to give a detailed survey of the dialects spoken over an area of any extent, as, for instance, one of the large English counties, merely on the strength of his having a practical command of the dialect of one particular spot, serious errors are almost unavoidable, except under very favourable conditions. When a complete stranger attempts such a task, the chances of success are still more diminished, as when a Londoner attempts to study the dialects of Yorkshire, and still more when a complete foreigner, who has only imperfectly mastered the literary language, attempts it. My own experience of the difficulties of mastering the colloquial forms of literary languages, where the external difficulties are infinitely less than in the case of dialects, where it is easy to check one's observations by direct questioning of educated natives, has supplied me with many instances of how, even with a fair preliminary training and much practical experience in linguistic observation, it is possible totally to mishear and misinterpret the commonest sounds and forms, until the error is revealed by mere chance, perhaps after months of misapprehension.[2] There is still another way of studying dialects, which postulates neither a natural nor an acquired mastery of the one in question, namely, that of direct questioning. Here we must distinguish between examination of an uneducated and of an educated speaker. The former, it need scarcely be observed, is a

[1] Observe the cautious way in which Noreen, a foremost Swedish dialectologist, makes statements about dialects spoken in the same province as his own native one (Ordbok öfver Fryksdalsmålet, Upsala, 1878, preface). So also the accomplished Danish phonetician Lyngby in his *Bidrag til en Sönderjysk Sprog-lære* (Copenhagen, 1858).

[2] Noreen mentions some observations made on his dialect by a foreign philologist (a Dane), informing us at the same time that "half of them are incorrect" (Fryksdalsmålets Ljudlära, Upsala, 1877, Förord, p. ii.).

most unsatisfactory process, resulting generally in forced, unidiomatic sentences, full of words and forms taken from the literary language, none of which would appear in the speaker's unrestrained, natural dialect.[1] The latter process, on the other hand, yields thoroughly reliable results, that is, provided the examinee really has a practical command of the dialect. When, for instance, an accomplished phonetician and linguistic observer like Mr. Ellis works up the materials supplied him by such authorities as Mr. Elworthy or Mr. Hallam, we may unhesitatingly rely on the results. The difficulty is to find educated men who really have a thorough practical command of a dialect. I have seen many instances of how easily people delude themselves into the idea that they have acquired a dialect, when all they really have acquired is a travesty of some of its more marked sounds or intonations, together with a few isolated words and phrases.

These remarks are not made with the intention of discouraging dialectal investigation even under the most unfavourable circumstances, still less of disparaging the often highly valuable results of such investigations, but solely to urge the necessity of the utmost caution and criticism both in working oneself and in utilizing the work of others. Here, if anywhere, the maxim *gnôthi sautón* is in its place, and, indeed, the better trained and qualified the observer is, the more cautious will he be in his statements. It is only ignorance and charlatanism which are dogmatic. A competent investigator, who knows his own strength and weakness thoroughly, will thus be able, in publishing his results, to estimate and state them at their true value, so that even his most hurried and casual observations may be quoted with confidence by others according to the degree of certainty he attributes to them.

It is, however, clear that perfectly satisfactory results can only be obtained by the labours of a large number of trained

[1] Sometimes the results are more amusing than instructive. There is a story told of a Swedish philologist who studied a dialect in this way. On one occasion, wishing to know how the dialect formed the preterite of the verb to die, he asked a peasant, "Which do you say, 'I died' or 'I dew'?" The logical answer was, "When we're dead, we don't speak."

observers, each working at his own native dialect, till such a mass of reliable material has been collected as can be digested into general grammars, first of each group of dialects, and finally of the whole family to which the various groups belong.

In my last Address I spoke with just pride of the extraordinary advances English dialectology has made of late years, owing mainly to the colossal exertions of Mr. Ellis and his school of disciples, among whom Dr. Murray unquestionably takes the first place, and the foundation of the English Dialect Society. It is now my duty to call your attention to the not less extraordinary development of dialectology in Sweden, which threatens, indeed, in many respects, to outstrip our own.

An account has already been given[1] of the formation of the so-called 'Landsmålsföreningar' (Dialectal Associations) at the two Swedish universities of Upsala and Lund, and the Finnish one of Helsingfors. Owing to the vast extent of the country, the scantiness of the population and the defective communications, the different provinces of Sweden still preserve their original individuality, especially of language, to a much greater extent than in other countries. The Swedish universities, being really national institutions, open to poor as well as rich, no inconsiderable portion of the students consists of sons of peasants, who necessarily speak the purest and broadest dialect. As all the students from the same province form an organized body called a 'nation' (natsh·oon) for purposes of social intercourse, mutual help, discipline, etc., the formation of a landsmålsförening for each 'nation' offers no difficulties whatever, and only requires to be supplemented by a general committee to represent the whole university. The most important result of the organization of these associations as yet has been the adoption of a uniform alphabet for writing down the dialects, of which I have spoken more at length in my remarks on Phonology. Large collections in the way of texts, etc., have been made by the separate

[1] In Dr. Tamm's report on Swedish in last year's Address.

associations, and the publication of them will be much facilitated by the founding of a periodical devoted especially to the dialects (Tidskrift för Sveriges landsmål), which will appear at Upsala, and will employ the new alphabet.

It still remains for me to notice some questions bearing on the philological value of dialects, and their relation to the literary language.

The reaction from the previous contempt for dialects has in many cases resulted in exaggerated views of their antiquity and importance. One of the first to urge the importance of dialects was Prof. Max Müller in his *Lectures on Language*. While fully agreeing with the greater part of his masterly and eloquent exposition, I cannot but say that I think the expression "dialectic regeneration" calculated to mislead, and still more its opposition to "phonetic decay," implying that it is the natural and, indeed, only corrective of the process of phonetic decay. It seems to me that the influence of dialects on those reconstructive processes by which modern languages (and ancient ones also) supply the loss of inflexions and words is in general very slight, and that the materials for reconstruction are mainly taken from the language itself. It was at one time imagined that the different dialects of Italy represented the old Italic languages, Oscan, Umbrian, etc., and even Etruscan, but an unprejudiced study of the evidence of comparative grammar must convince every one that all the Romance languages are the direct descendants of literary Latin, which, in fact, swallowed up all the old Italic dialects long before the rise of the Romance languages, just as literary English will soon efface all the still existing remains of our dialects.

A common error is that of attributing an exaggerated antiquity to dialects. It used to be generally asserted of the Dalcarlian dialect of Swedish that it was nothing more or less than pure Icelandic, the fact being that in many of its sounds and forms it is infinitely more modern than the literary Swedish itself, which is certainly far enough removed from Icelandic. Other superficial observers have discovered the Gothic of Ulfilas in various German dialects, none of

them being on the average more archaic than the ordinary literary German. These sensational results are generally obtained by picking out those forms which are more archaic (in some cases strikingly so) than the corresponding ones of the standard language—forms which occur in every dialect —and ignoring the equally numerous and striking cases in which the advantage is as decidedly on the side of the literary language. It was on the strength of a few isolated forms such as *sūnùs* that it was for a long time assumed that Lithuanian stood in a specially near relation to Sanskrit. This fallacy has been well exposed by Professor Leskien in his report on Lithuanian in last year's Address, whose remarks are very instructive (p. 49). My own impression as regards the relation between dialects and literary languages has always been that if compared fully and impartially throughout their whole structure, phonetic, inflexional and in the vocabulary, and not onesidedly, the literary language will generally be found to be quite as archaic as any of its dialects. It must, of course, be understood that I speak only of real relations, not of purely external ones. There can, for instance, be no doubt that Provençal is infinitely more archaic than literary French, but it is really not a dialect of French at all, but an independent language. I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of Mr. Lundell, who has studied most of the Swedish dialects, that the literary Swedish is more archaic than any one of them singly.

Hence it is that the dialects only occasionally throw independent light on the earlier stages of the literary, although they frequently confirm, with more or less certainty, the results obtained by historical and comparative investigation. Where, for instance, do we find any hint in our dialects of the existence of a final *-e* in the language of Chaucer? None at all. Such a form as the Scotch *hame* (heem) for the literary *home*, which affords irrefragable confirmation of the pure, unlabial pronunciation of the Old English *á* in *hám*, is rather exceptional.

The fact is that dialects generally change and reconstruct themselves with far greater ease than the literary languages,

whose growth is impeded in many ways.[1] It is in their independent developments, rather than in their archaisms, that their real value seems to me to lie. Nothing is more interesting than to compare the various changes of the same sound in a number of dialects, and to observe the agreements and disagreements between the different dialects and between them and the literary language. The study of a group of dialects gives us, in fact, a special insight into the life of language. Dialects are especially valuable in illustrating colloquialisms. It often happens that a change which only occurs sporadically in the colloquial form of the standard language, as, for instance, the dropping of a consonant in certain positions, is carried out uniformly in the dialects, where the artificial restraints of literature and schools are not felt. Thus, to take a familiar example, the dropping of *h*, which in polite English society is considered as an occasional vulgarity, is universal in the popular speech of the counties round London. So also the anomalous pronunciation of *one* as (wən), which is quite isolated in the standard language, is carried out uniformly in whole classes of words in the dialects, as in the familiar (wəts)='oats.' Again, the colloquial dropping of *g* and *d* between vowels in some Swedish words, such as (taa) for *taga*, 'take,' (saa) for *sade*, 'said,' is carried out universally in many of the dialects.

The Future of English Philology.

In my Address for last year I made some remarks on the "Characteristics of English Work," in which I tried impartially to sum up the merits and defects of the English school of philology, and to point out the causes of the latter. What I am now going to say may be regarded as a continuation of those remarks.

One of the most striking features of English philology is

[1] Noreen notices a short list of ninety-two proper names and fifty-one other words in his own dialect made in 1773, and states that he cannot find more than nine of the proper and twenty of the other words in the dialect as now spoken, whence he infers that "the dialect must have undergone great changes in the last hundred years" (F. L. pref. p. ii.).

the absence of anything like public opinion. In other countries, in Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and, of late years, in France and Italy also, the collective opinion of the learned world forms an intelligent, impartial, and all-powerful tribunal, which can be appealed to with full certainty by all who have the consciousness of right on their side, and which never hesitates a moment to expose and render harmless dilettanteism and imposture. But in England we have nothing like this. In England thoroughness of work and original investigation by themselves have very little chance of securing the popular ear against the shallowest dilettanteism, if the latter is accompanied by external graces or backed by influential connexions, and in the most favourable circumstances they are generally subordinated in popular estimation to purely external and irrelevant considerations, or judged from a conventional and prejudiced point of view. In fact, among us any one who steps forth confidently, and makes statements in a loud voice, and with frequent reiterations, is sure to get a hearing, even if his utter incompetence has been demonstrated over and over again by competent judges. In any other country but England such men would be hooted down at once by a unanimous burst of indignation from the whole scientific world.

I showed in my last Address of what stuff some of our aspirants to Old English professorships are made; it now remains to give an instance of what some of our professors can do when they try. Some years ago a foreign student of English, having occasion to visit England, took advantage of the opportunity to attend a lecture by one of our most popular professors, in order to gain an idea of the method of instruction followed by the foremost representatives of English philology. He was, however, rather startled when our professor, in the course of his lecture, informed his hearers that there was a difference between the words *tide* and *time*, the difference being that while *tide* is pure "Anglo-Saxon," *time* is of foreign origin, being, in fact, nothing more or less than the Latin *tempus*. I may add that this gentleman still continues to lecture cheerfully to, I am told, not inconsider-

able classes on these and kindred topics, so that he certainly deserves our gratitude for keeping up popular interest in the study of English, and this, under circumstances where another, more fastidious in his etymologies, might perhaps fail. Let us hope that his hearers may long continue to listen to his "fairy tales of science."

With the want of a scientific public opinion in English philology is closely connected another want, namely, that of an organ of criticism. Although the *Academy* has done much for the promotion of competent and independent scientific criticism, and still continues to do so in spite of the relaxation of its originally more rigorously scientific programme, we still want a special periodical which will allow more detailed criticism—and in some cases, perhaps, more independent—than is possible in such a one as the *Academy*. In Germany, when a philologist receives a new work in his special department, he is able to read it through and make his notes, with the certainty of being able to expand them into a detailed review of, if necessary, from ten to twenty pages. These detailed reviews cost the writer infinitely less trouble than the condensed, half-popular notices of a few columns in which the unhappy English reviewer is obliged to express himself, and they are of the greatest utility to others. It is a great advantage to be able to begin the study of a new work under the guidance of such a detailed analysis, which calls the student's attention to its really valuable and original features, and warns him of its errors and fallacies. Besides, these reviews often teem with original and suggestive remarks, which otherwise might be lost entirely. I am convinced that such a periodical would do much to raise the standard of scientific work, to discourage dilettanteism, and to expose imposture. We want an organ where the latter can be denounced authoritatively and without respect for person or reputation.

There is one form of charlatanry to which I will call your attention, and which is specially insidious and dangerous, veiling itself under the disguise of conscientiousness and accuracy. It may be termed the *mechanical* view of language,

and is based on the assumption that language, unlike all other natural phenomena, including even the most complex evolutions of social life, is not governed by general laws; but consists merely of a mass of disconnected details. In its maddest form this view leads its adherents so far that they openly declare the principles of scientific Comparative Philology, as founded by Rask, Grimm, and Bopp, to be simple guesswork and nonsense: statements which may still be heard from some Englishmen.

In a milder shape mechanical philology assumes the form of a slavish and undeviating adherence to MS. readings. To a certain extent this tendency is a healthy reaction against the slovenly inaccuracy and wanton tampering with the MS. evidence, which characterized the older school of editors. We now assume, and rightly, that the first business of an editor is to lay the evidence of the MSS. themselves before the reader in an accurate and unadulterated form. Therein we are all of one mind, but while the scientific philologist regards the written letters of the scribe simply as a means to an end, namely, the recovery of the original text and the actual forms of the language, both of which the MSS. always represent more or less inaccurately, our mechanical friend resents any attempts of the kind as high treason to the scribe, who, he argues, must understand what he was writing better than any modern editor. To this it may be answered that many of them did not understand what they were writing half so well as a thoroughly competent editor. It is quite certain that a modern Greek scholar understands the choruses of the Greek tragedies infinitely better than the scribes of any MS. that has been preserved, probably better even than Cicero, who learnt Greek as a living language under the best professors. And I think any one who has any knowledge of the MSS. of some of the Old English poems, as, for instance, Cædmon, will hesitate to attribute to their scribes a more accurate knowledge of the old poetical language than to a modern scholar. It is at least certain that the twelfth century Florence of Worcester made the most glaring errors in translating the "Battle of

Brunanburh" into Latin—errors which would be pointed out by any schoolboy, if schoolboys were taught English.

But quite apart from the question of knowledge, it is certain that the scribes made errors, even when writing down their own thoughts in the language of their own time. Like the rest of us they sometimes left out letters, or even words, sometimes—sad to relate—even whole lines, sometimes they transposed letters, sometimes they substituted one word for another, making complete nonsense of what they wrote. They also omitted many distinctions which can be proved to have existed in the language. Thus the Old English scribes, like the Latin, did not mark the quantity of the vowels with any consistency and accuracy. What means does the scientific philologist employ to get at the facts underlying all this vagueness and inaccuracy? Simply common-sense guided by the universally received laws of Comparative Philology. Thus if he finds a word spelt 99 times in the same way and only once in another way, he puts down the former as the more usual spelling, regardless of the protests of his mechanical friends, and if the other spelling represents a collocation of sounds which does not elsewhere occur, he puts it down as an error of the scribe. Thus, if in editing a work from a MS. or printed book of the beginning of this century, he were to find a certain adjective spelt *big* 99 times and only once *bgi*, he would infer that the former was the more usual form at the period in question, and when he found that initial *bg* did not occur elsewhere in the language of that period, he would come to the conclusion that the form *bgi* was an accidental error. In other cases the aid of comparative philology is required, as in settling the quantity of the O.E. vowels, which is determined partly by comparison both with Modern English and the old cognates, partly by observing the inner laws of the language, as deduced from its spelling, and lastly by seeing if the conclusions thus obtained independently harmonize. It need hardly be remarked that these investigations often offer great difficulty, and yield doubtful results, but in most cases the reasoning is such as to carry conviction to any competent judge.

How far these results should be utilized in printing texts, depends entirely on the character and object of the text. It is evident that there is wide difference between an editio princeps, whose main business is to make the unaltered MS. evidence generally accessible, and a reading-book for beginners, which is intended to familiarize the student with the *language itself*, as reconstructed by the processes mentioned above, not with the details of the MS. tradition of each text, which would give the beginner an entirely false and inadequate idea of the actual language. Hence the editor of such a book is not only justified in utilizing, but is bound to utilize all the certain results of scientific investigation, and if the MS. spellings require supplementing, as when the vowel-quantity is marked, or alteration in those cases in which a MS. form contradicts the evidence of the majority of other MS. forms or of comparative philology, he is equally bound to supplement and alter accordingly, under pain of garbling the evidence, of which the written forms of a given MS. are only a portion, however indispensable it may be.

In my *Anglo-Saxon Reader* I have not only carried out these principles consistently, to the best of my power, but have also gone a step further, namely, in altering forms, which, although quite correct, are exceptional, in favour of the more usual ones, and relegating the original ones to the foot of the page, so that the learner may be able to fix the regular forms firmly in his memory before studying the more exceptional ones. I need hardly remark that these proceedings of mine have proved extremely distasteful to many members of the mechanical school, who forget or ignore that an editio princeps and a hand-book for learners must necessarily be constructed on totally different principles, and that a consistent carrying out of their principles, or rather want of principles, would result in our beginning to read Greek in a photograph of a half-extinct palimpsest without word-division, or in a Byzantine MS. full of contractions, which the professor or master himself would probably not be able to read.

The real explanation of this mechanical fanaticism is, that

it is often a mere excuse for laziness. Whatever may be said of the worthlessness of the results of modern philology, it cannot be denied that their application to a special language postulates an enormous amount of hard labour and patient training, and any amount of critical sagacity. But the mechanical philologist escapes all this. I have seen Old English text-editions which postulated literally no training beyond the power of transcribing the Old English letters into ordinary ones.

Of course, as soon as such men deviate from the path of rigid mechanicalness, they fall into awkward mistakes. One of the editions in which this method is carried to its utmost extreme is Prof. Earle's, from an historical point of view, most admirable one of the Chronicle (Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel), in which even the inadequate and sense-destroying punctuation of the original is reproduced. The editor has, however, chosen, inconsistently enough, to expand the contraction of the conjugation 'and,' but, strangely enough he writes *and* throughout instead of *ond*, with such forms as *monnum*, *lond*, etc., staring him in the face on every page, together with a few *onds* written out in full. I do not say that this is any very serious error, but it is one which any one trained in the German school of philology could hardly have made.

The inability to grasp general principles is, indeed, one of the most marked characteristics of English philologists. Such men as Kemble and Whitley Stokes stand almost alone in having attained a real mastery—in the case of Kemble, perhaps, rather a superficial one—of the principles of German philology. I am often astonished to see men consulting scientific works of reference, such as Fick's Wörterbuch, Curtius's Griechische Etymologie, and even Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik, perhaps for years, without ever realizing the elementary laws of letter-change in the different languages, so that they come out with etymologies which, on the principles on which these works are written, are simply impossible. Others, again, claim to be scientific philologists on the strength of having acquired a practical knowledge of

Sanskrit, which is really nothing but one of the means to an end.

Another of our deficiencies is the almost universal ignorance of the principles of text-criticism. There is really no reason why we Englishmen should confine ourselves to the mechanical reproduction of MSS., or, still worse, to the construction of texts on radically false principles, and leave the interesting and important work of genuine critical reconstruction entirely to our German brethren, and I wish that all would-be editors would carefully read our member Mr. Nicol's paper on "M. G. Paris's Method of Editing in his *Vie de St. Alexis*" (Trans. 1873-4, p. 332). They will there find the falseness of some of the apparently most self-evident axioms of ordinary editing briefly and clearly demonstrated.

There is, of course, no reason why we should not at the same time keep up our present method, from which, indeed, foreign scholars still have much to learn.

All the evils I have denounced are, as I remarked in my last Address, not due to any defect in the English character, but simply to want of systematic training, and it is a question of vital and pressing importance how we are to get this training, and, as Mr. Ellis says in his already quoted report on Dialectology, "drain the pestiferous marshes of dilettanteism." We want universities, we want endowment, for science can never be made self-supporting, we want perfect freedom of study, and, finally, we want competent teachers. Of course, if those anomalous bodies which we, by a strange misnomer, call universities, can be transformed into real universities, that would certainly be the most satisfactory solution of the problem; if not, we must seek Government or private aid.

Whether the talk of establishing professorships of English at our universities will come to anything in our days is very doubtful. If so, the first result will probably be a general rush of pretenders, some of whom will appeal to the length of their beards, others to the largeness of their families, others to their popularity in common- or combination-room.

If fortunate enough to escape from these gentlemen, the professorships will perhaps fall into the hands of good men in their way, perhaps industrious mechanical text-editors, but devoid of general principles, and therefore unfit to train up scientific workers. In this way we may go on for ever in our present rut, until German investigation has completely exhausted the subject of English philology.

Rather than this should happen, I would see the professorships given away in the first instance to foreigners, if no properly qualified Englishmen are forthcoming, unless, indeed, we could send young men to qualify themselves by study at some German university.

It need hardly be said that no one man can command the whole field of English philology: it is so vast that division of labour is absolutely necessary. To include the subjects which are absolutely essential for English philology, we require at least four special branches:

1) Old English, and comparative Teutonic philology (general Indogermanic philology).

2) Middle and Modern English languages (modern dialects, practical phonetics).

3) English literature (middle-age literature generally, especially French).

4) Old French and comparative Romance philology.

The subjects inclosed in parentheses are those which, although of subordinate importance, are specially connected with the principal ones.

Each specialist must, of course, in addition to his knowledge of his own department, have a general knowledge of the *results* of other studies, when necessary. Thus, no one can study Middle English properly without a sound knowledge of Old English and Old French, although the Middle English specialist cannot be expected to familiarize himself with all the details of these languages, nor with the wider comparative investigations by which those details are tested. Nor can the Old English student dispense with the help afforded by Middle and even Modern English in many

cases, while Old French, on the other hand, will be quite useless to him.

The separation of literature from language is most important, as experience shows that these subjects cannot be united in one person without one or other of them being practically sacrificed to the other.

These four divisions should be put on a footing of perfect equality: they all offer an inexhaustible field for work, and they are all equally indispensable for the complete study of English.

I must now conclude my own observations, in order to make room for the special reports on 1) the German dialects of Switzerland, by Dr. L. Tobler of Zürich, 2) the languages of Polynesia by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee, and 3) on Quichua, by M. von Boeck.

Swiss-German Dialects.

The first of these we owe to the instrumentality of our member Mr. Cust, to whom we are so much indebted both for his own contributions and those which he has induced outside scholars to favour us with. The present report, although short, is full of interest, and comes in very opportunely just now, when our own dialects are beginning to obtain that earnest study they deserve.

"Scientifically systematic researches on the whole domain of the Swiss-German dialects date only about fifteen years back. In 1862 the Antiquarian Society of Zurich, known by its publications on Swiss antiquities, at the suggestion of one of its members who had long been engaged in the study of the Swiss vernacular ('Volkssprache'), resolved to support his efforts. It was proposed to give a new and greatly modified form, in harmony with the progress of science, to the work which (before Grimm had laid the foundation of German philology in his *Deutsche Grammatik*) had been undertaken at the commencement of the century by the venerable Deacon Stalder, in his *Versuch eines schweizerischen*

[illegible]

[illegible] hard [illegible] necessary [illegible] graphical, [illegible] points [illegible] and the [illegible] in the tradition of the living language had to be

filled out by reference to the older literature. All this preparatory work has taken more than ten years, even after a more numerous staff could be employed, thanks to the pecuniary aid of the federal and cantonal authorities.

"In 1874 the editors published some specimens of the materials collected so far, which were favourably received, but could not set at rest the impatience with which the authorities and private individuals awaited the appearance of the whole work, and in 1876 a treatise was published which endeavoured to prove that for the external arrangement of the Glossary the only appropriate principle, also approved of by most of the German specialists, was that applied by Schmeller in his *Baierisches Wörterbuch*. In 1868 a comprehensive report on all contributions received up to that time was published, and since 1874 annual reports chronicle the progress of the undertaking. The preparations are now so far advanced that a first part of the work may be expected to appear in 1879.

"There still remain to be noticed a few smaller works already published, partly descriptions of particular idioms, partly preliminary extracts from the collective work.

"The first important work, which may be looked upon as a sort of forerunner of the glossary, is by Dr. Fritz Staub, of Zurich, the same gentleman who suggested the resolution of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich, and who has till now remained at the head of the enterprise. Written by him, though not under his own name, there appeared at Leipzig in 1868 his *Das Brot, im Spiegel schweizer-deutscher Volkssprache und Sitte, aus den Papieren des schweizerischen Idiotikons*. This monograph is not solely devoted to philological research, but also to the history of culture; it supplies in an agreeable and instructive form a number of lexicographical and grammatical facts. The lexicographical idioms are grouped round the notion of bread in its literal and figurative significance, together with compounds and phrases referring to the different sorts of bread and its use. The grammatical remarks on special forms of words are added in notes. From this example, happily chosen but by no means the only one of its

kind, we may recognize how rich the popular language is in terms for specialties, and how deeply one can penetrate through it into the life of the people.

"While Dr. Staub has shown in this work how thoroughly and skilfully he knows how to treat of the ethnographical side of idioms, he proves in an exhaustive essay, published in the seventh volume of the periodical *Die Deutschen Mundarten*, under the title *Ein alemannisches Lautgesetz*, that he masters with equal ability the purely linguistic element, especially the apparently unfertile subject of sound as such. He here discusses a phenomenon occurring in many languages, but first fully elucidated by Joh. Schmidt (*Zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Vocalismus*, Weimar, 1871), and manifesting itself with peculiar distinctness in the Alemannic dialects. It consists in this: the short vowels before an *n*, followed by *s*, *f*, or *ch*, by the absorption of the nasal is transformed into long vowels or diphthongs. Compare Anglo-Saxon *fif*, Eng. *five*, High-German *fünf*, Swiss *füf* or *feuf*; A.S. *gôs*, Eng. *goose*, High-German *gans* (Greek χήν for χανς, Latin *ans-er* for *hans-er*), Swiss in the plural *geis*. Dr. Staub has shown that this tendency to vocalize the nasal has acted within certain limits of time and space, with unequal intensity but great regularity, and has produced many new sounds.

"This work also embraces the whole domain of the Swiss dialects; the other publications relating only to smaller districts, still however showing, even within these limits, the prodigious richness of the language materially and formally.

"In 1872 appeared *Davos in seinem Walser dialect*, by Val. Bühler. The district of Davos in the Canton of Graubünden, possesses a European reputation as a place of resort, but it is also remarkable for its primitive constitution and language. That the author of the above work is not a philologist by profession may be gathered from certain errors in the external arrangement and accuracy of the linguistic statements, but the linguistic and historical matter is very manifold and instructive from its reproduction

in the Second Part in synonymous order, that is, according to the meaning of the words, and many novel points of view are thus brought out.

"Much more valuable from a purely philological point of view is the work, *Die Kerenzer Mundart des Kantons Glarus*, by J. Winteler, published in 1876. This is a first attempt to present a local Swiss dialect, grammatically and etymologically, in conformity with the laws of modern science. It has been received with much favour by specialists, and may serve as a model for similar works. The chief merit of the book consists in its tracing back sounds to their physiological and historical basis, and symbolizing them as correctly as possible by new signs, so as to furnish us with a real natural description and history. For comparison he avails himself mainly of the cognate dialect of the Canton St. Gallen, but further remarks referring to other groups of Swiss idioms, or to all of them collectively, are also interspersed. The author also sets forth in his treatment of the inflexions and formation of words some fertile points of view, and there are some remarkable contributions towards the collective glossary of Switzerland. It concludes with specimens of the living language, in which the sounds of connected speech originating from assimilation of consonants, abbreviation of words, and displacement of accents, are written with phonetic accuracy.

"A similar work, but more lexicographical than grammatical, is the *Aargauer Wörterbüch*, by J. Hunziker. It contains the language of a part of the Canton Aargau, in the idiom of a single commune, and the sounds are represented by special signs, for which, as also for the detailed account of the phonology, Winteler's book has already served as a model. The glossary does not contain anything very remarkable, but it is evident that if every commune of the Canton were to furnish a similar contribution (which it was the object of the author to promote) a rich harvest might be reaped.

"A glossary of the Canton of Basel is now in print, and will probably be completed before the publication of the

General Swiss Dictionary can be begun. It will be easily understood that this work would have been greatly facilitated and furthered if it had been preceded by more such special works, which perhaps may now follow it. At all events supplements will become inevitable, for every day shows that the people's language is inexhaustible."

On our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Polynesia.

Mr. Whitmee's report is one of the most valuable we have ever published, both in the novelty and importance of the matter and the masterly way in which it is brought before us. The fact that Mr. Whitmee himself is engaged on a comprehensive comparative dictionary of the Malayo-Polynesian languages gives a special importance to their study, as such a dictionary will bring them within the reach of general linguistic students. From the specimen I have seen of the proposed dictionary I think it will be of great value in illustrating the processes of linguistic metaphor and change of meaning, and the close affinity of the languages among themselves enables us to trace the changes with more certainty than in many other families, where the connecting links are lost. It was Professor Sayce, of Oxford, who first suggested to me the advisability of securing Mr. Whitmee as a contributor to these reports, and Mr. Cust made an independent move in the same direction.

"In this paper Polynesia is used as a geographical name for all the intertropical islands of the Pacific eastward of the Philippine Islands north, and of New Guinea and the barrier reef of Australia south of the Equator. There are three families (or groups) of languages spoken by the people inhabiting the islands scattered over this area.

"I. The languages of the large-sized brown race who occupy the eastern and central islands, from the Hawaiian, Marquesas and Tuamotu (or Low) Archipelagoes east, to the Ellice, Samoa and Tonga Islands west. To this family I

think we may continue to apply the name Malayo-Polynesian, that term being well understood and largely accepted by ethnologists and philologists. To the languages spoken by the people living on the islands included within the above-mentioned boundaries, we must add the Maori of New Zealand, the language of Easter Island, and those of three or four small colonies in the New Hebrides.

"II. A second family (or group) of languages is spoken by the brown, strait-haired, but smaller-sized and more mixed inhabitants of the Caroline, Ladrone, Marshall and Gilbert Islands, which all lie on the north of the Equator, with the exception of a part of the Gilbert Islands. To these islands the name Micronesia is usually applied. That name is objectionable, because many of the smallest islands (the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago for example) are not included under it. I should like to see some ethnographical term adopted. But not being prepared to suggest one that is both distinctive and descriptive, I shall use here the name Micronesia.

"III. The third family (or group) of languages is that spoken by the black frizzly-haired race inhabiting the western portion of the South Pacific, from Fiji as its eastern boundary, to New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and on to New Britain and the Admiralty Islands. This family is known as Papuan, Melanesian, and Negrito. I shall call it Negrito-Polynesian, and Melanesian.

I.—*The Malayo-Polynesian.*

"These languages are now well understood. The Hawaiian, Maori, Samoan, Tahitian, Rarotongan, Tongan and Marquesan, have all long been studied and written by missionaries and others who have resided in the islands where they are spoken. Grammars and Dictionaries of most of them have been written, and a good many books in several of these languages have been published. They all bear a great resemblance to one another. It has been popularly supposed since Cook's time that a native of one island has little

difficulty in conversing with natives of other islands, even on first meeting with them. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether this can be done. From my own knowledge of the languages, and from seeing the natives of different islands and groups in contact with one another, I should certainly say a Hawaiian, a Maori, a Samoan, and a Tahitian meeting together for the first time would be quite unable to carry on anything like a conversation together. They would probably understand one another more by signs than by words.

"As is well known, these languages bear much resemblance verbally, and in their grammatical forms, to those spoken by the lighter-coloured inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago. My present study of them is confirming me in the opinion that they all (together with the language of Madagascar) are more or less closely related. But I doubt whether the Malayo-Polynesian can be regarded in any sense as branches of the Malay. I should rather regard the whole of these languages, together with those of the Indian Archipelago and the Malagasy, as being more or less changed branches from an original root-stock which is not now to be found in any one spoken language. The Malay itself, so far from being the root-stock, is probably the most developed and most changed branch which has sprung from the original stock; for it has doubtless been more changed than the others by extraneous influences which have reached it from India, and from contact with the Arabs. There can be no doubt but the Malayo-Polynesians were separated from their congeners in the Indian Archipelago before these influences affected the Malay language. I do not wish to theorize on insufficient data, but, judging from this fact, from the resemblance which exists between all the various Malayo-Polynesian tongues, and from their isolation and comparative simplicity, I think it probable that a comparative study of these languages may do much towards enabling us to reconstruct the original language from which they all, together with the Malayan and Malagasy, have diverged.

"The phonology of these languages is simple. With one

exception all the sounds found in them may be expressed by the Roman letters with their ordinary values. The vowel-sounds are all simple, as in Spanish. Every syllable is open. To this there is no exception. Many words consist entirely of vowels. Phonetic changes have taken place according to law, so that a given word in one language may have its form in any other language, if it be found there, predicated. As a rule the accent is on the penultimate; but in a few cases (chiefly when the last syllable ends in a diphthong or a long vowel) on the ultimate. Very rarely, in some languages, the accent may be on the antepenult. There is an indefinite as well as a definite, and in some languages a plural article. Many words may be used as nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs without any change of form. But some nouns are formed from the verb by taking a suffix. Gender is only sexual. There is some variety in the way of indicating number in the noun. In Samoa many nouns have special plural forms. The cases are indicated by prepositions. Proper names in the nominative case take a prefix, as *O Tahiti*, etc. Adjectives follow the substantives. The pronouns are very numerous. Personal pronouns are singular, dual and plural. The form of the plural in some languages shows that it was originally a trinal. In the verbs the distinctions of tense, mood, and voice are indicated by particles prefixed or postfixed. Number and person are generally regarded as accidents of the subject, and not of the verb. To this, however, the Samoan forms an exception, in which language many of the verbs have a special plural form. In all the languages there is a causative which is formed by a prefix to the verb. There are also intensive or frequentative, and reciprocal forms of the verbs. The intensive is usually a reduplication of the active verb, the reciprocal is usually formed by both a prefix and a postfix. Verbal directive particles are freely used, to direct towards, away from, or aside. In some languages, especially that of Samoa, many ceremonious words are used only to chiefs, and the different grades of rank are indicated in conversation by particular words used to persons of rank. Words which form part

of a chief's name are often disused during his life, and in some places they are disused after his death.

"In enumerating the principal works which will be of use to philologists in studying the Malayo-Polynesian languages, I will begin with those which are of a general character. First in time and in importance comes the excellent comparative sketch of the grammar and the dictionary published in the 'United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838–1842: Ethnography and Philology, vol. vii., by Horatio Hale, Philologist to the Expedition' (Philadelphia, 1846). In this grammar and dictionary Mr. Hale collected together the information which had, up to that time, been gathered by the missionaries respecting the languages of several groups. He also carried on independent investigations during his cruise, both in the languages which had been studied by missionaries, and in others up to that time unknown. The vast amount of information thus brought together he generalized in a moderately full grammar, which has, up to the present time, been the chief standard work on the whole Malayo-Polynesian family of languages. His dictionary also has been of very great value, although I think it of less value than the grammar. To say that Mr. Hale's work is now behind our present knowledge of these languages is to say only what every student would hope and expect to be the case. But, even now, the student of Polynesian philology, who has separate grammars and dictionaries of all the languages in his hand, may still learn something from this work, which he cannot afford to overlook. The volume containing it is, however, very rare and difficult to obtain.

"Another work which, while dealing specially with the languages of Tahiti and the Marquesas Isles, also gives a somewhat general view of other languages, is 'Du Dialecte de Tahiti, de celui des Iles Marquises, et, en général, de la Langue Polynésienne,' par P. L. J. B. Gaussin (Paris, 1853). In this volume there is not much which will not be found in Hale and in grammars on particular languages, except on the Marquesan, for which it should be consulted. Next comes

Dr. Friedrich Müller's sketch of the Malayo-Polynesian in the 'Reise der Fregatte Novara' (Vienna, 1867), which must also be used by the student of these languages.

"The chief special works on particular languages are as follows:—On the *Maori* of New Zealand the Grammar, by R. Maunsell, LL.D. (Auckland, N.Z., 1st ed., 1842; 2nd ed., 1862), is a standard work. Kendal's Grammar (1820) may be consulted, also the introduction to Williams' Dictionary, and Archdeacon Williams' First Lessons in Maori (1872). Bishop Williams' Dictionary (1st ed., 1852; 2nd ed., edited by Archdeacon Williams, 1871) is very good and moderately full, giving many examples of the use of words from Sir G. Grey's 'Mythology and Traditions of the New Zealanders,' (London, 1854), which greatly enhances its value. I understand that, by some arrangement with the New Zealand Government, Mr. W. Colenso, F.L.S., was for some time engaged in preparing material for a large and exhaustive Maori dictionary. But that, by some unfortunate circumstances, the work has not advanced very far, and has now been stopped. Philologists will sincerely hope that at least the material already accumulated will be available for publication, or for use in the compilation of other more general works. But as far as my information goes this is not at present the case. Of course all those who study Maori will make use of Sir G. Grey's admirable collections of Maori Traditions, etc., mentioned above; also his Maori Poetry (New Zealand, 1853) and 'Proverbial and Popular Sayings of the Ancestors of the New Zealand Race' (Cape Town, 1857). A translation of the Bible into Maori may also be obtained of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

"In the *Hawaiian* language there is an excellent Grammar by the late Judge Andrews; and Prof. W. D. Alexander has published an admirable little 'Synopsis of the most essential points in Hawaiian Grammar' for the use of his students in Oahu College. Both of these were published in Honolulu, H.I., and may be highly recommended; while Andrews' 'Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language' (Honolulu, 1865) may certainly be regarded as by far the best dictionary of

any Polynesian tongue which has been published. The Bible and many other books have been published in Hawaiian, and newspapers are now regularly published in it. Students may consult Adelbert v. Chamisso's 'Hawaiische Sprache' (Leipzig, 1837), although the above-mentioned books contain the results of a more perfect knowledge of the language than was possessed when Chamisso's book was written.

"A short Grammar and small Dictionary of the language of *Samoa*, by the Rev. G. Pratt, was published in Samoa in 1862. This being out of print, Mr. Pratt has prepared a new and enlarged edition, which is now in the press and will be shortly published by Messrs. Trübner & Co. This new edition contains all the words which have been collected by the united efforts of the missionaries. But, although I am editor, and proprietor of the copyright, of this work, I must confess that the definitions of words are briefer, and the examples of their use fewer, than I think desirable. But still I hope the work will prove a useful addition to our books on Polynesian philology. In some respects the Samoan is one of the most important Malayo-Polynesian languages. And it is without doubt the parent of some of the members of this family; such, *e.g.*, as the Tokelau and Ellice Islands dialects. The Samoan version of the Bible, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, is one of the best versions of the Bible extant.

"Of the *Tongan* language a Vocabulary by the Rev. S. Rabone was published in Vavau in 1845. This is far behind the knowledge of the language now possessed by some of the missionaries. And I am happy to say the Rev. J. E. Moulton, who has lived many years in Tonga as a missionary, has in hand a revised and enlarged edition which will be incorporated in the Comparative Dictionary, on which I am now engaged. From Mr. Moulton's ability and thorough knowledge of the language, I am sure this will be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge. In 1865 the Rev. T. West published as an appendix to a work entitled 'Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia,' a Tongan Grammar, which appears, in some respects, to lack accuracy. But

in the Grammar, also, I hope Mr. Moulton will be able to do for the Tongan language what has already been done for the Maori, Hawaiian and some others. Mariner's Grammar and Dictionary, while exceedingly good, considering the circumstances under which the materials were collected, are, of course, behind our present knowledge of the language.

"A Grammar and a Dictionary of the *Tahitian* language were published in Tahiti in 1851. These were prepared by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, but published anonymously. Both the Grammar and Dictionary are very good, but may with advantage be revised and enlarged. The Rev. J. L. Green of Tahiti is now engaged in such a revision and enlargement for my Comparative Grammar and Dictionary. Gaussin's Grammar of the Tahitian, etc., I have already mentioned among the general works. See also the work by Buschmann and Baron William von Humboldt below, under the Marquesan language.

"Of the *Hervey Islands* dialects no dictionary has ever been published. There are considerable variations in the language of the group, which may be spoken of as containing two or three dialects. The *Rarotongan* is the principal of these, and a brief grammar of this in parallel columns — English and Rarotongan — by the Rev. A. Buzacott, was published in the island in 1854. This is but an imperfect Grammar, but it is the only help we at present possess in studying the language, except the Bible and other books which have been published for the use of the natives. But, at my request, the Rev. W. W. Gill, B.A., is at work at a Dictionary which will give the dialectic differences in the words found in the group. This will be incorporated in the Comparative Dictionary.

"M. Gaussin's Grammar already mentioned treats of the language of the *Marquesas Islands*. I have also in my possession an 'Essai de Grammaire de la Langue des Iles Marquises,' the title-page of which is gone, and which is consequently without name or date. This gives a fair account of the Grammar. The 'Aperçu de la langue des Iles Marquises, et de la langue Taïtienne,' par J. Ch. Ed.

Buschmann (Berlin, 1843), contains, besides Buschmann's Essay, a very short French-Marquesan Vocabulary, and some Marquesan and Tahitian texts with interlinear French translations. To these are appended a Grammar of Marquesan and Tahitian and a Vocabulary of the Tahitian by Baron William Von Humboldt, which will still be found useful to the student of these languages. A Marquesan Dictionary, by l'Abbé Boniface Mosblech, was published in Paris in 1843, under the title 'Vocabulaire Océanien-français et français-Océanien des dialectes parlés aux îles Marquises, Sandwich, Gambier, etc.' This is by no means a perfect work, but is at present our only published Dictionary of the Marquesan. I have, however, secured the services of M. Pinard, who has resided some time in those islands, to supplement this dictionary, and he is contributing material from two dialects found in the Marquesas to my Comparative Dictionary.

"M. Pinard is also contributing material in the *Rapanui* and *Gambier Islands* languages for the Comparative Dictionary. Up to the present time scarcely anything has been made known respecting these branches of the Malayo-Polynesian. Most of the people of the *Tuamotu* (or Low) Archipelago are now speaking the Tahitian language, and M. Pinard's contribution in the Gambier Islands' dialect is likely to be all we shall obtain from that widely scattered cluster of small islands.

"A manuscript Grammar of the language of *Niuē* (or Savage Island) by the Rev. W. G. Lawes, who was many years a missionary there, is in my possession for incorporation in the proposed Comparative Grammar. Mr. Lawes is also preparing material for a Dictionary of this language to be used in the Comparative Dictionary. He has also made a translation of the New Testament and of some portions of the Old Testament, and has prepared other books in the Niuē language for the use of the natives of the island.

"The languages of the *Tokelau* (or Union), and of the *Ellice Islands*, are very near to the Samoan. Yet they use more sounds than are found in most of the other Malayo-Polynesian languages. Samoan books have been introduced

in both of these groups, and most of the people now use that language. All that has hitherto been known of the Tokelau and Ellice Islands dialects is that which is given by Hale. But before I left the Pacific I secured a moderately full vocabulary of them both for my Comparative Dictionary.

"As is well known, there are many Malayo-Polynesian words mixed with the *Fiji* language, which belongs to the Negrito-Polynesian (or Melanesian) family. In *Rotuma* also there is a mixture, the language containing a few Malayo-Polynesian elements. There is also a Malayo-Polynesian dialect spoken by part of the people on *Uvea*, one of the Loyalty Islands. And in the New Hebrides at *Fotuna*, *Aniwa*, *Mel* and *Fil* (the two latter places belonging to the island of Efate) brown Polynesian colonies are found who speak dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian. Except of the Fiji, and Mr. Hale's brief account of the Rotuma, no grammars or dictionaries of any of these languages have been published. I have, however, hope of obtaining more or less material from all of these places for use in the Comparative Grammar and Dictionary. This completes our survey of the Malayo-Polynesian.

II.—*Micronesian.*

"The sounds in these languages come near to those used in the Malayo-Polynesian. The *ch*, *dj*, *sh*, sounds differ rather in degree than in kind from Malayo-Polynesian sounds. Closed syllables are by no means rare. Occasionally doubled consonants are used, but there is a tendency to introduce a slight vowel-sound between them. Most words take the accent on the penult. In some languages there appears to be no article. Of Ponape Dr. Gulick says, 'It is very questionable whether there is anything in the language deserving the name of article. If there be one, it is postpositive.' In the Gilbert Islands language the Malayo-Polynesian form *te* is used in place of both the indefinite and the definite article. Gender is sexual only. Number in the noun is either gathered from the requirement of the sense, or is marked by pronominal words or numerals. Case is known by the

position of the noun in the sentence, or by prepositions. In the Ebon language nouns of a certain class take a pronominal postfix exactly as in the Negrito - Polynesian languages, and thus these have the appearance of inflections. The nouns which take this postfix are those of close relationship, as of a father to a son, or the members of the body. I have not discovered whether this peculiarity is found in any other Micronesian language. Many words may be indiscriminately used as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, without any change of form. In some languages the personal pronouns are singular, dual, and plural. In others there are no special dual forms, but the numeral for *two* is used to express the dual. In the Ebon language there are special inclusive and exclusive forms of the personal pronouns which, as far as I can ascertain, do not occur in the other Micronesian languages. The verbs usually have no inflections to express relations of voice, mood, tense, number or person, such distinctions being indicated by particles. The Rev. E. T. Doane tells us, however, that in Ebon the tenses are distinctly marked; but even there the simple form of the verb is frequently given. These languages all possess causative, intensive, and reciprocal forms of the verb. They also have verbal directive particles. In Ponape many words of ceremony are used only to chiefs, as in Samoa. Other words are used only by priests in the exercise of their functions. The custom of tabooing words which occur in the names of high chiefs is also found there.

"We still know comparatively little of this family of languages. External and craniological characteristics indicate that the people are a very mixed race. And the languages indicate the same. Mr. Hale published a brief vocabulary of the dialect spoken on *Tobi*, or Lord North's Island. He also published a short vocabulary of the language of *Mille*, an island in the Radack chain of the Marshall Archipelago. Of the *Gilbert Islands* language he published outlines of a Grammar and also a Vocabulary. Up to the present time I believe these are all the materials for a study of these languages which have been published, except portions of the

New Testament, and some elementary books prepared by the missionaries for the natives. A brief manuscript Grammar and a Dictionary of the Gilbert Islands language are, however, in existence, and the author of them, who has been many years a missionary in the group, has promised to furnish me with copies of both.

"Of the language of *Ponape*, one of the Caroline Islands, we have more material than of any other Melanesian language. In 1858 the Rev. L. H. Gulick, M.D., published a small Grammar of the Ponape language. In 1872 a revised edition of this, together with a Ponape-English and English-Ponape Vocabulary, was published in the 'Journal of the American Oriental Society' (vol. x.). This gives us a fair knowledge of the Ponape language. In 1860 the Rev. E. T. Doane, a missionary residing on *Ebon*, or Strong's Island, one of the Marshall group, published in 'The Friend' at Honolulu a brief sketch of the Ebon language. This he compared with the Ponape language, and came to the conclusion that they are 'twin sisters.' Other islands in the Marshall and Caroline Islands are occupied by American missionaries, but I am not aware that they have given to the world any more material for a study of the languages of the people among whom they labour. I very much wish one of their number in Micronesia, or some gentleman in the Hawaiian Islands, whence the Micronesian mission is worked, would collect together all the matter available for the compilation of a comparative grammar and dictionary of the Micronesian languages.

"Papers on some of the languages of Micronesia have recently been published in the 'Journal des Museum Godeffroy,' in Hamburg. Heft i. of that generally valuable serial (1873) contains a brief German and *Ebon* Vocabulary by J. Kubary, a natural history collector in the employment of Messrs. Godeffroy. Heft ii. (1873) contains a comparative Vocabulary of German, Ebon and *Yap* (of the Caroline Islands) languages. In this the Ebon words are from the American missionaries, and two series of Yap words are by J. T. Blohn and Alf. Tetens respectively.

III.—*Negrito-Polynesian or Melanesian.*

"These languages use consonants much more freely than the Malayo-Polynesian. They have some consonantal sounds which are not found in the latter. Some of these are difficult to represent by Roman letters. Many of the syllables are closed. There appears to be no difference between the definite and the indefinite article, except, perhaps, in Fiji. In these languages nouns are curiously divided into two classes, one of which takes a pronominal postfix with an article, the other which never takes such a postfix. The principle of division appears to be a near or more remote connexion between the possessor and that possessed. Those closely connected with a person, as parts of his body, etc., take the pronominal postfix. A thing possessed merely for use would not take this postfix. (This peculiarity is found in one—the Ebon—language of Micronesia.) Gender is only sexual. Many words are indiscriminately used as nouns, adjectives, or verbs, without change, but sometimes a noun is indicated by its termination. In most of the languages there are no changes in nouns to form the plural, but a numeral, or some other prefix, indicates number. Case is shown by particles which precede the nouns. Adjectives follow their substantives. Mr. Codrington says there are few adjectives in Mota, but that the qualification of a substantive is mostly by a verb. The pronouns are numerous, and the personal pronouns include four numbers — singular, dual, trinal, and plural; also inclusive and exclusive. Almost any word may be made into a verb by using with it the verbal particles. Mr. Codrington says, 'The common characteristic of all Melanesian tongues to mark tense and mood (in some others, but not in Mota, number and person) is by particles coming before the verb. In nothing is the variable character of the Melanesian speech more conspicuous than in the variation in the several dialects of these particles, with the universal employment of them.' These languages have a causative, an intensive or frequentative, and a reciprocal, very much like the Malayo-Polynesian.

"The work first in importance on these languages is 'Die Melanesischen Sprachen nach ihren Grammatischen Bau und ihrer Verwandtschaft unter sich und mit den Malaiisch-Polynesischen Sprachen,' von H. C. von der Gabelentz. (Part i. Leipzig, 1860; part ii. Leipzig, 1873.) In the two parts of this work most of the material available for studying the Melanesian languages has been worked up. Part i. contains the *Bau* of *Fiji;* the *Annatom* (or, as the missionaries now write the name, the *Aneityum)*, *Erromango*, *Tana*, and *Mallikolo* of the New Hebrides; the *Mare* and *Lifu* of the Loyalty Islands; the *Duauru* dialect of New Caledonia; the *Bauro*, and *Guadelcanar*, or *Gera*, of the Solomon Islands. Part ii. is chiefly derived from the late Bishop Patteson's Vocabularies noticed below. It contains more or less information on the languages of *Faté*, *Api*, *Pama*, *Ambrym*, and *Vunmarama* (north end of Whitsuntide Island) in the New Hebrides; the *Lifu* and *Uea* (now written *Uvea*) of the Loyalty Islands; the *Yehen*, or *Yengen*, of New Caledonia; the *Bauro*, *Ulaua*, *Mara Ma-siki*, *Anudha*, *Mahaga*, and *Eddystone Island*, of the Solomon Archipelago.

"Of the *Fiji* Mr. Hale published a Grammar and Dictionary in his great work already mentioned. There is also a very good Grammar and Dictionary by the late Rev. D. Hazlewood (2nd edition, edited by the Rev. J. Calvert; without date). Both of these works deal almost exclusively with the *Bau* dialect. Of other dialects spoken in the Fiji group, and especially of those spoken by the mountain tribes, we know little. The Bau has been adopted by the missionaries, and into this portions of the Scriptures have been translated.

"The languages of the *Loyalty Islands* have been thoroughly studied by the missionaries resident there. Portions of the Bible have been translated into them, and other books have been prepared for the use of the natives. But, unfortunately, only a small portion of their information has been published for the use of others. I am not aware that anything of importance has been done by the French in *New Caledonia* towards writing grammars and dictionaries of the dialects used in that island. All I know from there is what is given

by Von der Gabelentz in the work mentioned above, and the brief vocabulary collected by the late Bishop Patteson mentioned below.

"Presbyterian missionaries occupy part of the islands in the *New Hebrides*, and they have become thoroughly familiar with several of the Melanesian languages there spoken. But, I believe, little of the valuable information they possess has hitherto been made accessible to scholars elsewhere. This is, probably, chiefly owing to the fact that very many different dialects are spoken in the islands of the Melanesian area. In such places as Hawaii and Samoa, in the Malayo-Polynesian area, where one language prevails throughout an entire group of islands, several missionaries are associated in the study of that language, and in preparing books in it. Where such is the case, there is more inducement to prepare grammars and dictionaries than in islands where two or three missionaries rarely use the same dialect. Where a man has a language to himself, he finds little time, and has little inducement, to prepare such works. Brief vocabularies of some of the languages of the New Hebrides were collected by the late Bishop Patteson and are noticed below. Other material is found in the work of Von der Gabelentz. And in the Proceedings of the Philological Society for 1852 (pp. 58-62) is a paper on the Personal Pronouns of the *Mallicolo* and *Erromango* Languages, by the Rev. G. J. Abraham, together with some remarks by Dr. R. G. Latham.

"The Rev. R. H. Codrington, M.A., of the Melanesian Mission, has given us a useful little Grammar of the language of *Mota*, one of the Bank's Islands (London, 1877). The Gospel of St. Luke has also been published in that language. I have obtained a little information respecting some other Melanesian languages from correspondence with missionaries. But there is still a very large field for research, and I believe much valuable material might be obtained from the various missionaries by a person who could devote time and labour to its collection.

"By the kindness of Professor F. Max Müller, I have been able to consult the Vocabularies collected by the late

Bishop Patteson. These are, for the most part, fragmentary; but in most instances they constitute all we know of the languages of which they form parts. Besides the short vocabulary of *Yehen* in the northern part of New Caledonia, which has already been mentioned, the collection comprises the following:—Of the New Hebrides, *Sesake*, *Vunmarama* (north end of Whitsuntide Island), *Ambrym*, and two dialects of *Apee* or *Api*. From the Solomon Islands, two vocabularies of *Mahaga* (Ysabel Island), two of *San Christoval*, one of *Anudha* (Florida), one of *Mara Ma-siki* (south-east part of Malanta Island), and another of *Ulaua* (Contrarietè Island). A few copies only of these Vocabularies were printed, and they are not generally accessible.

"I have not mentioned under the Malayo-Polynesian and Micronesian Dr. R. G. Latham's notices of these languages in his 'Elements of Comparative Philology' (London, 1862). To these he devotes only three or four pages each. But he gives a fuller notice of the Melanesian languages, pp. 329–349.

"Mr. H. N. Moseley, F.R.S., has given the numerals and a few words of the language of the *Admiralty Islanders* in his very valuable paper on that people, published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute for May, 1877. These, I believe, constitute the sum of our knowledge of that language. The Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Achter Band, 1876) contains a short comparative vocabulary of seven languages belonging to *New Guinea*, *New Hanover*, *New Ireland*, *New Britain*, and the *Solomon Islands*, by Capt. H. Strauch. Probably there are other works published on the continent which, owing to my recent return to Europe, and the fact that I have not made a speciality of the Melanesian languages, have not at present come under my notice. But the above are all I have met with."

Quichua.

Our third contribution is rather an essay on the civilization of the old Peruvians than a linguistic report, which I

asked M. von Boeck to furnish us with, on the advice of Mr. Clements Markham. Mr. Markham has much increased its value by adding some critical notes of his own, in which, as will be seen, he questions many of von Boeck's conclusions. The subject of this paper is one which may, perhaps, interest some of our members more than a strictly linguistic disquisition.

["Herr Eugene von Boeck, who has resided at Cochabamba in Bolivia since 1869, has nearly completed a new dictionary of Quichua, the language of the Yncas of Peru. At the request of Mr. Sweet, he has prepared the following essay on that language, in which he displays an intimate knowledge of the subject. The principal object of the essay is to show the sort of civilization possessed by the Peruvian Indians, and the knowledge they had of natural science, as well as their ideas of religion, by an investigation of the Quichuan vocabulary. He also furnishes some interesting information respecting the grammatical structure of the language. I propose to submit some remarks on Mr. von Boeck's paper after it has been read, chiefly with reference to the necessity for studying separately and comparatively the different languages which helped to form that of the Yncas."—*Introductory Note by Clements R. Markham.*]

"The most important problem that modern philology is called upon to solve, does not consist in the analytical examination or the material construction of languages with the mere object of discovering their common origin or more or less remote affinity, but in the study of their constituent elements, in order to give an idea by which we may be enabled to judge of the intellectual and moral development and progress of the nations or tribes by which languages are spoken. If it has been possible, by the exertions of our classical scholars, to draw a lively and minute picture of the political, domestic, and intellectual life of the ancient Greeks and Romans hundreds of years after they had disappeared from the earth, why should it not be possible to obtain a similar result in regard to other nations which, although not so far advanced in science and civilization, had nevertheless

arrived at a certain degree of improvement and progress which deserves the attention of posterity?

"All the writers on American history, from Garcilasso de la Vega down to Prescott, and most of the scientific travellers in South America such as Markham, Tschudi, and several others, agree in affirming that the Quichua (more accurately Khechua) Indians, during the dynasty of the Yncas, had just claims to be counted amongst one of the most civilized nations in the trans-Atlantic continent.

"The language they spoke may be considered as the mother language of the Guarani, Araucanian and Patagonian idioms, at least we hold it to be the richest, most flexible, and most melodious of all of them, and from history we know that, before the Spanish conquest, it was spoken by a large population spread over an immense region extending along the cordilleras of the Andes. Though it is generally known and admitted, by all historians, that there exist no written documents, not even hieroglyphic characters, which in time might be expected to be deciphered (for the science of the *kippus* or knot-writing became extinct with the last *kippu-camayok* or interpreter of knots), there is still a traditional literature, and moreover the language is still spoken by more than two millions of Indians and Creoles.

"He who visits the highland plains of Peru and Bolivia will be surprised to hear this language not only in the mouths of the pure Indians but even in that of the lower and middle classes of Spanish origin.

"A language that, during three centuries, has not only resisted the joint efforts made by the Catholic priesthood and political authorities, who have tried every means to root it out, but has even obliged the invaders to adopt it, must possess some powerful elements of existence, attractiveness, and convenience: for it has made the language of the conquerors nearly superfluous.

"A good many grammars and dictionaries have been written from the first years of the conquest to our times. There have also been published several specimens of literature, numerous collections of prayers and hymns composed mostly

by Jesuit missionaries. The most important piece of Khechua literature is no doubt the drama of Ollanta, published by Von Tschudi, Markham, Barrancas, and Nodal. There has been hardly any traveller in those countries who has not picked up some poetical compositions. Still there is one large gap to be filled up—formed by the want of a philosophical examination of the language in order to prove the state of civilization of the Khechua Indians.

"The object of the following remarks is to point out the way in which such an examination might be conducted by some more skilful and learned scholar.

"*Religious Ideas.*—The Maker of the World was known by the name of *Pachacamak*, or *Pacharurak*, whose father was *Con*, or the *Yayan-ynti*, 'father Sun.' Besides these principal gods they adored the *Conopas*, a kind of divinities like the Roman Lares and Penates; the *Huacas*, a peculiar class of deities in the form of graves, stones, and so forth. The moon, stars, as well as several natural phenomena such as earthquakes, thunder, lightning, were likewise personified, and prayers were directed to them, as we find it stated by Boianyra in his 'Guide to Confession,' 1685. Near the river Rimac was the most celebrated oracle.

"The word to adore, *mucha*, means literally to kiss, and it was adopted by the Christian priests in all their rituals and prayer-books. We find the same word in the South of Chile, in the provinces of Valdivia and Chiloé, used by the Huilliches Indians, a southerly tribe of Araucanians, as a form of salutation, *Muchay-muchay*.

"The goddess of the woods was the *amaru*, a large snake, probably a boa.

"There exist two expressions for blessing—*à à c'asi* and *kespilla cachun caman ñin*, literally 'that luck may be with thee.'

"Persons who keep up communications between this world and the invisible one are the *uillca*, *kaycahempik*, *cauchuk*, or *umucuna*, which words mean several classes of sorcerers.

"We find mention also of several different kinds of ghosts, spectres, or phantasms, such as *nunu* a good spirit, and *supay*

the evil one, a term afterwards adopted by the Catholic priests for the devil.

"There is a word *ichiri* which means confess, and the confessor is called *ichirichuk*, for which the Spanish priests substituted *confesacu*. Nearly every act of public and domestic life was accompanied by religious rites and prayers, many of which are still in use among the Indians.

"Thus, for instance, before harvesting, the following prayer was addressed to the gods of fruits: *A huaca-cuna, uillca-cuna, sarayok, micuiñiyok, cay sarallayta yachacuchi pusi amatak huakllipuancachu.* 'Oh thou! Gods and Lords of the maize and of food, make this maize grow, and do not allow it to become damaged.'

"*Intellectual Ideas.*—If we may infer from the abundance of words for the many deities and holy rites that the Khechua Indians were not only a very religious but even a very superstitious people, we shall also feel much inclined to form a very favourable opinion of their intellectual faculties, if we inquire into the construction of their language.

"There are few languages which can show an equal degree of symmetrical construction, and etymological flexibility, even much greater than in the ancient Greek.

"As there is no definite article, just as in Latin the cases must be formed by terminations, and we find that this is effected by the addition of certain particles, which in other languages are called prepositions, but in this case are more correctly postpositions. We cannot agree with the opinion of some philologists that there is the slightest resemblance to the Greek prepositions.

"Though some ancient authors of Khechua grammars, as Holguin (pp. 58-64), and Mossi (p. 10 *et seq.*), tried to prove that there exists a grammatical gender, we cannot find any proof of difference of gender in the words signifying lifeless things which ought to be considered as neuters. For human beings *ccari* (man) is prefixed to the male, *huarmi* to the female. For animals they have *urco* (male) and *china* (female). Another analogy with the English grammar is,

that the adjectives always precede the substantives, and admit of no declension and no gender.

"There are six different forms of the plural number. 1. By the addition of the syllable *cuna*, which is the usual plural form. 2. By postfixing *pura* or *purantin*, which expresses a certain reciprocity: for example, *auca-purantin*, 'the soldiers amongst themselves.' 3. Placing before the word the particles *purap*, *purapnin*, or *purapnintin*, a kind of dual as in Greek—e.g. *purap-rincri* 'both ears.' 4. Some adjectives admit the addition of the syllable *cheken* or *chaknin*, which plural always gives the meaning of a superlative, as *sinchi* 'strong,' *sinchi-chaken* 'the strongest ones.' 5. By reduplication or repetition of the same word, which very often expresses collective nouns, as *runa* 'man,' *runa-runa* 'a crowd': *hacha* 'tree,' *hacha-hacha* 'a wood.' In the same manner the plural of some pronouns may be formed, as, for instance, *pay* 'he,' *pay-pay* 'they'; *chay* 'this,' *chay-chay* 'these.' 6. By adding the particle *ntin*, signifying that two things belong, or are together: *cosa* 'the husband,' *cosantin* 'husband and wife.' To the numerals this particle gives the idea of distribution, as *chunca* 'ten,' *chuncantin* 'from ten to ten.'

"The fifth form of the Khechua plural number is common to civilized writers in the popular style. Thus we say in English 'many many years ago,' instead of 'a great many years ago.'

"Such a variety of plural formations seems to prove that the Indians had a very clear conception of the idea of plurality; therefore, if any numeral expressing more than unity precedes a noun, the plural particle *cuna* is omitted as unnecessary: for example, *yscay huarmi* 'two women.' From nearly every substantive or adjective they could form an abstract noun by adding the infinite *cay*, 'to be,' corresponding to the derivative syllable *ness* in English. Thus *allin* is 'good,' *allin-cay* 'goodness.'

"The use of the infinitive mood as a substantive is very logical, and common to a great many idioms of the Indo-Germanic family.

"The formation of compound nouns is exactly the same as in English, German, and Greek, the modifying word being put before the modified one, a logical consequence of putting the adjective invariably before the substantive; thus *huasi-puncu* 'house door,' in contradistinction to languages of Latin origin, such as French and Spanish, where we say 'la porte de la maison,' or 'puerta de casa.'

"In English we add to verbs the syllable *er* in order to express the performer of an action, or the word 'maker' to some nouns. In Khechua the word *camayok* is used for maker or master, and in some cases only the letter *k*. *Usuta-camayok* is a shoemaker. *Rima* 'to speak,' *rimac* the 'speaker.' This letter *k* is likewise the limitation of the present participle which in Latin ends in *ans* or *ens*. Orientalists admire the richness of the Arabic language in having some ten forms of conjugation for every verb, but what will they think of the Khechua in which, by means of post-particles, there may be formed more than fifteen conjugations, besides four others by means of the auxiliary verb *ca* 'to be'? Besides the indicative and subjunctive moods, we have an optative like the ancient Greeks, and all the participial forms belonging to that classic language. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the logical or thinking faculties of the Khechua nation were not only not inferior, but in a certain degree superior to those of our European ancestors, whose idioms, some 1500 years ago, were a good deal more imperfect and far less regular and logical.

"From the present state of the now existing Indian race we cannot argue that their forefathers could not have been superior in civilization, or else it would be allowable to assert that because the present Arabian tribes in North Africa are nearly savages, there never existed the glorious historical epoch of the Ommayads and the Abassides.

"The boundless egotism of the Spanish conquerors, in order to justify their cruel treatment of the Peruvian Indians, found it convenient to represent them as the most vicious and demoralized people; though this was disproved by their wise and well-regulated legislation relating to agriculture and

taxation, and by the astonishing grandeur of their architectural monuments. Every nation, like the individuals of which it is composed, finds itself subject to the same psychological principles and laws, and in order to educate or instruct it we must observe the same system by which we try to bring up children. If we treat them in a depreciative way, if we punish them too indiscreetly, or try to crush their self-respect, we may intimidate and humiliate them, but they will then most surely acquire all the vices which, unjustly perhaps, we have supposed to be inherent in them. History proves that the Spaniards, in all the South American countries, and even some of the existing Republican Governments, follow a wrong system of education in their policy towards the aboriginal tribes, trying rather to destroy than to civilize them. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Indians who, by their traditions, know themselves to have been the sovereign lords of the land, should still nourish a profound hatred against the invaders and their institutions, though they are forced externally to submit to their heavy and tyrannical yoke.

"If in the preceding lines we made some comparison of the Khechua grammar with certain analogies in English, it was not our intention to hint at any degree of kindred, for whenever some affinities of sound, some similarity in forms of construction or etymological derivations are discovered only in a sporadic way, we never dare to assert a real affinity or common origin. This would be as substantial an error as to assert the principle that all the American animals and plants, which in their qualities and forms have some resemblance to those of Europe, must descend from the same parents, having one common origin.

"We rather think that the same causes, in every part of the world, must produce like effects, so that the families of languages, as well as the species of animals and plants, which grew and developed themselves under similar circumstances and conditions, must also have some likeness in their forms and structure.

"*Domestic Life and Industry.*—The Peruvian Indians knew

the art of spinning perfectly well, *puchca;* of weaving, *ahua;* of dyeing, *tullpu;* of tanning, *cacu;* of turning, *muyu muyu lleklle;* of stone-cutting, *choca*; of melting metals, *hicha;* of washing them, *ayti.* They knew gold, *ccuri;* silver, *collki;* copper, *anta.* They understood how to make an alloy of copper and gold, *anta-ccuri;* and they dug lead, *titi.* Their tools were the hammer, *tacana;* gimlets, *hutcuna;* spades, *lampa*; ploughs of different kinds, such as *yapuna, uysu, taclla.* The language is very rich in expressions for the various classes of corn or maize, as regards shape, colour, and size, all these words being used even now by the country people. They distinguished three classes of coca (*Erythoxylon coca*); the common one, *coca;* the best sort, *tupa-coca;* and the one with long leaves, *rumpu.* For the act of chewing it our vocabulary contains nearly a dozen words, which express as many ways of doing it. *Aculli* 'to chew'; *acullayi* 'to chew continually'; *acullichi* 'to allow some one to chew'; *aculliri* 'to chew again'; *aculliycu* 'to chew in a hidden place in order to get intoxicated.'

"The kitchen furniture consisted of pots of several shapes and sizes. The largest is *chauchi.* The smaller ones are *chamillcu, manya,* and *paylla.* Another, with a big belly, is *cuntur-mama*; a large tank for water, *tupac mama;* and several kinds of jugs and pitchers, such as *macma, urpu*; and with a long mouth, *humi huc, chusma;* with a large broad mouth, *uichi.* All this earthenware was made by the potter, *señay-camayok.*

"Though we find no substantive word for milk, neither in Khechua, nor in Aymara, nor in Araucanian, we know that the Khechua Indians milked their llamas, and called this operation *chahua,* and *chahuana* was a milk-giving animal, and *ñucñu* is the expression for the milk-pail. By metaphor it is used for milk, though this has only been done at a later period. The national beverage was the *akka* (Spanish *chicha*), a kind of maize beer, and there is a numerous collection of words expressing its different qualities, and the rather complicated operation of brewing.

"Judging by the dull and melancholy turn of character

which distinguishes the present Indians of Peru and Bolivia, we should hardly believe that this people, in the prime of their national life, were rather gay, and fond of fun and frolic. But their language abounds in words for laughter and merriment. For instance, *Asik-ñaui* means a man with laughing eyes. Their buffoons were called *Asichi-camayoc* 'a man who makes to laugh.'

"Their tailors, *sirca-camayoc*, made several kinds of clothing. For women's dresses we have different expressions: such as *acsu*, a gown full of folds; *cuysa*, a long dress; *suyru*, a short dress. Rich dresses interwoven with gold were *cumpi*, made of *ccuri-caytu*, or gold thread. They also wore shirts, *uncu*; pantaloons, *huara*. There was a special feast on the day when a youth first wore the *huara*, called *huarachicuy*. Though the common people generally went bare-footed, yet they sometimes wore a kind of shoes called *usuta*.

"We find also that, in the olden times, the nation was very fond of music and dancing. Their principal musical instruments were different kinds of flutes. The *chayña* was a large flute made of reed or cane. The *pincullu* was a smaller kind of flute. The *pirutu* was made of bones. They had a trumpet, *kepa*; and drums, *huancar*. Their stringed instrument was the *tinya*, a kind of guitar, by which they accompanied their singing, *takiy*.

"They had different ways of dancing, for which the general word is *tusuy*. In one dance called *cachua-campanacuy*, they held each other by the hands. When there was only a man and a woman they called it *huayñuracuy*, and the religious dance performed at great feasts in honour of the Sun God was the *raymi*. It took place in the month of December at the summer solstice.

"Their commercial transactions, from want of money, must have been very simple, consisting in exchange of goods. Still there was a market-place, *catu*, in nearly every village. It is noteworthy that the expression for a dollar is now the same as for maize, *sara*, which points to the fact that corn was the standard of value in bartering articles, and not animals, as in the Old World (*pecunia* from *pecus*).

"It is known that several monarchs of the Ynca dynasty were celebrated warriors and conquerors. It is, therefore, not surprising that we should find a sort of military organization, and many words for different kinds of weapons. The commander-in-chief or general was called *Auca-cunap apu*, or 'chief of soldiers,' and under him served the different officers. The word *Aucak*, a soldier, is also found in the Araucanian language, where it means a hero, and is the root of the word *Araucanian*. The Yncas had many weapons of war, such as clubs, *uinu, macana, champi;* slings or *huaraca;* daggers or *tucsina;* large knives, *cuchuna*. They carried shields, *huallcanca;* wore helmets, *umachucu, kellay-chucu;* breast-plates, *kellay-uncu*. They had bows, *pecta;* and arrows, *huachi*. Forts were frequent, called *pucara*, and there still exist immense ruins of them. Their troops had colours, *unanchay*, and their strategy consisted chiefly in taking the enemy by surprise, as we see in the drama of Ollanta.

"We have been particular in enumerating the words relating to domestic and social life, in order that students of Oriental languages might have an ample store of words and facts to compare with Oriental etymology and manners: so that they might find out if there really exists any relation between the American and the Aryan races. For, as at present informed, we cannot admit the argument of Vicente Lopez in his work, 'Les Races Aryennes,' which we only know through an article published in *Macmillan's Magazine* (March, 1873), and in which, if the citations are correctly quoted, several essential errors may be pointed out. For instance, there exists no *a privativum* in Khechua, neither is the future tense formed in *s*, but in *sak*, and besides, it requires a great deal of imagination to find any likeness between the Greek prepositions and the affixed letters or particles for the formation of the cases in Khechua, which are in the genitive *c* or *p*, in the dative *pac*, accusative *ta*.

"*Words and Ideas of Natural History.*—If it is quite impossible to ascertain the nature of the ideas held by the

learned class or *Amautas* concerning the origin of the world, and touching physical science, it is still interesting to find that they were good observers of astronomical phenomena. Thus they knew two classes of comets, the one with a tail that is large to the north, *acoy-chinchay*, and another the tail of which does not get wider, *choke-chinchay*. Both of them may be *takia coyllur*, which means a star of bad omen. There are different names for the morning star, *chasca coyllur*; evening star, *machu coyllur*, or old star, *coyllur* being the general name for stars. They observed the eclipses of the sun and moon, and called them *yutip huañuy* 'death of the sun,' and *killap huañuy* 'death of the moon.' They called the halo both of the sun and of the moon *chimpu*.

"They only knew three seasons, the spring called *paucar-huaray, chiran-pacha*, or *panchin tuctu*; the summer, *chaki-pacha* (dry season), *supay-pacha* (hot or burning season); and the winter, *casay pacha* (freezing season), *riti-pacha* (snow season), *timpuy-mita* (time for preparing the fields). It is not surprising that they had no name for autumn, as this season is not very pronounced in the tropical regions, and the time for harvesting was rather in winter, the months of June and July.

"January *huchuy poccoy*, month of little ripening, or month of few fruits.

"February *hatun poccoy*, month of great ripeness.

"March *paucar huañuy*, month of the dying morning, or shorter days.

"April *ayrihuay-ayrihuaqui*, when the grains of corn bud all at once.

"May *aymuray*, when the corn is laid up in the granaries.

"June *yuti raymi*, 'feast of the sun,' on account of the winter solstice.

"July *anta situa*, when the sun shines like brilliant copper.

"August *ccapac situa*, strong sunshine.

"October *ayamarca*, when the sun comes into a southern direction, where Ancamarca, a province south of Cuzco, is situated.

November *ccapac raymi*, principal turn of the sun.

"December *raymi*, great feast of the summer solstice.[1]

"As yet I have not found any name for September mentioned in any of the Khechua vocabularies or other printed works.

"The Peruvian Indians only had a very few species of domestic animals, which were kept only for their fleeces, such as the *llama* and *alpaca*, whilst the *vicuña* and *huanaco* roamed over the immense table lands, and formed now and then the objects of the royal hunting sport or *chacu*. They had dogs, *allco*, and distinguished them from the fox, *atok*. The natural astuteness of the latter must have been observed by them, as they call a thief *atok-runa*, a cunning or sly man *atok-hina*, and cunning *atok-cay*. Though they had no idea of the science of natural history, they gave convenient names to several species of wild animals. For instance, they called a monkey *cusillu*, 'the happy or funny one.' The word *otoruncu* means a panther. But it would be writing a dictionary were we to give all the names for the different classes of birds, reptiles, insects, trees, flowers, and herbs known and named by the Indians, who were exact, if not scientific, observers of nature, the productions of which they applied not only to domestic and industrial purposes, but also to the medical art, in which some of the Indians had great skill. They understood also how to use poisons, *miu*, extracted from several plants and animals.

"Without quoting the Spanish historians, only by reference to the abundance of expressions and still existing words, we might give a very detailed account of Peruvian civilization in the times of the Yncas, and could prove that this nation was one of the most advanced in the arts of peace, as well as of war, and that their moral character was at least as high or even higher than that of the old inhabitants of Germania, which Tacitus has described, not in the most favourable point of view."

[1] This list of months is the same as that given by Rivero *(Antiq. Per.)*. It differs from those in Molina (MS.) and Velasco.—C. R. M.

Remarks on Mr. von Boeck's Paper on the Quichua Language by Clements R. Markham.—"The following remarks have occurred to me, after reading Mr. von Boeck's paper. In studying such a language as Quichua, with the object of judging, by its means, of the intellectual progress of the people who spoke it, the peculiar circumstances connected with it ought to be carefully kept in view.

"When the Spaniards discovered Peru, the Yncas had established a vast empire, which included several distinct nationalities speaking different languages; and their policy was to introduce their own language into all the conquered provinces. The consequences were twofold. The languages of the conquered peoples were more or less obliterated, and many of the words belonging to them inevitably found their way into the so-called Quichua, the language of the conquerors.

"Hence, in order to arrive at useful and reliable results, it is necessary to study not only Quichua, but what is left to us of all the other languages within the limits of Ynca conquests, and to institute a searching comparative investigation. If this is not done, ideas and words will be attributed to the Yncas, which really belonged to one or other of the conquered nations, and the result will be a confusion which will prevent any real advance in knowledge.

"The Empire of the Yncas consisted of five clearly defined tribal divisions, four following the line of the cordilleras, and the fifth on the sea-coast. The first included the kingdom of Quito; the second (called by the Yncas *Chinchay-suyu*) embraces Northern Peru; the third is the cradle of the Ynca race, with Cuzco in its centre; the fourth comprises the basin of Lake Titicaca, inhabited by the Collas (erroneously called Aymaras); and the fifth is the coast region. The languages in the four mountain divisions were closely allied, and had the same grammatical construction, though their vocabularies were, to a great extent, different. But on the coast there was a civilized people previous to the Ynca conquest, with an entirely distinct language, which is now nearly lost. There is one ancient 'Arte' or grammar of it, a short vocabulary,

and words may be gathered here and there from the notices of old writers.

"It will thus be seen that great care must be taken, in studying Ynca civilization by the light of language, to eliminate the foreign elements which had crept into it. This is no easy task, and only very slight progress has as yet been made in its execution.

"As an example of the necessity for this care, I may refer to Mr. von Boeck's linguistic account of Peruvian religious ideas. He tells us that Pachacamac, the Peruvian 'Maker of the World,' had a father named 'Con.' This is a complete misconception. The religion of the Yncas was the worship of the elements, of ancestors, and of the ideals or souls of natural objects. They had ancestral gods called *Huanacauri*, and *Aticsi-Uiracocha*, to which such attributes as *pacha-camac* (creator of the world) and *pacha-yachachic* (teacher of the earth) were given in their prayers. But there was no Ynca god Pachacamac.

"When the Yncas conquered the valleys on the sea-coast, they found a highly revered temple dedicated to the chief god of the coast people, and they gave the place the name of *Pachacamac*, as the abode of the creator of the world, according to the religious belief of the conquered race. But the word *Con* is not in the Quichua language. It belongs to the language of the coast. This root *Con* is the term for the deity, or for anything sacred, in the language of the coast, its derivatives being *Coniraya* and *Conopa*. They have nothing to do with the Quichuan language. On the other hand, the the word *Huaca* mentioned by Mr. von Boeck is strictly Quichuan, and means a god or sacred thing.

"I have mentioned these words representing religious ideas to show the great care that is necessary to prevent confusion, and that successful progress can only be made by a parallel study of the different languages which existed within the empire of the Yncas. Similar instances of confusion might be adduced as regards the words belonging to the Colla (improperly called Aymara) language, which have crept into Quichua dictionaries, and *vice versâ*. The subject is indeed a

large and very interesting one, which could not be adequately discussed in a few desultory sentences.

"I will, therefore conclude these brief notes by expressing an opinion that Mr. von Boeck has illustrated, in a very interesting manner, the way in which a complete social history of a people may be derived from a careful examination of their vocabulary. By this means, the author of the paper has given us a good general idea of the advance which the Peruvians had made towards civilization, in the same way as Mr. Max Müller has, by collecting the various allusions contained in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, drawn us a vivid picture of the moral and social condition of the early Aryan tribes of India."

The number of reports this year being so much less than usual calls for some explanation. The reports of past years exhausted so much of the scanty funds of the Society as rather to stand in the way of the publication of original papers, which must always be the main object of a learned society. It became necessary, therefore, to keep them within definite limits. Owing to a variety of unforeseen circumstances, two of the scholars on whom I relied were unable to carry out their engagements, so that the reports, which I calculated would fill up the greater part of the space allotted to this Address, shrank to their present narrow limits. It must, however, be remembered that Mr. Cousins' paper on *Malagasy*, which appears in the same volume of Transactions as these reports (*antè*, pp. 283–315), itself fulfils the requirements of a report in a very admirable manner, besides its other merits. I most regret the absence of Dr. Kölbing's Teutonic report, but he has promised us one for the next Annual Address, covering the three years that will have elapsed since his last one.[1]

[1] I take this opportunity of adding by way of postscript that I have undertaken to edit the Old English Orosius from the hitherto inaccessible Lauderdale MS., which was copied some years ago and partly revised by me. I am also preparing a collective edition of the before Alfred remains of our language, charters, glossaries and fragments of all kinds, grouped chronologically according to dialects, together with grammatical introductions and notes.

I must now offer my best thanks to the distinguished scholars who have so disinterestedly come forward with the results of their own special knowledge, both for myself and also in the name of the Society. Also to those members of the Society for whose advice and assistance I am especially indebted in the preparation of this Address. Among these I must specially mention our admirable Hon. Sec., Mr. Furnivall, and Mr. Cust, as, indeed, I had occasion to do last year as well.

I lastly have to thank the Council and Members of the Society, both individually and collectively, for the uniform support and indulgence they have shown me during the last two years. I have, unfortunately, not been able to fill this Chair so often as I could have wished, but I have the twofold consolation of knowing that my place was taken by others who were in many respects much better qualified to preside at our meetings than I am, and that I myself, although absent, was still working for the Society.

VIII.—SOUNDS AND FORMS OF SPOKEN SWEDISH.

By HENRY SWEET, ESQ.

RELATION BETWEEN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

IN Swedish, as in all civilized languages, we must distinguish between the *written* or literary and the *spoken* or colloquial language. The divergence between the two is due to the retention of forms in writing after they have either been lost or else changed in speech. This retention of older forms in writing is only partial and does not extend very far back, for otherwise the written and spoken forms would diverge to such an extent as to constitute two distinct and mutually unintelligible languages, not varieties of the same one. It is also evident that the written language must always be based on the spoken language of some period or other, except in those exceptional cases in which purely artificial literary forms gain currency. Specially literary forms are, therefore, *colloquial archaisms*—they are extinct colloquialisms artificially preserved in writing, and if employed in ordinary speech they are at once felt to be what they really are, *anachronisms*.

It is evident, therefore, that from a scientific point of view the only rational way of treating a living language is by basing the investigation on the spoken forms, and that the same principle should be adopted as much as possible in the study of its earlier periods. Thus the present Swedish orthography represents the sounds, not of the nineteenth, but of the seventeenth century spoken language, and most of those grammatical forms which now occur in the written language only, were in common use in the spoken language of the seventeenth century. If, therefore, we have grammars of the spoken languages of these two periods, the literary forms of the nineteenth century language will be

explained at once, whereas if our study of the present period is based exclusively (as is often the case) on the literary language, we miss entirely those spoken forms which do not happen to be represented in writing, while many of the literary forms appear as isolated archaisms, instead of in their natural surroundings.

The divergence between the written and spoken language is of different kinds, the most important of which are 1) phonetic, 2) formal (chiefly inflectional), and 3) lexical.

Of these the first is the most marked and constant, and it may be stated as a general rule that all the literary Teutonic languages retain the spellings of the first few centuries after the invention of printing—at least in their essential features. The divergence between the spelling and pronunciation of a living language depends, therefore, mainly on the amount of change its sounds have undergone since that period. In English, for instance, such a word as (wain) is still written *wine* because the original pronunciation (wiin), which the spelling *wine* was intended to represent, was preserved long after the introduction of printing and the consequent fixing of the orthography. In German, on the other hand, original long (i) was already diphthongized when the orthography began to settle down into its present form, and consequently the present spelling *wein* really harmonizes to some extent with the actual sound. In Swedish, lastly, the vowel has remained unchanged to the present day, so that the unchanged spelling *vin* agrees entirely with the pronunciation. The comparison of the present spoken sounds of Swedish with their spelling is, therefore, to a certain extent, equivalent to a comparison of the spoken sounds of the nineteenth with those of, say, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus original initial *hr* and *hv* in such words as *hring* (ring) and *hvat* (what) appear in the present spoken language as simple (r) and (v), the (h) being entirely lost, but in the written language the *h* is still preserved before *v*, although lost before *r* (as also before *l* and *n*), the two words just cited being written *ring* and *hvad*. This shows clearly that sixteenth and seventeenth

century Swedish was in the same stage of development as the present English as regards these sounds, for *ring* and *hvad* correspond exactly to the English (ri*q*) and (wh*o*t).

Formal and lexical divergences are, as we have remarked above, generally much less marked and constant. Thus English, whose written and spoken languages diverge from each other more than any others in Europe as regards the sounds, shows very slight divergences in inflection. In Swedish these relations are reversed, the divergence between sound and symbol being in most cases slight as compared with that in English, while the inflections of the spoken and literary language often differ widely.

Lexical divergences, by which different words are employed in literature from those which occur in popular speech, are common to all languages, and, in fact, it is impossible to conceive poetry without its special vocabulary, whose words convey associations of their own.

It is easy to see that all these divergences fall under two classes: 1) necessary, or, at least, natural, and 2) superfluous. Differences of style and vocabulary dependent on difference of subject and treatment belong to the former, the divergence between pronunciation and spelling to the latter class. Between these extremes there are a large number of divergences which are difficult to classify, especially among the inflections. The difficulty is that many forms, which otherwise have nothing to commend them, acquire a certain æsthetic expressiveness from being associated with certain forms of expression, especially poetical and liturgical. In ordinary prose the only sound principle is to abandon all specifically literary forms which do not add to the clearness or expressiveness of the language. Thus, in the English of the last century the form 'hath' for 'has' was still kept up in such phrases as 'the author hath . . . .' long after the *th*-inflection had been otherwise abandoned, but as it is not in any way more distinct or convenient than the spoken 'has,' it has been rightly given up in the present literary prose language, although still preserved in poetry. In Swedish, however, there are a large number of forms and

constructions which, although extinct in the spoken language, are universally kept up, not only in poetry, but also in ordinary prose—in the latter case generally without any apparent advantage.

In treating of an actual living language we are confronted by the troublesome question, which form of it shall we base our study on.? This difficulty is not raised as long as we confine our attention to the written language, in which the extremest divergences of pronunciation are concealed under a delusive uniformity of symbolization. But when we come to investigate the facts which underlie that symbolization, we are at once brought face to face with the question of local divergence. Even when we have narrowed our field as much as possible, by excluding the speech of the uneducated in the shape of 'vulgarisms' and 'dialects,' there still remains the fact that the speech of the educated themselves varies considerably in different parts of the country. Even in highly centralized England and France, northern and southern speakers really have different dialects: an Edinburgher's sounds and, to a less extent, his grammar and vocabulary, differ from those of a Londoner, however much the difference may have been toned down by education, and the same may be said of a Parisian as contrasted with a Marsellais. In Sweden these distinctions are much more marked, owing to the great influence of the popular dialects, the extent of the country, and the defectiveness of its communications. The Swedes themselves often say that they have no (`rikssprack) or standard language, and it is certain that there is much less uniformity among educated Swedes than there is among educated Englishmen (excepting Scotchmen). It is, however, clear that the mere fact of educated Swedes from the most remote provinces being able to communicate with one another, while the peasants of the same provinces would not be able, perhaps, to understand a word of each other's speech, proves that there must be some common standard at which all educated speakers aim, and the fact that their pronunciation still retains enough dialectal peculiarities to betray their locality merely shows that they have not succeeded in their attempt.

The only way to answer the question, what is this common standard? would be to compare the speech of educated people from every part of the country, and, after determining the influence of the local dialects, to eliminate those elements which are common to educated speech everywhere. Till this is done, the simplest principle is to take the educated language of the capital as the approximate standard, although, as regards Swedish, the want of centralization makes it impossible to carry it out so strictly as in the case of English and French, for the dialects of the large towns in Sweden have much less assimilative power, so that country-born speakers more easily retain their original peculiarities. The principle I follow here is simply to give what I have observed myself, and I need only add that the pronunciations I know best are those of Upland, Stockholm, and Södermanland (sœrmlan), Upland being the province immediately north, and Södermanland immediately south, of Stockholm. It is generally considered that the dialect of Södermanland is that which approaches nearest to the ideal literary language.

The main division of the Swedish dialects is into 'upper' (upsvænsk), including those just mentioned, and 'south' (syydsvænsk). The distinction between the two is very marked even in the pronunciation of the educated.

SOUNDS.

Description.

Vowels.

In writing Swedish phonetically I employ my Broad Romic notation,[1] and will now proceed to describe the elementary vowel-sounds in the following order: a; ɔ; i, e, æ, (ae); u, o, ɔ, (ao); y, ə, œ, (oe).[2] Each long vowel follows immediately after its short. To each of these Broad Romic symbols will be added the more precise Narrow Romic[1] one,

[1] See my *Handbook of Phonetics* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1877.)
[2] The (ə) which follows immediately after (a) and that which follows (y) are two different sounds = Narrow Romic (eh) and (ə) respectively.

together with the description of the sound in Mr. Bell's terminology, as modified in my *Handbook*. Whenever Narrow Romic symbols are employed elsewhere, they are enclosed in [ ], whenever necessary to prevent confusion with the Broad Romic ones, which are enclosed in ( ).

a (a: mid-back-wide): man (man) 'man,' fast (fast) 'firm,' hatt (hat) 'hat.' This is the usual English vowel in 'father' (faadhə), only short. The unaccented vowel, as in *elska* (`ælska)[1] 'love,' seems generally to have a thinner sound, like the forward Danish (ˌa): this is clearly marked in the Söderm. pronunciation, where the unaccented (a) often seems almost as front as the English (*æ*) in 'man.'

The Norwegian (a) is distinctly low, = (*a*), like the Sw. (aa).

aa (*aa:* low-back-wide): staf (staav) 'staff,' taga (`taaga) 'take,' sak (saak) 'affair.' This sound varies in both directions, approximating sometimes to the mid [a], sometimes to the narrow (*ɒ*). I have very rarely heard this deeper pronunciation, but most Norwegians agree in considering the Swedish (aa) to be deeper than their own, which is certainly (*aa*). The Danes are generally unable to pronounce the Swedish (aa), substituting their own (ˌaa), which is nearly (*ææ*)—the long of the English vowel in 'man.'

ə (eh: mid-mixed-narrow): bättre (′bætrə) 'better,' saker (`saakər) 'affairs.' The regular unaccented vowel in all the Teutonic languages except Icelandic and English.

i (i: high-front-narrow): illa (`illa) 'ill,' fisk (fisk) 'fish,' dricka (`drikka) 'drink,' mitt (mit) 'mine' *neuter*. This sound is unquestionably narrow in the Söderml. pronunciation, which seems also to be the general Upper Swedish one. But the wide (*i*) certainly occurs in educated speech, and many of the dialects have both (i) and (*i*) in different words, according to the nature of the following consonant, as in

[1] The accents (`) and (′) before polysyllabic words denote the compound and simple tones respectively, as described below. All monosyllables have (′), which does not, therefore, require to be written before them. The point, as in (aug·usti) indicates stress beginning on the preceding sound. Secondary accent is indicated by (:), as in (u·ndant:aag), written (undant:aag) the (·) being omitted when the chief stress falls on the first syllable of a word. (·) *before* a word, denotes sentence-stress, or emphasis, as in (gao ·pao).

Danish, which almost always has (*i*) before nasals, and in other cases as well.[1]

ii (ii):[2] vi (vii) 'we,' is (iis) 'ice,' rita (ˋriita) 'draw.' This vowel is often formed with such strong compression as to amount really to a buzzed consonant, which is especially noticeable between stops, as in *tid* (tiid) 'time.' It sometimes ends in a breath-glide, as in *i* (iiH) 'in,' the glottis being opened at the moment of relaxing the position; but this is only occasional, not constant as in Icelandic.

e (e: mid-front-narrow): begär (bej·aer) 'desire,' eld (eld) 'fire,' hvem (vem) 'who,' skepp (shep) 'ship.' This sound has the strict mid position, and is never raised towards (i), as in French, and still more in Danish. In the Stockholm pronunciation there is a tendency to eliminate (e) altogether, (i) or (æ) being substituted for it, so that (shep) becomes (ship) or (shæp), and (eld) becomes (ild) or (il).

ee (ee): tre (tree) 'three,' mer (meer) 'more,' sten (steen) 'stone.' In the Stockholm and Upland pronunciation (ee) approximates rather to (ae), probably by partial widening.

æ (æ: low-front-narrow): värre (ˈværrə) 'worse,' färsk (fæsk), sjelf (shælv) 'self,' best (bæst) 'best.' Before (r) this vowel is specially low and broad, and before the inverted consonants, as in (fæsk), it seems to be formed with a simultaneous partial anticipation of the position of the following inverted, the point of the tongue being turned upwards and backwards towards the (ɻr) position. This effect is still more noticeable in the long (ae).[3]

ae (ææ): här (haer) 'here,' jern (jae*n*) 'iron,' värd, verld (vae*d*) 'worth,' 'world.' (ææ) occurs only before (r) and the inverteds.

ae (*ee*: mid-front-wide): väl (vael) 'well,' gräs (graes) 'grass,' tjena (ˋcaena) 'serve.' In the Stockholm and Upland

[1] In the Handbook of Phonetics I have assumed (*i*) and (*y*) as the normal sounds, on the strength of an individual pronunciation, although even in this one I seemed occasionally to hear the narrow sounds also. It must be remembered that there are various degrees of narrowing possible.

[2] The descriptions of the short apply also to the long vowels, unless the latter are specially described.

[3] I have heard this retractive modification in the attempts of Swedes to pronounce the E. 'air' etc.

pronunciation this sound is completely levelled under (ee), but the distinction is strictly preserved in Söderml. and in South Swedish generally.

u (u_1: partially rounded high-back-narrow): ung (uq) 'young,' kung (kuq) 'king,' full (ful) 'full,' hustru (`hustru)[1] 'wife,' bubbla (`bubla) 'bubble.' This vowel was wrongly analysed by me in my Handbook,[2] and it was not till I had been some time in Sweden that I came to the conclusion that it was the ordinary European [u] with the inner (cheek-) rounding retained, but with the lips more open, seemingly in the low-round position of the English vowel in 'fall.' That the position is really the high-back seems to be proved by the fact that the Swedes have no great difficulty in acquiring the normal [u], which differs from their (u) only in being formed with narrower lips. The Norwegians, on the other hand, whose (u) is the high-mixed [uh], differing from their (uu) only in quantity, and not a back vowel, have no idea of the high-back position, and consequently have great difficulty in imitating the general European [u], substituting their own close [o¹] for it. To an English ear (u_1) sounds intermediate to the (*u*) of 'full' and the (ʊ) of 'but.'

The South Swedish dialects preserve European [u].

This Swedish (u) is of great interest to English phoneticians, as it probably represents the intermediate stage between the present mid-back-narrow (ʊ) in 'come' and the older [u]. This a-priori probability is strongly confirmed by the descriptions of the seventeenth century phonetician Wallis (Ellis, Early English Pronunciation, p. 172). Mr. Ellis sums up his statements as follows:[3] "Wallis makes the aperture of the lingual passage grow smaller at the back for *â* (as in *fall*), *e feminine*, *û* (as in *come*), the first being (ɔɔ) with the greatest depression, and he has an action of the lips for *ũ*. This ought to give (ɔɔ, ʊ, u) for the three

[1] Both vowels.

[2] Through my attempting to identify it with the long sound. I had at a much earlier period (on the strength of a very cursory hearing of the Swedish sounds) doubtfully identified it with (ih)—that is, the long Swedish (uu) unrounded. See my *History of English Sounds*, p. 5. I have given the correct description in the Additional Notes to the Handbook.

[3] I substitute my own for Mr. Ellis's symbols.

sounds. But this cannot be right for *ŭ*, because Wallis distinguished it from (u). Hence we must disregard the lip action of the last, and write (ɔɔ, ʋ, v). This, however, is scarcely probable." By the assumption that Wallis was describing the Swedish (u_1) we escape completely from the dilemma. The following seem to have been the stages:

kum, ku_1m, kvm, kʋm.

That is, (u) was first partially, then completely unrounded, the resulting high-back-narrow being afterwards lowered to its present mid position.

uu (uuh: high-mixed-narrow-round): nu (nuu) 'now,' ful (fuul) 'ugly,' hus (huus) 'house,' ut (uut) 'out,' uthus (ˋuuthuus) 'out-house.' Often buzzed, and finally=(uuʜ). The Swedish (uu) is not far removed from the ordinary (yy), as in French 'lune.' The Norwegian (uu) sounds much more more like the back [uu], and is probably really intermediate to it and (yy) in position, the Swedish sound being the advanced [ˌuuh]. I have heard the Norse sound from a native of Norrland.

o (o^1: mid-back-narrow with high rounding): orm (orm) 'serpent,' blomma (ˋblomma) 'flower,' oxe (ˋoksə) 'ox,' kort (ko*t*) 'card.' The Swedish (o) seems to be identical with the Danish and Norse one. It is possible that the tongue may be sometimes raised towards the high position, but this is not essential, the characteristic feature of the sound being its combination of the normal mid position with high instead of mid rounding—that is, with the rounding of the normal European [u], which latter it resembles more than it does the normal (o) of German and Italian. It is remarkable that the normal mid-rounded (o) is common in unaccented syllables, as in *voro* (ˋvooro) 'they were,' where the first (o) has high, the second mid rounding, *varor* (ˋvaaror) 'wares.'[1] In loud declamation or shouting, in which the mouth is naturally opened widelier, the same change from high to mid rounding often seems to take place.

[1] This was first pointed out to me by Prof. Storm. The Swedes themselves do not seem to be aware of it, because of their universal mispronunciation and consequent ignorance of the normal (o) in other languages.

Hence the interesting pronunciation of the exclamation (hall·oo) with mid-rounded (o), even when pronounced in an ordinary tone of voice. It is the only instance of normal (o) in an accented syllable.

oo (oo[1]): bro (broo) 'bridge,' stol (stool) 'chair,' bok (book) 'book,' korn (koo*n*) 'barley.' Sometimes buzzed, and sometimes finally (ooH).

ɔ (ɔ[1]: low-back-wide with mid rounding): torr (tɔr) 'dry,' oss (ɔs) 'us,' sommar (ˋsɔmmar) 'summer,' kort (kɔ*t*) 'short,' topp (tɔp) 'top.' This vowel seems to be opener than the North-German in 'volk,' which is certainly the normal mid-back-wide-round. It is, on the other hand, less open in sound than the normal [ɔ] with low rounding, as in the E. 'top,' when pronounced distinctly. When, however, the E. vowel is formed in a more slovenly and muffled way, it can hardly be distinguished from the Swedish one. On the strength of these facts, together with the analogy of the (ao), I think it probable that the Swedish (ɔ) differs from the E. only in being formed with mid instead of low rounding.

ao (ɔɔ[1]: low-back-narrow with mid rounding): gå (gao) 'go,' hål (haol) 'hole,' blåst (blaost) 'blast,' gråta (ˋgraota) 'weep,' gård (gao*d*) 'court.' This vowel clearly lies in sound between the normal E. [ɔɔ] in 'haul,' and the normal (oo), as in German 'hohl,' which latter the Swedes imitate with their abnormal (haol). The Norse sound is identical with the Swedish, but the Danish one is (as I learn from Prof. Storm) opener, and therefore nearer the E. (ao).

y (y: high-front-narrow-round): styrka (ˋstyrka) 'strength,' lyfta (ˋlyfta) 'lift,' grym (grym) 'cruel,' flydde (ˋflyddə) 'fled,' *pret.* What has been said about the narrowness of (i) applies also to (y). When the Swedish (y) is compared with the French *u*, it is heard to approximate to (i), which seems to be the result of under-rounding.[1]

yy (yy): sky (shyy) 'cloud,' frysa (ˋfryysa), blyg (blyyg) 'shy,' drypa (ˋdryypa) 'drip.' Often buzzed, (yy) final becoming (yyH). The approximation of (yy) to (ii) and of

[1] Noticed also by Prof. Gaston Paris, when at Upsala in September, 1877.

[uuh] to (yy) is an interesting example of that 'verschiebung' which is so common in vowel-series. We may safely predict that the next changes will be that (yy) passes over entirely to (ii), and [uuh] to (yy). At present [uuh] and (yy) are kept apart almost as much by the different degrees of their rounding as by the difference in position.

ə (*ə*: mid-front-wide-round): föll (fəl) 'fell,' möss (məs) 'mice,' önska (ˋənska) 'wish,' högst (həkst) 'highest.' The wideness of this sound is doubtful, and it may be really half narrow.

əə (əə: mid-front-narrow-round): sjö (shəə) 'sea,' öl (əəl) 'beer,' döv (dəəv) 'deaf,' söka (ˋsəəka) 'seek,' nöt (nəət) 'nut.' Narrowness often doubtful.

œ (œ: low-front-narrow-round): dörr (dœr) 'door,' törst (tœ*st*) 'thirst,' dörren (dœ*n*) 'the door,' störta (ˋstœ*t*a) 'fall.' Only before (r) and inverteds. All that has been said of (æ) under the same circumstances applies also here.

oe (oe): öra (ˋoera) 'ear,' björn (bjoe*n*) 'bear,' shörd (shoe*d*) 'harvest.'

The diphthongs are (æi), (ɔi), and (əi) in native, together with (ai), (au) and (eeu) in foreign words. All have the stress on the first element. The glide from the first to the second element is long in those diphthongs which have the first element short. As regards the second elements, the (i) is very close, being often buzzed, sometimes even ending in (ʜ), so as to be really a consonant, and there is never any stopping at a lower position, as in English and German.

æi (æi): nej (næi) 'no,' säga (ˋsæia) 'say,' fräjd (fræid) 'fame.'

ɔi (ɔ[1]i): stoj (stɔi) 'noise,' poike (ˈpɔikə) 'boy.'

əi (əi)[1]: dröj (drəi) 'stay!' nöje (ˋnəiə) 'pleasure,' höjd (həid) 'height.'

ai (ai): Mai (mai) 'May,' svaja (ˋsvaia) 'flutter.'

au (au_1)[2]: Augusti (aug·usti) 'August.'

eeu (eeu_1): Europa (eeur·oopa) 'Europe.'

[1] Or (*ə*i).
[2] I sometimes thought that the second element sounded more like [uh].

CONSONANTS.

h: han (han) 'he,' hit (hiit) 'hither,' hota (ˋhoota) 'threaten.' Often stronger than in English. Mr. Lundell told me that his (h) was formed entirely by throat-friction, and that there was no anticipation of the position of the following vowel, as in English, where (hii) is practically a very weak (jhii).

j: ja (jaa) 'yes,' gifva (ˋjiiva, jee) 'give,' ljus (juus) 'light,' varg (varj) 'wolf,' sköljs (shəljs) 'is washed.' Very close, and when initial often pronounced with slight front contact at the beginning, so that (jaa) becomes almost (ɲjaa).

r (point-trill): rad (raad) 'row,' darra (ˋdarra) 'tremble,' fara (ˋfaara) 'go,' ärr (ær) 'scar,' här (haer) 'here,' verk (værk) 'work.' (r)+consonant does not occur after a long vowel, as *rn*, etc., represent single inverteds. (r) is most strongly trilled initially, though even here much more weakly than in Scotch, French, etc., least so when final after a long vowel. Medial (r) not followed by a consonant is necessarily doubled after a short vowel, which brings out the trill more forcibly than in the final (r) of *ärr*.

In Upper Swedish (r), followed by the points (l, n, d, t) and the blade (s), draws them back to the inverted position, and then is itself dropped, or rather, as stated under (æ) and (ae), partially incorporated into the preceding vowel, so that the combinations (rl), (rn), (rd), (rd), (rs) become (l↓, n↓, d↓, t↓, s↓), or, as I write them here for convenience, (*l*, *n*, *d*, *t*, *s*). In the formation of these consonants the main element is the shifting back of the position to the rim of the palatal arch, the inversion not being apparently very marked, as is the case when the point of the tongue comes *within* the palatal arch with its lower blade striking against the teeth-roots. However the Swedish (*d*), etc., seem to be often distinctly formed with the lower edge of the tip of the tongue. The (*s*), of course, retains at the same time—partially at least—its original blade position, although the fact of the tip being directed so much upwards and backwards naturally tends to approximate its position to the

point one, the result being that (*s*) closely resembles the blade-point consonant (sh).

Examples of the five inverteds are: Karl (kaa*l*) 'Charles,' barn (baa*n*) 'child,' herde (ˋhee*d*ə) 'shepherd,' svart (sva*t*) 'black,' kors (kɔ*s*) 'cross.'

The stages of the change were evidently the following: 1) untrilling of the (r), 2) its retraction and inversion, 3) change of the following consonants, and 4) loss of the (r↓). It must be remembered that the normal position for (r) is further back than that of (l), etc. It was, then, natural enough when (r) had lost its trill before (l), etc., to compensate this loss by exaggerating its retraction.

It has been already remarked under (ae) that the retraction is often anticipated by the preceding vowel. It is this which makes many people fancy they hear a distinct (r) before the *t* in (sva*t*), etc.

The change of (rl) to (l) seems to be later than with the other combinations, not being so completely carried out. Thus *herrlig* (magnificent) may be pronounced either (ˋhærli) or (ˋhae*l*i). *kärlek* (love) is now pronounced (ˋcae*l*eek) or (ˋcae*l*ek), but Weste's dictionary (1807) gives expressly (ˋcærleek).

These examples also illustrate the tendency of these inverteds to lengthen the preceding vowel. This lengthening is in many cases evidently of very recent date, for Weste still gives a short vowel in such words as (ˋhee*d*ə), only giving long vowels in such words as (baa*n*), (koo*n*), where the lengthening is old, occurring in Danish also.

The influence of (r) extends through any number of consonants in immediate contact, not only in the same word, as in (shva*ts*) = the German name 'Schwartz,' *barnslig* (ˋbaa*nsl*ī) 'childish,' but also in different ones, as in *hör du* (ˋhœ*d*u) 'hear thou,' with shortening of the original (oe), *vårt största barn* (vao*t* *stœst*a baa*n*) 'our biggest child.'

(r) does not exercise any influence on the blade-point (sh), because (sh) is always more retracted than (s), being in fact intermediate to the blade (s) and the point (r), and still more because (sh) in Swedish is generally even more retracted than

in other languages (see below), but seems to be sometimes dropped itself, as in *marsch* (mash) 'march.'

(r) is also dropped in careless speech before (c), as in *förtjena* (fœc·aena) 'deserve,' evidently on account of the difficulty of the transition.

In South Swedish (r) becomes a back trill, which is often weakened almost to a vowel, and the inverteds are unknown.

l: le (lee) 'smile,' all (al) 'all,' illa ('illa) 'ill.' Sometimes dental, but as often formed on the gums just above the teeth. The middle of the tongue is less hollow and nearer the palate than in English, so that it has the same (i) quality as in French, etc. The Swedes are apt to imitate our deeper toned (l) by their (*l*).

In the Upper Swedish dialects (l) and the combination *rd* often pass into a peculiar sound intermediate to (l) and (r), called the 'thick' *l*, as in such words as *Upsala, flicka, gård.* This sound, which I have described in my *Handbook* (p. 24) as (r↓), finished off with a single strong trill or flap of the tongue-tip against the rim of the palatal arch, is sometimes expressed by such spellings as *herregåln* for *herregården* ('hærrəgao*d*ən) 'the manor-house.' In the literary *ifjol* (if·jool) 'last year,' from older *ifjord*, the thick has passed into an ordinary (l).

l↓: Karl (kaa*l*) 'Charles,' sädesärla ('saedəsae*l*a) 'wagtail.'

sh: schal, sjal (shaal) 'shawl,' sked (sheed) 'spoon,' sky (shyy) 'cloud,' usch (ush) 'fie!' nisch (nish) 'niche.' Tends often to retraction,[1] though as often indistinguishable from the English (sh). From many Upland and Stockholm speakers I have, however, heard what seemed to be a labialized (sh)—(sh*w*). According to one Swedish phonetician,[2] some affected speakers substitute (*s*) for (sh), making (shaal) into (*s*aal). In South Sweden (from Småland downwards) (sh) passes into a very peculiar sound, in whose formation

[1] When I first came to Sweden, I often seemed to hear an (r) before final (sh), (u*sh*), for instance, suggesting *ursh*, just as (kɔ*s*) suggested *kors*.
[2] J. A. A., Bidrag til Svenska Sjudlära, p. 20.

the point of the tongue has no share. I have often imitated it successfully, but am not so familiar with it as to speak with confidence about its formation. Its main feature seems to be inner- or cheek-rounding, the cheek-passage being contracted laterally along its whole length and the lips pouted, without, however, being specially narrowed, as in the English (wh). The tongue is, at the same time, raised towards the inner (jh) position, which supplies the hiss-element in the sound, whose pitch is between that of the English (sh) and (wh).

s: sex (sæks) 'six,' läsa (ˋlaesa) 'read.'

s↓: färsk (fæsk) 'fresh,' förstå (fœ*st*·ao) 'understand,' kors (ko*s*) 'cross.'

v (lip-teeth-voice): viss (vis) 'certain,' lefva (ˋleeva) 'live,' sjelf (shælv) 'self.'

f: fisk (fisk) 'fish,' golf (gɔlf) 'gulf,' skaffa (ˋskaffa) 'procure.'

q (back-nasal-voice): sång (sɔq) 'song,' sjunga (ˋshuqa) 'sing,' sjunka (ˋshuqka) 'sink.'

n: namn (namn) 'name,' brinna (ˋbrinna) 'burn,' kant (kant) 'edge.' Position as with (l).

n↓: herrn (hæ*n*) 'the gentleman,' stjerna (ˋshae*n*a) 'star,' barn (baa*n*) 'child.'

m: min (min) 'mine,' sam (sam) 'swam,' namn (namn) 'name.'

g: gå (gao) 'go,' gitarr (git·ar), taga (ˋtaaga) 'take,' ägg (æg) 'egg,' såg (saog) 'saw,' bragd (bragd) 'exploit.' Swedish preserves final voiced stops, but they seem to be shorter than in English, and to have a stronger breath off-glide, so that their vocality is often not so marked. Some Swedish phoneticians (especially Leffler) consider that voice is not essential to these consonants in Swedish, but this view is not shared by most of the others.

k: kall (kal) 'cold,' kisse (ˋkissə) 'puss,' skall (skal) 'shall,' tacka (ˋtakka) 'thank,' tak (taak) 'roof,' sagt (sakt) 'said.' The initial voiceless stops have a stronger explosion than in English, the pressure during the stop itself being greater, as in many forms of North German pronunciation. There

is, however, no independent stress on the breath-glide, and consequently no true aspiration, such as may be heard in Danish, Irish, or the Indian languages. (s) diminishes the force of the breath-glide after the following consonant (sk, st, sp). Compare Danish (tHao*x*), (stao*x*), etc., = Swedish tå (tao) 'toe,' stå (stao) 'stand.'

c (ʧjh, jh, tjh): kenna ('cænna) 'know,' köld (cəld) 'cold,' kyss (cys) 'kiss,' tjugu ('cuugu) 'twenty.' Many Swedish phoneticians (especially Norren) regard this as a simple sound=(jh), as in German *ich*. I seemed, however, generally to hear a stop at the beginning, although often very slight, as in (ɒjaa) for (jaa), described under (j), and I found that several who objected to my epithet 'compound' were quite ready to admit the pronunciation (ʧjh), with stop and sibilant formed in the same place: they understood 'compound' to imply that they were formed in different places, as in the English (tsh). There can be no doubt that the South Swedish sound is compound in this last sense as well. My repeated hearing of the pronunciation of Mr. Lundell and his own careful analysis of the sound lead to the conclusion that the South Swedish (c) begins with the blade-stop, that is, a stop formed in the (s)-position, not merely with the tip, followed by an advanced (jh), which is a perfectly easy and natural combination. The effect is hardly distinguishable from that of the English (tsh) in 'church.'[1]

d: dal (daal) 'valley,' bädd (bæd) 'bed,' leda ('leeda) 'lead.' For position, as also for that of (t), see under (l).

d↓: hård (hao*d*) 'hard,' värd (vae*d*) 'worth.'

t: tam (taam) 'tame,' lott (lət) 'lot,' hitta ('hitta) 'find.'

t↓: svart (sva*t*) 'black,' svårt (svao*t*) 'difficult' *neut.*, kort (kə*t*) 'short.'

b: bok (book) 'book,' rubba ('rubba) 'disturb,' snibb (snib) 'corner.'

p: på (pao) 'on,' gripa ('griipa) 'seize,' topp (təp) 'top.'

[1] Since the above was written I have heard a most marked (ʧjh) from a South Swede—Dr. Wulff of Lund, who is a native of Göteborg. Dr. Wulff entirely repudiates the simple (jh) pronunciation, which he considers exclusively Norse.

Representation.

Instead of subordinating the symbol to the sound, as has just been done in describing the elementary sounds of the language, the opposite course of starting from the letters—which, as already remarked, represent the sounds of an earlier period—will now be followed. The letters will be arranged as far as possible according to the nature of the sounds they originally represented in the Latin alphabet, in agreement with the order followed in the preceding section.

When the correspondence between symbol and sound is perfectly uniform and regular, no examples will be given. Examples will be given in those cases where the pronunciation cannot be inferred from the spelling, such as *e*=(e) instead of the usual (æ), or (ae) instead of (ee), etc.: in such cases I have given the most important and common of the exceptional words.

The spelling I give is that still generally in use, not the more phonetic one now being introduced, in which *tjena* is written *tjäna*, and *Nerike* is written *Nærke*, etc. These innovations will, of course, offer no difficulty to those who are acquainted with the actual pronunciation which they represent.

As regards quantity, it may suffice at present to state that vowels followed by single consonants are long, before double consonants or consonant-groups short, double written consonants being pronounced double, as in Italian, when preceded and followed by vowels. Note that the doubling of *n* and *m* is sometimes neglected in the written language. The pronunciations given immediately after each letter are the regular ones.

Vowels.

a: (a), (aa): *af* (aav) 'of' is often (aov).

i: (i), (ii): Unaccented (i) dropped in the proper name *Nerike* ('nærkə).

e: (æ), (ee). Some have (e): helgon ('helgɔn) 'saint,' eld

(eld) 'fire;' ledsen (ˋlessən) 'annoyed;' *en* (en) 'one;' hem (hem) 'home,' hvem (vem) 'who;' vecka (ˋvekka) 'week,' tecken (ˋtekkən) 'sign;' bredd (bred) 'breadth;' hetta (ˋhetta) 'heat,' spets (spets) 'point;' skepp (shep) 'ship.' Others vary between (e) and (æ), such as *emellan* (em·ˋellan) 'among,' *enkel* (ˋeqkəl) 'simple.' There are also many inflectional forms, such as *sett* (set) 'seen' from (see), *beredd* (ber·ed) 'prepared' from (ber·eeda). Observe that (ee) never occurs before (m), being always shortened to (e). Some have (ae): *der* (daer) 'there,' *verld* (vaed) 'world;' *djefvul* (ˋjaevul) 'devil;' *tjena* (ˋcaena) 'serve;' *djekne* (ˋjaeknə) 'scholar;' *med* (maed) 'with;' *det* (daet) 'it.' Among foreign words may be noticed the originally Dutch proper name *de Geer* (de j·aer), *sfer* (svaer) 'sphere;' *pjes* 'piece;' *chef* (shaef); *Bremen* (ˋbraemən); the proper name *Edla* (ˋaedla, ee); *ebenholz* (ˋaebənholts, ee) 'ebony.' *e* is (ii) in the colloquial pronunciation of *de* (dii) 'they,' and sometimes in *tre* (trii, tree) 'three.' Compare *si!* (sii) 'see!' and *siare* (ˋsiiarə) 'seer' from *se* (see) 'see.'

ä: (æ), (ae).

u: (u), (uu). (yy) in *tjuf* (cyyv) 'thief,' *stjuf-* (styyv) 'step(mother).' The French unaccented *u* and *ou* in *superb*, *disputera*, *soupé* (sup·ee) is sometimes (u), sometimes (y). *disput* is always (disp·yyt).

o: (ɔ), (oo). The following are some of those that have (o): *orm* 'snake,' *fort* 'quick' (fot); *hos* 'by,' *ost* 'cheese;' *hon* 'she,' *ond* 'bad;' *tom* 'empty,' *blomma* 'flower;' *socken* (ˋsokkən) 'parish,' *oxe* 'ox;' *gods* (gots) 'estate.' Also inflections such as *trodde* 'believed' from *tro*. *dotter* 'daughter' is generally (ˋdɔttər), but also has (oo)—(ˋdootər). Weste gives also (o) for *kong* 'king' and *blomster* (ˋblomstər) 'flower,' which now only have (ɔ). (oo) before (m) is always shortened, as in *loma* (ˋlomma) 'sneak.' The following have (ao): *kora* 'choose,' *boren* 'born,' *sorl* 'murmur' (sao*l*); *kol* 'coal,' *moln* 'cloud,' *dolde pret.* 'hid;' *ofvan* 'above,' *hof* 'court,' *lofva* 'promise,' *sofva* 'sleep,' *dof* 'dull;' *son* 'son,' *konung* 'king;' *fogel* (ˋfaogəl) 'bird.' Foreign words: *corps* (kaor), *Floren(t)s* (ˋflaorens); *brosch* (braosh); *strof* (straof); *logisk* (ˋlaogisk); *nobel* (ˋnaobəl) 'generous.' Others have

(oo), such as: *flora* ('floora), *gloria* ('glooria); *komisk* ('koomisk); *codex* ('koodæks). *honom* (him) is generally (hɔnnɔm), but also (hoonɔm). *honing*, *-ung* (honey) is generally ('hɔnniq), but also ('haonuq, -iq). In the dialects the *o* of *kol*, etc., is generally some variety of the low-mixed-wide-round, a sound between (ɔ) and (œ), and is thus distinct from the *å* of *kål* 'cabbage.' In the literary language the two words are identical, although the grammars still assert the distinction.

y: (y), (yy). (œ) before (r) in *kyrka* ('cœrka) 'church,' *fyrtio* ('fœti) 'forty.' Final *y* in foreign names, such as *Jenny*, is sometimes (y), but generally (i)—('jænni); *toddy* is ('tɔddə).

ö: (ə), (œ), (əə), (oe). The names of the provinces *Öster-*, *Vester-götland*, are often pronounced (-jyllan) instead of (-jəətlan(d)). *œ* in Greek and Latin names is (ee): *Phœbus phœnicisk* = ('feebus), (fen·iisisk). (a) in *förstuga* ('fastu) 'anteroom.' In the present Upper Swedish the distinction between short (ə) and (œ) depends entirely on whether or not the vowel is followed by (r), but Weste distinguishes strictly between the close and open vowels before other consonants as well. He always gives (œ) in the diphthong *öj* and before (r), before nasals in *lögn; rönn, lön,*[1] *sjön* 'the sea,' *att skönja, fönster, söndag, sönder; sömn, lömsk,* before other sounds in *mjölk, tölp; stöfvel.* In all other words (ə). As regards the long vowel, he makes it always (əə) when final, and generally before (r), although the following have (əə): *ett öra, ett öre, att höra, skör, skörbjugg, för* (='vigorous,' but (œ) in *för* 'for,' etc.), *att föra, mör, att köra, att böra* (befit).[2] To all the others he gives (əə) except the following: *mjöl* (əə, oe); *gröfre* (comparative); *att röna, skön, söner* (plural), *grön, att kröna, en krönika, kön*[3]*; gröt.*

The diphthongs show some irregularities in foreign words. Thus *August* ('august), *Augustus* (aug·ustus), have both (au) and (ao), the name of the month *Augusti* (aug·usti) having

[1] Both words.
[2] But *en bör* (boer).
[3] The word *stöna* does not occur in Weste's dictionary.

only (au); *autobiografi* is (aftobiɔgraf·ii). Similarly in *eufoni* (ævfɔn·ii), *Zeus* (sæfs), *pseudo-* (sævdo-).

The pronunciation of *e* and *o* in end and derivative syllables requires special notice. We will begin with the long *e* and *o* in the accented syllables of foreign words. The following words have the regular close vowels: *officer* (ɔffis·eer), *kapten* (kapt·een), *diet* (diee·t), *privilegium* (privil·eegjum), *tenor* (ten·oor), *katolsk* (kat·oolsk), *idiot* (idioo·t), *patriotisk* (patrioo·tisk), *metod* (met·ood), and many others.

(ae) is, however, most usual before (r), as in *atmosfer* (atmɔsf·aer), *galer* (gal·aer), *karakter* (karakt·aer); *myster* (myst·aer) has also (ee); (ae) before (m) in *system* (syst·aem).

The (ao)s are much more numerous:

r: *allegorisk* (alleg·aorisk), *korridor* (kɔrrid·aor), metafor (metaf·aor). The paroxytone *stentor* (`stæntaor) has also (oo).

l: gondol, hyperbol (hypærb·aol), idol, symbol.

v: alkov.

f: filosof (filɔs·aof), katastrof.

m: arom, atom, diplom, symptom.

k: epok (ep·aok).

g: analog, filolog (filɔl·aog).

t: anekdot (anekd·aot), despot (desp·aot).

d: antipod, episod, both having also (oo).

p: metropolis (met·raopolis), microskop, teleskop.

Many other words follow the analogy of these. Note especially that *-olog* is always (ɔl·aog).

We will now consider the pronunciation of *e* and *o* in unaccented syllables.

e in the prefixes *e-*, *ge-*, *be-*, etc., is (e), as in *emot* (em·oot) 'against,' *gevär* (jev·aer) 'gun.' When it follows the accented syllable, it is the mixed (ə), as in *ende* (`ændə) 'end,' *hanske* (`hanskə) 'glove,' *papper* (`pappər) 'paper,' and all inflections.

o is (o) when final, as in *togo* (`toogo) 'they took,' whence also in the passive *togos*, and before (g) in *afvog* (`aavog) 'averse,' *idog* (`iidog) 'persevering,' *ymnog* (`ymnog) 'abundant.' Before (r), as in *varor* (`vaaror) 'wares,' *annorlunda* 'otherwise,' *doktor* (`dɔktor), *humor* (`huumor), *marmor*

(`marmor), the mid rounding is very marked, and perhaps (ɔ) may also be heard.[1] In *arfvode* (`arvoodə) 'salary,' *älskog* (`ælskoog) 'love,' the (oo) seems to be generally long. In all other cases *o* is (ɔ): *ögon* (`əəgɔn) 'eyes,' *tionde* (`tiiəndə) 'tenth,' *lagom* (`laagɔm) 'enough,' *något* (`naogɔt) 'something,' *biskop* (`biskɔp).

In foreign words the tendency is to pronounce medial *e* as (e), the final *e* becoming the mixed (ə). (e) occurs not only before single consonants, as in *element* (elem·ænt), *effekt* (ef·ækt), but also before compound ones, as in *ingeniör* (inshen·joer) 'engineer,' *despot* (desp·aot), *ecklesiastik* (eklesiast·iik), *indiskretion* (indiskret·shoon), *respekt* (res·pækt), *sekreterare* (sekret·eerarə), and even in such words as *etcetera* (ets·eetəra), *anekdot* (anekd·aot), *flegmatisk* (flegm·aatisk), where the consonants must necessarily be divided between the two syllables. The last word has also (æ). *ä* and the French *ai* are also (e) in *präbende* (preb·ændə), *saison* (ses·ɔq). *e* before a final consonant is often (æ) instead of (ə) in foreign words, as in *Aristoteles* (arist·`ootəlæs), *Daniel, Jerusalem, Moses.*

o, on the contrary, is very frequently represented by (ɔ), even before single consonants, especially in more familiar words, and in rapid speech.

Among those that take (ɔ) may be noted all in *-ologi*, such as *geologi* (jeɔlɔg·ii), and many with *o* before nasals, as in *ekonomi* (ekɔnɔm·ii), *monotoni* (mɔnɔtɔn·ii), *komedi* (kɔmed·ii). Other examples are *kolossal* (kɔlɔss·aal), *filosof* (filɔs·aof), *offentlig* (ɔf·æntli) 'public,' *koketteri* (kɔkættər·ii), *hotel* (hɔt·æl), *motion* (mɔt·shoon).

The following are examples of those that keep (o): *moral* (mor·aal), *docent* (dos·ænt), *ofantlig* (of·antli), *professor* (prof·`æssor), *botanik* (botan·iik), *fodral* (fod·raal), *kopia* (kop·iia). *bombast* (bomb·ast) follows the analogy of the numerous native words in (-om), such as *tom*.

There is, however, much fluctuation.

(ɔ) generally appears before a final consonant, as in *Jakob*

[1] Weste states that all *-or*s have the *o* "très-ouvert."

(ˋjaakɔb), *kaos* (ˋkaaɔs). *Salomon* is, however, (ˋsaalomon), although (ˋsaalomɔn) is given by Weste.

CONSONANTS.

h. Dropped (or rather assimilated) after (k) in some words, such as *Stockholm* (ˋstɔkkɔlm), *bokhållare* (ˋbokkɔllarə), 'bookkeeper.'

hj: (j). hjelm (jælm) 'helmet,' hjul (juul) 'wheel.'

hv: (v). hvad (vaad) 'what,' hvem (vem) 'who.'

j. jul (juul) 'Christmas,' njuta (njuuta) 'enjoy.' (sh) in many French words: bonjour (bɔqsh·uur) 'frock-coat,' journal (shu*n*·aal), Julie (ˋshyli).

r.

l. Dropped in *karl* (kaar) 'man' and *verld* (vae*d*) 'world.' The name *Karl* is (kaa*l*).

lj: (j). Only occurs before *u*: ljus (juus) 'light,' ljum (jum) 'lukewarm.'

s.

sj (si, ssj): (sh). själ (shael) 'soul,' sjuk (shuuk) 'sick'; ässja (ˋæshsha) 'forge,' vyssja (ˋvyshsha) 'hush.' So also in the combination *(s)si* when the *i*=(j), generally in foreign words, such as *assiett* (ash·æt) 'plate,' and especially in such words as *division* (divish·oon), *passion* (pash·oon). Hence also in *xi*=(ksj), as in *Wexiö* (ˋvækshəə), *reflexion* (reflæksh·oon).

sk: (sk), (sh). (sk) at the end of a syllable after all vowels, and initially before back vowels: saker (ˋsaakər) 'things'; skal 'shall.' (sh) initially before front vowels: skina (ˋshiina) 'shine,' skepp (shep) 'ship,' sky (shyy) 'cloud,' sjö (shəə) 'sea.' Irregular (sh) in *menniska* (ˋmænnisha) 'human being,' and in the foreign *skarlakan* (ˋsharlaakan) 'scarlet,' *marskalk* (ˋmarshalk) 'steward,' *ärtskocka* (ˋætshɔkka) 'artichoke.' Irregular (sk) in *handske* (ˋhanskə) 'glove,' and the foreign *skizz* (skits) 'sketch.' Note also *konfiskera* (kɔnfisk·eera).

skj: (sh). *skjuta* (ˋshuuta), 'shoot,' *skjorta* (ˋshota) 'shirt.'

stj: (sh). stjerna (ˋshaena) 'star,' stjäla (ˋshaela) 'steal.' *stjuf-* is pronounced (styyv-) and often written *styf-* (see

under **u**). *sti* in *Christian* (ˈkrishshan). *stg*, where *g*=(j), in *Vestgöte* (ˋvæshshəətə) 'Westgoth,' *Östgöte* (ˋəshshəətə) 'Eastgoth,' *gästgifvaregård* (ˋjæshshivargao*d*) 'inn.'

The foreign **sch**=(sh), as in *schal, marsch, punsch*, and also in native interjections such as *usch, klatsch*. **sc**=(s) in *scen, scepter* (ˈsæptər), *discipel* (disˈippəl).[1] =(sh) in *crescendo* (kresh'ˋændo), *konvalescent, lasciv, reminiscens*.

z: (s). zigzag (ˈsiksak), Berzelius (bæsˈeeljus). =(ts) in *skizz* (skits), *intermezzo, Nizza*, and others, together with the proper name *Hazelius* (hatˈseeljus).

v=(f) in *von*, as in *Carl von Linné* (kaa*l* fɔn linnˈee), and sometimes in *viol* (fiooˈl, viooˈl) 'violet.'

f: (f), (v)=(f) initially, (v) after vowel or (r), (l): graf (graav) 'grave,' äflas (ˋaevlas) 'strive'; arf (arv) 'heritage,' half (halv) 'half.' Irregular (f) in foreign words, such as *Adolf* (ˈaadəlf), *Afrika* (ˈaafrika), *nymf, golf* (gəlf) 'gulf.' Also in the native name *Olof* (ˋoolɔf), in which Weste still gives (v). The foreign *Gustav* is still (ˈgustav). Initial *sf* is (sv) in *sfer* (svaer), *sfinx* (sviqks), and sometimes medially, as in *atmosfer*, which is, however, generally (atmɔsfˈær).

fv=(v), as in *sofva* (ˋsaova) 'sleep.'

ff=(ff), as in *soffa* (ˋsɔffa).

n. Dropped in the combination (gnt), as in *lugnt* (luqt) 'quiet' (neuter). *n* in French words is generally (q): brons (brɔqs), charmant (sharmˈaqt), elegant (elegˈaqt), girland (girlˈaqd), interessant (intræssˈaqt), vagabond (vagabˈɔqd), vigilans (vishilˈaqs). Substantives in *-ent* drop the *t* and are often written phonetically, as in *komplimang, talang*. So also *följetong*. Some vary between (q) and (n), as in *konvenans* = (kɔqvənˈaqs) or (kɔnvənˈaqs), *entusiasm* = (aq-) or (æn-tusiaˈsm), *guvernant*=(guværnˈaqt) or (guværnˈant). *galanteri* (galˈantərii) and *sergeant* (særshˈant) generally have (n). The word *genre* inserts an (ə) after its (q), giving the pronunciation (ˈshaqər), in the definite form (shaqə*n*).

ng: (q). When the *n* and *g* belong to separate syllables,

[1] Occasionally (dishˈippəl).

they keep their sounds, as in *angå* (ˋangao) 'concern.' The name *Angelika* is generally (anj·eelika), sometimes (aqg·eelika). *ng*=(qg) also in *adjungera*, etc.; *Ganges*, which is, however, also (ˊgaqəs). In *jungfru* 'virgin,' the (q) is labialized by the following (f), giving (ˋjumfru).

nk: (qk). In separate syllables=(nk), but such words as *konkurs* 'bankruptcy,' seem sometimes to be (kɔqk·us).

m. *jemka* 'adjust'=(ˋjæqka) by place-assimilation.

g: (g), (j); (q). Initially (j) before front vowels: gifva (ˋjiiva, jee) 'give,' sigill (sij·il) 'seal,' gevär (jev·aer) 'gun,' göra (ˋjoera) 'do.' Also in the combinations *rg*, *lg*, in the same syllable: varg (varj) 'wolf,' sorg (sɔrj) 'sorrow.' Exceptions are *gurgla* (ˋgurgla) 'gurgle,' 'quarrel,' *helga* (ˋhelga) 'consecrate,' *helgon* (ˋhelgɔn) 'saint,' *helg* (helj) 'festival,' being regular. *smergel* 'emery,' varies between (ˋsmærgəl) and (ˋsmærjəl). Weste gives *sarga* 'lacerate' as (ˋsarga), but it now has (j). (g) occurs before front vowels in many foreign words: agent, Belgien (ˊbælgiən), Diogenes (diao·gənæs), genealog (geneal·aog), girland (girl·aqd), gitarr (git·ar), kollegium (koll·eegjum), legitim (legit·iim), legion (leegioo·n), logik (lɔg·iik), plagiat (plaagiaa·t), privilegium (privil·eegjum), region (reegioo·n), regimente (reegim·æntə), vegetera (veget·eera), vigilera (vigil·eera) or (ˋvigga) 'borrow.'[1] Also in the termination *-gera* (-g·eera): extravagera, konjugera, korrigera, fingera (fiq·geera), fungera. Of the above *agent*, *gitarr*, *korrigera*, and *logik* also admit (j). *-ogi* also varies between (-ɔg·ii) and (ɔj·ii), as in *geologi* (jeeɔlɔg·ii). *rg* is (rg) in *argument*, *dramaturg*, *marginal*, *organ*. *Georg* and *Hamburg* are regular—(ˊjeeɔrj), (ˊhamburj). The following have the regular (j) before a front vowel: general (jenər·aal), geografi, geologi, germanisk, degenerera, Egypten (ej·yptən), magister, original (orijin·aal), regera, register, religion (relij·oon). Of these *original* also admits (g). *religiös* varies between (relij·əəs) and (relish·əəs).

g after front vowels is weakened into a diphthongic (i): dägelig (ˋdæilig) 'beautiful' (also written *dejlig*), helbregda

[1] A slang word.

(ˋhælbræida) 'healthy,' lega (ˋlæia) 'hire,' neglika (ˋnæilika) 'pink' (also written *nejlika*). Occasionally in *blåögd*, etc.,—(ˋblaoəid) or (ˋblaoəəgd) 'blue-eyed.' *g*=(k) in *zigzag* (siksak).

gn=(qn): vagn (vaqn) 'carriage,' egna (ˋæqna) 'apply.' vägnar (ˋvæqnar) 'ways' (adverbial), välsigna (vaels·iqna) 'bless.' So also in foreign words: inkognito (ink·əqnito), mahogani (mah·əqni). *fysiognomi* is generally pronounced (fysiənəm·ii). When the combination *gn* is simply the result of the loss of a vowel, the two consonants preserve their original sounds, as in *egna* (ˋeegna) from *egen* (ˋeegən) 'own,' *mogna* (ˋmoogna) 'to ripen' from *mogen* (ˋmoogən). In *egna*='apply' and *vägnar* the shortening of the vowel has caused the original derivation from *egen* and *väg* (vaeg) to be forgotten. *g* is dropped in *morgon* (ˋmərrən) 'morning,' *helgdag* (ˋhelda) 'holiday,' and together with the following vowel in *badstuga* (ˋbastu) 'bath-room,' *förstuga* (ˋfastu) 'ante-room,' and often in *tjugu* 'twenty' when followed by another numeral, as in *tjugufem* (cuuf·æm). The French soft *g*=(zh) is pronounced (sh): diligens (dilish·aqs), energi (enærsh·ii), gelé (shel·ee), geni (shen·ii), genre (ˋshaqər), gest (shæst), ingeniör (inshenj·oer), loge (laosh), passagerare (passash·eerarə), sergeant (særsh·ant), tragedi (trashəd·ii); arrangera (arraqsh·eera), logera (lɔsh·eera), etc.; bagage (bag·aash), fastage 'dish,' etc. Also in *Alger* (alsh·eer) 'Algiers,' and the English *jockey* (shɔk·ai).

gj: (j). gjorde (ˋjoo*d*e) 'did,' gjuta (ˋjuuta) 'pour.'

k: (k), (c). Initially (c) before front vowels: kind (cind) 'cheek,' kejsare (ˋcæisarə) 'emperor.' *k* before inflectional vowels remains, as in *rike* (ˋriikə) 'empire.' Initial (k) in *kisse* (ˋkissə) 'puss.' Also in some foreign words: anarki (anark·ii), asketisk (ask·eetisk), markis (mark·iis), orkester (ɔrk·æstər). Some seem to vary between (k) and (c), such as *arkitektur*, *arkiv*, and others have only (c), such as *katekes* (katəc·ees) or (kac·ees), *kemi* (cem·ii), *kerub* (ˋcer·uub), *Kina* (ˋciina), *kirurg* (ciru·rj). *k* is often dropped in *spektakel* (spet·aakəl), and, together with the following vowel, in *kyrkogård* (cœrgao*d*) 'churchyard.'

kj: (c). Only in *kjol* (cool) 'petticoat' and kjusa ('cuusa) 'dell.'

qv: (kv).

x: (ks). Initial *x*=(s) in foreign words: Xerxes ('særksəs). For *xi* see under (sk).

c: (s). Now written only before front vowels in foreign words, except in proper names such as *Carolina* (karol'iina), and occasionally in a few other foreign words. Examples of *c* before front vowels are: accent (aks·ænt), Ceylon ('sæilən), ocean (oseaa·n), cigarr (sig·ar), societet (sosiət·ee(t)), specie ('speesiə).

ck: (kk).

ch: (k), (sh). The only native word in which *ch* occurs is *och* 'and,' which in the spoken language is always (ə) or (ao), although it is pronounced (ɔk) in artificial declamation, being thus identified with *ock* (ɔk) 'also.' The spelling *ch* was probably meant to indicate that the consonant was silent. In foreign words *ch*=(sh): char (shaar) 'chariot,' Charlotta (shal'ɔtta), chef (shaef), choklad (shok·laa), broche (braosh).

d: *d* is very often dropped in colloquial speech. Finally in such words as *blad* (blaa) 'leaf,' *god* (goo) 'good,' *bröd* (brəə) 'bread,' *rödvin* ('rəəviin) 'claret,' and especially in familiar phrases, such as *var så god* (vas g·oo) 'be so kind.' Final *d* after *n* is very generally dropped, as in *vind* 'wind,' *Lund*, and often also after *l*, as in *eld* 'fire'=(el), (il) or (æl). *d* after *r* is always preserved in the form of (d↓). Medial *d* is preserved after (l) and (n). Such words as ('uplænniq) 'Uplander' are, however, often written *Uplænding*, etc. *d* is dropped together with a following final vowel in *bittida* ('bitti) 'early,' *förkläde* ('fœrklae) 'apron,' and together with a following medial vowel in *ladugård* ('laagao*d*) 'farmyard,' and often in *månader* ('maonar) 'months,' *månaden* ('maonan) 'the month,' *tråden* (traon) 'the thread,' (blaan)=*bladen* for the literary *blad* (leaves), ('blaana)=*bladena* for the literary *bladen* 'the leaves.' With further contraction in *Söderman-land* ('sœrmland), and in the now almost obsolete *huckle* ('huklə) or ('hyklə), for *hufvudklädе* 'headcloth.'

d is frequently dropped before other consonants, especially

(s), preceding long vowels being generally shortened: badstuga (ˋbastu) 'bath-room,' brådska (ˋbrɔska) 'hurry,' gärdesgård (ˋjæ*s*gao*d*) 'fence,' ledsam (ˋlessam) 'tiresome,' midsommar (ˋmissɔmmar) 'midsummer,' redskap (ˋreskap) 'tool,' studsa (ˋstussa) 'hesitate,' vårdslös (ˋvɔ*s*ləəs) 'careless,' värdshus (ˋvæ*s*huus) 'inn.' Also before (n): klädning (ˋklænniq) 'dress,' midnat (ˋminnat) 'midnight,' ordning (ˋao*n*iq) 'order,' vändning (ˋvænniq) 'turn.' Before other consonants in *adjö* (aj·əə) 'adieu,' *sadla* (ˋsaala) 'saddle.'

In *fjerdedels* (ˋfjae*nd*eels) 'quarter,' *d* becomes (n).

dt: (tt). Not only in inflections, such as *godt* (gɔt) 'good' *neuter*, but also in root-syllables, as in *landtman* 'countryman,' *glädtig* 'cheerful.'

dj: (j). djefvul (ˋjaevul) 'devil,' djup (juup) 'deep.' Some attempt to introduce the point (d), especially in declamation.

t: dropped before (s) and (sh) in *betsel* (ˈbessəl) 'bit,' *båtsman* (ˈbɔsman) 'boatman,' *fältskär* (ˈfælshaer), 'surgeon,' *matsäck* (ˋmassæk) 'provisions,' *skjuts* (shus) 'post.' *katekes* 'catechism' is generally pronounced (kac·ees). *kjortel* 'petticoat' is now generally written *kjol*, and pronounced (cool).

t is generally added after (s) in *eljes* (ˋæljəst) 'otherwise,' and *strax* (strakst) 'at once.'

tj: (c). tjena (ˋcaena) 'serve,' tjock (cɔk) 'thick.' *katekes* probably passed through the stage of (kat·jees).

ti in foreign words is pronounced (tsh) in the termination *-tion*, as in *nation* (nat·shoon), the (t) being dropped if a consonant precedes, as in *direktion* (diræksh·oon) *reflexion* (reflæksh·oon), and, apparently, sometimes after a vowel as well, as in *indiskretion* (indiskresh·oon). In other cases *ti* is (tsi), as in *egyptier* (ej·yptsiər), *initiativ* (initsiat·iiv), *patient* (patsiæ·nt), tertio (ˈtæ*ts*io). After consonants the (t) is dropped, as in *aktie* (ˋaksiə) 'share.' *aristokrati* is either (aristɔkrat·ii) or (-s·ii).

th: (t). Thomas (ˈtoomas). *th* is generally changed to *t*.

b.

p. Dropped in *psalm*, *pseudo-* (sævdo-), but kept in *psykologi* (psykɔləg·ii), etc.

Vocality of Consonants.

Final voiced stops preserve their vocality, as in English, although they seem often to be shorter than the English ones, as may be seen by comparing the Swedish *snobb* (snɔb), *grogg* (grɔg), with their English originals.

Voiced stops and sibilants (v), when followed by a voiceless sibilant (s) in the same syllable, keep their vocality if preceded by a long vowel, lose it if preceded by a short one. Thus *dags*, in *en dags arbete* (en daags ˋarbeetə) 'a day's work,' keeps its (g) unchanged, while in *huru dags* (ˋhuuru daks) 'what time?' it becomes (k). So also in *guds* (guts) 'God's,' *skyddsling* (ˋshytsliq) 'protégé,' and *lifstid* (ˋlifstiid) 'lifetime,' *hafsyta* (ˋhafsyyta) 'surface of the sea,' contrasted with the uncompounded genitives *ett lifs* (liivs), *ett havs* (haavs).

If the two consonants belong to different syllables, the first preserves its vocality even after a short vowel, as in *observera* (əbsærvˈeera).

Before voiceless stops there is always devocalization, as in *tryggt* (trykt) 'secure' (neut.), which is identical with *tryckt* 'printed,' *vigt* (vikt) 'weight,' *rigt* (viikt) 'active' (neut.), *kraft* (kraaft) 'demanded.'

QUANTITY.

Written double consonants are pronounced really double when medial, the first being lengthened, so that *alla* is really (ˋaˈll-l:a), where (ll) represents a long (l). The combination of medial short vowel + single consonant does not occur in Swedish, there being nothing corresponding to the English (shiliq), etc.: either the consonant must be doubled or the vowel lengthened. When a short vowel is followed by (q) or an inverted, the doubling is impossible, as these consonants cannot begin a syllable. In such a word as (ˋshuqa) the (q) seems to be simply lengthened, as in the imperative (shuq). In such a word as *störta* (ˋstœta) the glide from the (œ) to the (*t*) seems to be felt as a separate consonant, and it is,

perhaps, somewhat lengthened. Final consonants after short vowels are long, after long vowels short, as in English, so that the double *ll* in *kall* 'cold' indicates not only the shortness of the vowel, but also the length of the consonant. In *kal* (kaal) 'bald,' on the other hand, the vowel is long and the consonant short. As the quantity of the consonant is always implied by that of the vowel, it is not necessary to mark it in (kal) = (kall).

The consonants which have most influence in shortening the preceding vowels are the nasals (n) and (m), especially the latter. Hence, and probably from reasons of graphical convenience as well, single *n* and *m* are generally written finally after short vowels, as in *han* (han) 'he,' *vän* (væn) 'friend,' *spanmål* ('spanmaol) 'corn,' *kam* (kam) 'comb,' *madam* (mad'am), the consonants being doubled when a syllable is added, as in *vänner* ('vænnər) 'friends,' *kammen* ('kammən) 'the comb.'

In some cases *n* and *m* are written for (nn) and (mm) between vowels as well:

n: honom ('hɔnnɔm) 'he,'[1] honung ('hɔnniq) 'honey,' Venern ('vænnə*n*).

m: buxbomen ('buksbommən) 'the box-tree,' bomull ('bommul) 'cotton,' domen ('dommən) 'the judgment,' domare ('dommare) 'judge,' döma ('dəmma) 'judge,' loma ('lomma) 'slink,' Roma ('romma), romare, romersk ('rommə*s*k).

Also the foreign *amen* ('ammæn) 'Amen.' Observe that (e), (u), (o), (y), and (ə), never occur long before (m).

Doubling is sometimes neglected in the case of medial stops:

k: skakel ('skakkel) 'shaft,' (hjul)eker ('juulekkər) 'spoke,' öken ('əkkən) 'desert,' artikel (a*t*'ikkəl).

d: hade ('haddə) 'had,' dadel ('daddəl) 'date,' tadel ('taddəl) 'blame.'

t: vetenskap ('vettnskaap) 'science,' veterligen ('vettərligən) 'consciously,' heter ('hettər) 'is called,' hvetebröd ('vettəbrəəd) 'wheaten bread,'[2] Peter ('pettər), Pet(t)erson

[1] Also (hoonəm).
[2] In these two, as in several others, the shortening is only occasional.

(ˈpettəson), Petersburg (ˈpettəsburj), salpeter (salpˑettər).[1] Luther (ˈluttər).[2] kapitel (kapˑit)l, titel (ˈtitl), grammatika, -isk (gramˑattika, -isk).

b: aborre (ˈabbɔrrə) 'pike' (fish).

p: göpen (ˈjəppən) 'open hand,' discipel (disˑippl), Jupiter (ˈjuppitər).

The doubling of *l* is often omitted in foreign words, both finally and medially:

April (apˑril), parasol (ˈpaarasˑəl), nationela (natshonˑælla), parallelogram (parallˑælləgram), rolen (ˈrɔllən) 'the part' from *rol* (rəl).

Vowels are kept short before *sch* in foreign words, as if it were a compound consonant:

affisch (afˑish) 'placard,' nisch (nish) 'niche.'

Among other cases may be mentioned the occasional (ˈhuvvud) for (ˈhuuvud) *hufvud* 'head,' and the variation between *usel* and *ussel* (ˈuusəl), (ˈussəl) 'wretched' both in spelling and pronunciation. The foreign *telegraf* varies between (aa) and (a); *servet* 'napkin' generally shortens its vowel (særvˑet); *Mozart* is (ˈmɔssat); *Job* is (jɔb).

en (en) 'one,' 'a,' *min* (min) 'mine,' 'my,' *din*, etc., are always short, even when emphatic, but lengthen their vowels in the inflected forms, *ena* (ˈeena) 'some,' *mina* (ˈmiina).

sedan (ˈseedan) 'since' is contracted into (seen), whence the colloquial (sæn).

Besides all these cases of shortening before a single consonant, there are others in which a word ending in a vowel shortens it before an inflectional consonant.

The ending (t) of the neuter singular of adjectives and the past participle of verbs always shortens the preceding vowel, as in *blått* (blɔt) from *blå* (blao) 'blue,' *sett* (set) from *se* (see) 'see.' The preterite ending (-də) also shortens the preceding vowel, the (d) being doubled, as in *trodde* (ˈtroddə) from *tro* (troo) 'believe.' Shortenings before the (s) of the genitive and passive (middle), as in *til sjös* (til shəs) 'to sea,' *att slås*

[1] But Petrus (ˈpeetrus).
[2] This is also the German pronunciation.

(slɔs) 'fight,' and the (n) of the definite as in *sjön* (shən) 'the sea,' are exceptional.

Vowels are frequently shortened, or in some cases, preserved from lengthening, before two consonants. The following are the most important cases, arranged according to the second consonant, whose character often determines the quantity of the preceding vowel.

j: *family* (fam·ilj), *Frithjof* (`fritjɔf), *kastanje* (kast·anjə), *olja* (`ɔlja). Sometimes also in *kedja* (`cedja) 'chain.' Long vowel in *linie* ('liinjə), *midja* (`miidja) 'waist.'

l: *besudla* 'soil,' *väpling* (`væpliq) 'trefoil,' *usling* (`usliq) or (`uusliq) 'wretch.' *möglig* 'mouldy' has sometimes (ə), sometimes (əə). *uppvigla* 'instigate' has always (ii).

s: *vigsel* ('viksəl) 'consecration,' and all others in (-səl). *tvehågsen* (`tveehɔksən) 'irresolute,' *Italiensk* (itaaliæ·nsk), *Polsk* (pɔlsk), *Rhensk* (rensk), *Spansk*. Otherwise long vowel before (sk), as in *latinsk* (lat·iinsk), *medicinsk*. *brådska* (`brɔska) 'hurry.' Thorsten ('tɔ*st*en). *städse* 'always' has (ae). *Hans* has often long vowel, as also *plötslig* 'sudden.' Shortening before inflectional (s) occurs in the genitive, as in *guds* (guts) 'God's,' *slags* (slaks) 'kind,' especially in composition, for which see below. Also in the passive, as in *leds* (les) = *ledas* 'weary of,' *behöfs* (beh·əfs) 'needs,' *törs* (tœs) 'dares.' So also in *bevars* (bev·as) = *bevare os* 'preserve us!' The superlative *förnämst* (fœ*n*·æmst) from (fœ*n*·aem) 'of rank.'

v: *Hedvig* ('hædvig), *Ludvig* ('ludvig).

m: *sötma* 'sweetness.'

g: *nödga* 'compel,' *vredga* 'irritate.'

k: *blidka* (`blitka) 'soothe,' *idka* (`itka) 'practice.'

t: Inflectional in some neuters, such as *högt* (hɔkt) from *hög* 'high.' Generally, however, inflectional (t) does not shorten, as in *skönt* (shəənt) 'beautiful,' *tjent* (caent) 'served.'

There are other shortenings in foreign words, such as *Lisbeth* ('lisbæt), *polyteknisk* (polyt·eknisk), *trapezium* (trap·etsium).[1]

[1] Weste gives *trapez* with a long (ee).

Shortening in composition is very frequent. The following lists are alphabetical, the addition of double vowels indicating a parallel long pronunciation:

bokstaf (ˋbokstaav, oo) 'letter,'[1] boskap (ˋboskap) 'cattle,' brudgum (ˋbruggum, bruudgum) 'bridegroom,' bålverk (ˋbɔlværk) 'bulwark;' farfar (ˋfarfar) 'grandfather,'[2] frukost (ˋfrukkɔst) 'breakfast,' fänrik (ˋfænrik) 'ensign,' förstugu (ˋfastu) 'ante-room'; hugsvala (huks·vaala) 'console,' husbonde (ˋhusbondə) 'master,' hustru (ˋhustru) 'wife,' herberge (ˋhærbærjə) 'quarters,' högtid (ˋhøktiid) 'festival'; kraslig (ˋkrasli) 'feeble'; länstol (ˋlænstool) 'arm-chair,' matmor (ˋmatmoor, aa) 'mistress,' middag (ˋmidda) 'noon,' midnat (ˋminnat, miidnat) 'midnight,' morbror (ˋmɔrbror) 'uncle,'[3] måndag (ˋmɔnda) 'Monday,' redskap (ˋreskap) 'tool,' rotgel (ˋrɔtgæl) 'robin;' sjuklig, sjukdom (ˋshuk-li, dom, uu) 'ill,' 'illness,' skorsten (ˋskɔ*st*een) 'chimney,' smörgås (ˋsmœrgaos) 'bread and butter,' svärfar (ˋsværfar) 'father-in-law,'[4] synål (ˋsynnaol) 'needle' trägård (ˋtræggao*d*) 'garden.' Note *Jutland* (ˋjuutland).

Shortening is still more frequent when the first word is in the genitive. In the following list only one typical word is given in those cases in which the same genitive enters into a number of compounds and retains its short vowel.

båtsman (ˋbɔsman) 'boatman,' brukspatroon (ˋbrukspat:roon) 'manufacturer,' etc.; dagsverke (ˋdaksværkə) 'day's work,' etc.; dödsstund (ˋdətsstund) 'dying hour'; gudstjenst (ˋgutscænst) 'divine service,' etc.; hafsyta (ˋhafsyyta) 'surface of the sea'; krigsman (ˋkriksman) 'warrior,' etc.; kökspiga (ˋcəkspiiga) 'cook-maid,' etc.; lifstid (ˋlifstiid) 'lifetime,' etc.; länsman (ˋlænsman) 'bailiff,' riksspråk (ˋrikspraok) 'national language,' etc.; skogsdunge (ˋskoksduqə) 'grove,' etc., slagsmål (ˋslaksmaol) 'fight,' etc.; spörsmål (ˋspœsmaol) 'question,' stadsråd (ˋstasraod, staatsraod) 'town-councillor,' stridsman (ˋstritsman) 'war-

[1] (oo) in the other compounds, such as *boktryckeri*.
[2] And the other compounds of (far) denoting relationship.
[3] And the other compounds denoting relationship.
[4] And the others in *svär-*

rior'; tidsande (ˋtitsandə) 'spirit of the times,' verldsman (ˋvæ*ts*man) 'man of the world,' vårdslös (ˋvɔ*sl*əəs, vao*dsl*əəs) 'careless,' värdshus (ˋvæshuus) 'inn.'

Unaccented vowels tend to shortening. Even when a vowel has a secondary stress, as in the second syllable of (ˋaa·vt:aaga) 'take off,' it is perceptibly shortened, and when the secondary stress is reduced to the minimum of accent, the vowel becomes quite short, as in *olika* (ˋoolika) 'different,' *kanske* (ˋkanshe, -ə) 'perhaps,' compared with the simple (ˋliika), (shee). Many other originally long vowels are shortened in rapid speech. Thus *altid* 'always' is generally (ˋaltid), and the derivative syllables (heet), (-leek) are often shortened, *kärlek(en)* (ˋcae*l*eek(ən)) 'love,' for instance, becoming (ˋcae*l*ek(ən)). So also *fördel* (ˋfœ*d*el) 'advantage.' In *sådana* 'such' and *hurudana* 'of what kind' (ˋsao-, ˋhuurudana), the shortness of the (a) may be due to the influence of the (n), as in the uninflected (-dan). These shortenings of unaccented vowels are not accompanied by any compensatory doubling of the following consonant.

The shortening of the vowels of unaccented words in a sentence follows the same laws as in other languages.

There are, on the other hand, some combinations which favour length. Before the inverteds short vowels are, as remarked above (p. 469), often lengthened, and consequently long vowels often preserve their quantity before them, especially (*n*) and (*d*). Examples are, in addition to the words quoted above (p. 469), *särdeles* (ˋsae*d*eeləs) 'specially,' *barlast* (ˋbaa*l*ast) 'ballast' and the foreign *absurd* (abs·uu*d*), *koturn* (kot·uu*n*). Otherwise *r* + consonant does not preserve length, as may be seen from the examples given below under composition.

Consonant + *r* has a decidedly lengthening influence:

Afrika (ˋaafrika), allegro (all·eegro), Fredrik (ˋfreedrik), Henrik (ˋheenrik), belägra 'besiege,' vidrig 'repugnant,' vägra 'refuse,' öfrig 'remaining.'

So also (st):

best (beest) 'beast,' blåst (blaost) 'blast,' pust (puust) 'puff.' Also in most comparatives, such as *lägst* (laegst) 'lowest.'

The substantive *betjent* (bec·aent) 'servant' always keeps the long vowel of *tjena*.

The foreign (ch) and (sch) in *echo* ('eeko), *pascha* ('paasha) act like simple consonants. Compare, however, *nisch* = (nish) etc. (p. 486).

STRESS.[1]

In the Scandinavian languages unaccented prefixes were originally almost unknown, so that the stress was regularly on the first syllable. Hence the tendency in Swedish to throw the accent back on to an originally unaccented first syllable, which is generally a foreign (German) one.

The following are the only regularly unaccented prefixes in Swedish:

e- in native words: *ehuru* (eh`uuru) 'however,' *evinnerlig* (ev·innəli) 'eternal,' etc. The foreign *elände* 'misery' is (`eelændə).

ænt- in the single German word *entlediga* (æntl·eediga) 'dismiss.'

be- in German words, such as *beklaga* (bek·laaga) 'deplore.'

je- = German *ge-*, as in *gehör* (jeh·oer) 'hearing.'

fœr- = German *ver-*, as in *förfång* (fœrf·ɔq) 'detriment,' *förlag* (fœl·aag) 'publication,' *förstå* (fœs·tao) 'understand,' *förtret* (fœt·reet) 'annoyance;' and in some native words where it has the stronger German meaning (destruction, excess, etc.), such as *formäten* (fœrm·aetən) 'audacious,' *försåt* (fœs·aot) 'ambush.' (fœr) = 'too' is sometimes written as one word with the following adjective, which has the stress, as in *förmycken* (fœrm`ykkən) 'too much.'

(fœr) in the sense of 'for' or 'before,' or when derived from the German *vor-*, takes the stress:

förbud (foerbuud) 'forerunner,'[2] *fördom* (foedom) 'prejudice,' *förfäder* (foerfaedər), (*på*) *förhand* (foerhand) 'before-

[1] Henceforth the tone-mark (') will be omitted before polysyllabic words with the stress on the first syllable, only (`) being written, when necessary.
[2] (fœrb·uud) 'prohibition.'

hand,' *förlåt* (foelaot) 'curtain,'[1] *förmån* (foermaon) 'advantage,' *förord* (foerood) 'intercession,' 'preface,' *försprång* (foesprɔq) 'start,' *förstuga* (foestuuga, fastu) 'ante-room.'

Irregularly in *förveten* (`foerveetən) 'inquisitive.'

The following irregularly accent the root-syllable instead of the prefix:

förmyndare (fœrm·yndarə) 'guardian,' *förnäm* (fœn·aem) 'distinguished,' *förråd* (fœrr·aod) 'stores,' *förslag* (fœs·laag) 'proposal,' *försorg* (fœs·ɔrj) 'care,' *försyn* (fœs·yyn) 'providence,' *föräldrar* (fœræ·ldrar) 'parents.' *förträfflig* (fœt·ræfli) 'excellent,' follows the German accentuation.

When (be-) and (fœr-) are separated from the root-syllable by an intermediate unaccented one, they draw the full stress over to themselves, as in *bearbeta* (beearb:eeta)= German *bea·rbeiten*, *beledsaga* (beeleds:aaga) 'accompany,' *föranleda* (foeranl:eeda) 'cause,' *förorsaka* (foeroos:aaka) 'cause.' Hence also (fœrb·ii) and (fœruu·t) throw back their stress on to the first syllable in composition, as in *förbigå* (fœrbig:ao) 'pass by,' *förutse* (foeruuts:ee) 'foresee.'

All the other prefixes take the stress. Among them must be specially noticed (aer-)=German *er-*, as in *erfara* (aerfaara) 'experience,' *erinra* (aerinra) 'remember.'

One consequence of this general accenting of prefixes is that such distinctions as the German one between *ü·bersetzen* and *übers·etzen* are levelled in the Swedish *öfversätta* (əəvəsætta).

Isolated exceptions are *välsigna* (vaels·igna) 'bless,' and occasionally *välkommen* (v·aelk:ɔmmən), (vaelk·ɔmmən). The exclamations *anfäkta!* (anf·ækta), *annamma!* (ann·amma), also accent the root-syllable. In their other forms these two verbs have the regular accent, as in the substantive *anfäktelse* 'tribulation,' and the verb *annamma* 'receive.' *ungefär*, which is the only word compounded with the German *un-*, is (unjef·aer).

The tendency to throw back the stress is sometimes counterbalanced by the opposite one by which the suffixes

[1] (fœl·aota) 'forgive.'

(-ig) and (-lig) tend to attract it to the syllable which immediately precedes them. The following are the most important of these words, those which admit also of the regular accent on the first syllable being separated from the others by a stroke:

ig: *förtidig* (fœt·iidi) 'precocious,'—*eländig* 'wretched,' *lycksalig* 'happy,' *mångfaldig* 'manifold,' *nödvändig* 'necessary,' *rättfärdig* 'righteous,' *underdånig* 'humble.'[1]

lig: *egentlig* (ej·æntli) 'proper,' *enkannerlig* (enk·annəli) 'special,' *fiendtlig* (fiæ·ntli) 'hostile,' *gudomlig* (gud·omli) 'divine,' *offentlig* (ɔf·æntli) 'public,' — *allvarlig* (alv·aali) 'serious,' *fullkomlig* 'perfect,' *fåfänglig* 'vain,' *följaktligen* 'consequently,' *förmånlig* 'advantageous,' *högtidlig* (hɔkt·iidli) 'solemn,' *ofantlig* (of·antli) 'immense,' *omständlig* 'circumstantial,' *omöjlig* 'impossible,' *oändlig* 'endless.'[2]

The suffix (-baar) attracts the stress to itself in the words *medelbarligen* (meedlb·aaligən), *omedelbar* (oomeedlb·aar) 'immediate,' *omedelbarlig* (oomeedlb·aali), *uppenbarlig* (uppənb·aali) or (u·ppənb). Some of these may be due to the *-lig*.

Altogether there is considerable fluctuation in the accentuation of these words, due to a great extent to the strength of the secondary stress in Swedish. The principle of accenting the first syllable has, however, evidently gained much ground in the present language, for in Weste's dictionary many words which now accent the first syllable are marked with the accent on some other.

The following are examples of this older accentuation, two (·)'s in a word indicating optional accentuation:

1) **-ig**: allsm·äktig, and·äktig, (o)ans·tändig, (o)barmh·ertig, enf·aldig, gudf·ruktig, märkv·ärdig, oms·tändighet, tree·nighet, uppr·iktig; f·ördela·ktig, ofördela·ktig, guda·ktig. 2) **lig**: (o)ans·enlig, (o)ant·aglig, boks·taflig, (o)ers·ättlig, (o)jämf·örlig, medb·orgerlig, oms·tändlig, påt·aglig, (o)tillr·äcklig, (o)um·bärlig, urs·prunglig, utt·rycklig, vetens·kaplig. 3) **bar**: (o)medd·elbar, u·ppenb·ar. 4) **isk**: uppr·orisk.

[1] *förs·igtig* 'cautious,' is regular. *fört·räfflig* has been noticed above (p. 491).
[2] Also the regular *förs·varlig* (fœs·vaali) 'tolerable,' together with *lekamlig* (lek·aamli) 'bodily,' from (lek·aamən).

Adjectives in *-lig* (most of them dissyllables) often keep the accent on the root-syllable when *o-* is prefixed: ob·otlig, od·räglig, oh·jelplig, ol·ycklig, om·öjlig, ot·rolig, ov·anlig. Of these *om·öjlig*, and probably some of the others, may still be heard occasionally. Adjectives in *-ig* always accent the *o-*: o·artig, o·färdig, o·tålig, etc. Note, however, that he gives *b·otfärdig*, *e·gennyttig*, *f·ullständig*, but *obotf·ärdig*, *oegenn·yttig*, *ofulls·tändig*. The same throwing forward of the accent takes place in compounds of *o-* with present and past participles: ok·öpandes, oöfverenss·tämmande; oa·ktad, oerh·örd, oregelb·unden. Also in *oangen·äm*, contrasting with *o·beqväm*. When a trissyllable is lengthened, he often throws the accent forward, as in *skilj·aktighet* from *sk·iljaktig*, *obed·räglighet* from *o·bedräglig*, *of·ruktb·arhet* from *o·fruktbar*.

It may be observed that Weste himself characterizes the accentuation, especially of the longer words, as fluctuating and uncertain.

Before leaving this part of the subject, other instances of Weste's accentuation of some other than the first syllable against the present usage may be quoted: ang·ående, el·ände, eri·ndra, erf·arenhet (e·rfara), ine·lfvor, inv·ånare, närv·arande, vidsk·epelse, å·h·örare.

When a preposition and its substantive coalesce into an adverb, as in *aldenstund* (aldæns·tund) 'since,' *efterhand* (æftərh·and) 'gradually,' *omkull* (ɔmk·ul) 'down,' *omsider* (ɔms·ˋiidər) 'at last,' *åtminstone* (aotmˋinstonə) 'at least,' the compound retains the natural stress and accent of the separate elements. So also in *emellertid* (emellət·iid) 'meanwhile,' *tillika* (tillˋiika), *tillsammans* (tilsˋammans) 'together,' *öfverens* (əəvəre·ns) in *komma öfverens* 'agree,' and in such infinitive combinations as *kanhända* (kanhˋænda) 'perhaps,' *tillkänna* (tilcˋænna) in *gifva tillkänna* 'make known;' but *kanske* (ˋkanshə) 'perhaps.' The compound prepositions often accent the second element, as in *igenom* (ij·eenɔm) 'through,' *inunder* (inu·ndər) 'under,' *uti* (uutii·) 'in,' *utom* (uutɔ·m) *sig* 'beside oneself,' *bredvid* (brev·iid) or (brev·ee) 'alongside.' Others vary, such as *bakom* (ˋbaakɔm), (baakɔ·m), *bakefter* 'after.' In the words *churu* (ehˋuuru) 'although,' *emellan*

(em·ellan) 'between,' *emedan* (em·eedan) 'since,' the second elements are treated as an independent word, retaining their compound tone.

In compounds of *der* and *hvar* with prepositions the stress varies, as in *derpå* 'thereupon,' which may be either (d·aerpɔ) or (dærp·ao).

Note also the following cases of accentuation of some other than the first element:

allena (alee·na) 'alone,' *allihop* (alih·oop) 'altogether' (plural), *altsammans* (alts·ammans) 'altogether' (neuter), *farväl* (farv·ael) 'farewell,' *gudskelof* (gushel·aof) 'praise be to God!' *gunaos* (gun·aos) 'God have mercy on us!' *huruvida* (huuruv·iida) 'how far' (conjunction), *immerfort* (immerf·ot) 'continually.'

It is remarkable that compounds of a preposition + a substantive or pronoun, followed by a verb, throw back the accent on to the preposition, as in *afsigkommen* (·aavsæikɔmmən) 'degenerated,' *ådagalägga* (·aodaagalægga) 'display,' *åsidosätta* (·aosiidosætta) 'lay aside,' *försiggå* (·fœsæigao) 'happen,' *iakttaga* (·ii·akttaaga) 'observe.' In the same way the adverbial collocation, *till och med* 'even,' is pronounced as one word, with the accent on the first syllable (t·iləmæ).[1]

Among the genuine compound words there are several instances of accentuation of the second element: 1) in names of towns, etc., such as *Göteborg* (jəətəb·ɔrj), *Köpenhamn* (cəəpənh·amn), *Wenerborg* (vænnərb·ɔrj), *Örebro* (oerəb·roo), 2) in sydost (syydo·st) 'south-east,' etc., and 3) in various other words, such as *skomakare* 'shoemaker,' which is, however, perhaps more frequently pronounced (·skoomaakarə). Also in the originally compound *lekamen* (lek·aamən) 'body,' which is now spelt as a simple word.

Proper names, such as *Linné*, derive their accent from the Latin forms, *Linnæus*, etc. So also, probably, *Tegnér* (tæqn·eer), etc.

Foreign words often throw back the stress. Thus *kreatur* 'beast' 'cattle,' *russin* 'raisin,' *lejon* 'lion,' *insekt*, *paradis*;

[1] Weste gives the accent on the second element in *ådagalägga*, etc.

and even such words as *relativ, singularis,* etc., are accented on the first syllable. Note the distinction between *ett qvarter* (ˋkvaatər) 'pint' and *en kvarter* (kvat·eer) 'lodging.' Also *grammatik* (grammat·iik) against the German (gram·atik).

Sentence-stress has as little been investigated in Swedish as in other languages, nor can the subject be more than alluded to here. It may be noted that sentence-stress in Swedish is less level than in English, the finite verbs of a sentence, especially, being generally hurried over, especially when an adverb follows, as in *det går an* (dæ :gaor ·an) 'that'll do,' where the (gaor) is almost as stressless as the (dæ), the vowel being also shortened almost to (ɔ). The same tendency to throw the stress forward is shown in such appositions as *ett glas vatten* (et glaas ·vattn), as compared with the English (ə ·glaas əv ·waotə) with its equal stress on the two substantives. Observe also the important distinction between *helsa på någon* (hælsa pɔ naogɔn), 'bow to some-one,' and (hælsa ·pao naogɔn) 'call on some-one,' *på* being a preposition in the first case, an adverb in the second, the object being governed by the verb and adverb together. So also in *slå i ett glas vin* (slao ·ii et glaas ·viin) 'pour out a glass of wine.'

INTONATION.

As I have treated of this subject at length in my forthcoming "Comparative Studies," I will here confine myself to a statement of the most necessary facts.

In Swedish every word has either the *simple* or the *compound* tone. The simple tone is a rising modulation, as in asking a question in English, the compound consists of a falling tone (as in answering a question) on the stress-syllable with an upward leap of the voice together with a slight secondary stress on a succeeding syllable. The latter occurs, therefore, only in polysyllables. The simple tone is the regular one in monosyllables. It is indicated by (ˊ) before the stress-syllable, the compound tone by (ˋ), but it is never necessary to mark monosyllables, and polysyllables only

require to be marked when they have the simple tone, the compound one being otherwise implied. Thus (daag) implies (ˈdaag) and (daagar) implies (ˋdaagar).

The most general class of polysyllables which have (ˈ) are those which have the stress on some other than the first syllable, such as (studˈ·ænt), *begära* (bejˈ·aera) 'demand,' nearly all of which are, directly or indirectly, of foreign origin. There are, however, several exceptions, especially words in (-or), such as (profˋæssor), which, however, have the regular simple tone in the plural, the stress being also shifted forward: (profæss·ˈoorər).

There are also many dissyllables ending in unaccented (-ər, -əl, -ən) which have (ˈ): 1) verbal inflections in (-ər), such as (ˈcænnər, ˈsaovər); 2) mutation plurals in (-ər), such as (ˈfəttər); 3) words of foreign origin, such as (ˈduqkəl) 'dark,' (ˈfrəəkən) 'young lady'; 4) native words which were originally monosyllabic, such as (ˈfaogəl) 'bird'=Icelandic *fugl*.[1]

The dissyllabic comparatives (ˈbætrə), etc., and the comparatives in (-st), such as (ˈyppə*st*), also have the simple tone, as also the few dissyllables in (-əst), such as (ˈɔqəst) 'anxiety,' and some adjectives in (-isk), such as *sjelfvisk* (ˈshælvisk) 'selfish.'

There are other isolated exceptions, such as (ˈpɔikə) 'boy.'

Foreign words, and many names of places, have the simple tone: (ˈstuudium), (ˈnymfər), pl.; Sverige (ˈsværjə), (ˈləndən).

The definite suffix does not count as part of the word, so that (ˈdaag-ən) retains the simple tone of (daag).

Compounds take the compound tone, the secondary stress on the second syllable of such a word as (ˋlantman) *landtman* 'peasant,' being increased nearly to an equality with the stress on the first syllable. When the first element of the compound consists of a dissyllable with unaccented second syllable, as in *nyckelhål* (ˋnykkelh:aol) 'key-hole,' the intonation of the first word is modified in a peculiar way. The secondary stress, which in the isolated (ˋnykkəl) falls on the (kəl), is in the compound transferred to the (haol). At the

[1] The plurals already mentioned were also monosyllabic: Icelandic *fǽtr*.

same time the downward glide is distributed over the two syllables (nykkel), instead of being confined to the first, the high tone beginning on the accented (haol). So, also, in many derivatives, such as (ˋootaks:am) 'unthankful,' especially when the second syllable is naturally less prominent than the one which follows it, as in (ˋəppənh:eet) 'openness.'

Several compounds (mostly words of very frequent occurrence) take the simple tone, especially the names of the week *måndag* (ˈmɔnda), etc. When the first element is a genitive, it often retains the simple tone, as in *landsman* (ˈlansman) 'countryman,' especially if it is a simple-toned dissyllable, as in (ˈaadəlsman) 'noble' from (ˈaadəl). Compound-toned dissyllables retain their tone, as in (ˋnykkəlhaol). Words with the accent not on the first syllable generally retain their tone when they form the first member of a compound.

In connected speech the compound tone is often less marked than in individual words, especially in the subordinate members of a sentence, and is often merged almost entirely in the simple tone.

INFLECTIONS.

Substantives.

Gender.

In the grammars and the written language the original threefold distinction of masculine, feminine, and neuter is still imperfectly maintained; but in the spoken language the general tendency is to employ only two grammatical genders—the *common*, which includes both masculine and feminine, and the *neuter*. The reason is simply that the adjectives and pronouns in agreement with substantives are unable to distinguish between masculine and feminine, the neuter singular, on the other hand, being sharply defined by the ending (t). The only words by which grammatical gender can be denoted are the pronouns 'he,' 'she,' and 'it,' and the two first are often expressed by the common *den* (dæn) 'that one' in speaking of inanimate objects, and even when *han* (han) and *hon* (hon) are employed in the same

way, they are often employed inaccurately, the masculine (han), for instance, being employed in speaking of the feminine *klocka* (klɔkka) 'clock,' etc.

Case.

In Swedish substantives we can only distinguish two cases, the *common* or base-case, answering to the nominative and oblique (accusative and dative) of the personal pronouns and the genitive, which is formed by adding (s) to the singular or plural forms, as in *gosse-s* (gɔssəs) 'boy's,' *gossars* (gɔssa*s*) 'boys'.'

When the word ends in (s) the genitive is either formed in (əs), or else there is no change. Thus *Hans, prins*, form their genitives (ˈhaansəs), (ˈprinsəs), or else (haans), (prins). When the final syllable is unaccented, the latter is always employed, as in the name *Afzelius* (afs·eeljus).

In writing these names in *-ius* take the genitive *ii*, one of the *i*s being generally dropped in pronunciation. This form is colloquial in the name of a square in Stockholm, *Berzelii park* (bæs·eeli park).

Irregular shortening of the vowel takes place in *Guds* (guts) from *Gud* (guud) 'God,' and in several adverbial collocations, such as *til sjös* (til ·shəs) 'to sea,' *til döds* (til dəts) 'to death,' *huru dags* (huuru daks) 'what time?' *tids nog* (tits noog) 'time enough.' So also in *tilfreds* 'contented' (tilf·rets) or (tilf·res). In *måndags* (ˈmɔndaks), etc., the shortening is partly due to want of stress, *måndag* itself being pronounced (ˈmɔnda).

Definite Suffix.

Where other languages employ the definite article, Swedish has special endings, which are added to the singular or plural forms, thus (gɔssə) has in the definite singular *gosse-n* (gɔssən) 'the boy,' and the plural (gɔssar) has its definite *gossarna* (gɔssa*n*a). These definites have genitives in (s)—(gɔssəns) 'the boy's,' (gɔssa*n*as). When an adjective precedes, the article *den* (dæn) is placed before it, the definite suffix being also retained—(dæn gooda gɔssən).

The singular suffix is for the common gender (ən), for the neuter (ət), whose (t) is often dropped, the vowels of both being dropped after other vowels, in which case the (t) of the neuter is not dropped: *dal-en* ('daalən) 'the valley,' *skepp-et* ('sheppət, 'sheppə) 'the ship'; *källa-n* (cællan) 'the spring,' *armé-en* (arm·een), *öga-t* (əəgat) 'the eye,' *bo-et* (boot) 'the nest.' The dropped (t) always reappears in the genitive—('sheppəts).

The word *sjö* (shəə) 'sea' shortens its vowel in the definite *sjön* (shən).[1]

After *r*, *en* generally drops its vowel, the two consonants coalescing into (*n*), as in *dörr-en* (dœ*n*) 'the door,' *herrn* (hæ*n*) 'the gentleman,' *peppar-en* (peppa*n*) 'the pepper.' Note that the second word drops the *e* in writing as well. In (-nən), (-dən), (-tən), there is also a tendency to drop the (ə) in rapid speech. The foreign *koncert-en* is pronounced both (kɔqs·æ*tn*) and (kɔqs·ae*n*).

In the combination (-qnən) the first (n) is often dropped, as in *ugn-en* ('uqən) 'the stove,' *vagn-en* ('vaqən) 'the carriage.'

Unaccented *-enen*, *-enet*, become (-nən), (nət), as in *bottn-en* ('bɔtnən) from *botten* 'bottom,' *vattn-et* ('vattnət) or ('vattnə) from *vatten* 'water.' Unaccented *-eren*, *-elen*, become (ə*n*) and (əln), as in *fader-n* (faadə*n*) 'the father,' and *-eret* becomes (rət), as in *dundr-et* ('dundrət) 'the thunder.'

Unaccented *-are-en* becomes (-a*n*), as in *fiskaren* (fiska*n*) 'the fisher' from *fiskare*.

The plural endings in the written language are masculine *-ne*, feminine *-na*, while neuters with unchanged plurals take *-en*, those with plural in *-n* add *a* to it. Those few masculines and feminines which form their plural by vowel change only, without any ending, also take *-en*. The following examples will serve to contrast the written and spoken forms:

masc.	dag	'day,'	dagar-ne	(daaga*n*a).
fem.	nål	'needle,'	nålar-na	(naola*n*a).
neut.	hus	'house,'	hus-en	('huusəna).
,,	rike	'kingdom,'	riken-a	(riikəna).
fem.	gås	'goose,'	gäss-en	('jæssəna).

[1] "i 'juupət shən hənnəm 'riivər."

The spoken language abandons the impracticable distinction between masculine and feminine by making (a) the representative inflectional vowel, in accordance with the general tendency of the language, and levels the ambiguous (-ən), which is also the common singular suffix, under (-əna), thus making (-na) and (*ná*) the sole endings.

Even in the written language *-ne* and *na* are constantly confused, and the artificial reaction against *-na* often leads to the use of *-ne* in the feminine, as in *bestämningarne.*

Some words do not take the definite suffix from purely formal reasons, such as the abstracts in *-an,* in order to avoid the repetition of the *n* (-anen). Thus *början* (bœrjan) is both 'beginning' and 'the beginning.' So also the foreign *examen* (æks'aamən). The neuter *pronomen* (pron'oomən) also remains unchanged.[1] *botten* remains unchanged in *nedra botten* (needra 'bɔttn) 'ground floor,' although *bottnen* by itself is used; *museum* has both (mus·eeum) and (mus·eeət) in the definite; *gymnasium* is unchanged, as in 'gå på g.' (gao pɔ jymn·aasjum) 'go to school.'

There is a certain effort involved in suffixing foreign words. Hence the definite suffix is always omitted in such phrases as *en artikel i Times* (en a*t*·ikkəl i taims).

Plural.

There are five ways of forming the plural, constituting as many declensions:

I. (or)-plurals.

		Indefinite.	*Definite.*
Sg.	*Com.*	saga (saaga)[2]	saga-n (saagan)
	Gen.	saga-s (saagas)	sagan-s (saagans)
Pl.	*Com.*	sag-or (saagor)	sagor-na (saago*n*a)
	Gen.	sagor-s (saago*s*)	sagorna-s (saago*n*as)

Many speakers level this declension under III., pronouncing (saagər), etc.

Other examples of this declension are *blomma* (blomma)

[1] Weste gives *pronominet.* [2] story.

'flower,' *fara* (faara) 'danger,' *tunga* (tuqa) 'tongue.' Several often (originally always) have *-e* in the written language, such as *skugge* (skugga) 'shadow,' *låge* (laoga) 'flame.' Some words have dropped the (a) in the singular, such as *våg* 'wave,' *ros* 'rose,' plural (vaogor), (roosor). (flagga) sometimes becomes *flagg* in the literary language.

historia (hist·ooria) has *-ien, -ier* in the definite and plural.

The (o) of *närvaro* (naervaaro) 'presence' and *frånvaro* (fraonvaaro) 'absence' was originally the ending of the oblique case, but these words are now indeclinable in the singular, and are not used in the plural. All the words of this declension are common, those ending in *-a* in the literary language being originally feminine.

II. (ar)-plurals.

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	dal (daal)[1]	dal-en ('daalən)
	Gen.	dal-s (daals)	dalen-s ('daaləns)
Pl.	*Com.*	dal-ar (daalar)	dalar-ne (daala*n*a)
	Gen.	dalar-s (daala*s*)	dalarne-s (daala*n*as)

So also *sky* (shyy) 'cloud,' *timme* (timmə) 'hour,' *ö* (əə) 'island.'

The words in *-e* sometimes take *-a* instead, *måne* (maonə) 'moon' being sometimes written *måna*. So also *droppa* (drop), *galla* (gall), *omtanka* (consideration).

afton (aftən) 'evening,' *djefvul* (jaevul) 'devil,' *morgon* (mərgɔn, mərrən) 'morning,' *sommar* (sɔmmar) 'summer,' contract in the plural like the words in *-er*, etc.: *aftnar, djeflar* (jaevlar), *morgnar* (mao*n*ar), *somrar*.

dotter (dɔttər) 'daughter,' *moder* (moodər, moor) 'mother,' form their plurals *döttrar* (dətrar), *mödrar* (məədrar).

Many monosyllables ending in vowels throw out the vowel of the plural ending, although several of those which drop it in the spoken keep it in the written language.

[1] valley.

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	sko (skoo)	sko-n (skoon)
	Gen.	sko-s (skoos)	skon-s (skoons)
Pl.	*Com.*	sko-r (skoor)	skor-na ('skoona)
	Gen.	skor-s (skoos)	skorna-s ('skoonas)

The definite plural (skoona) instead of (skoo*n*a) is due to the analogy of the corresponding neuter forms of the fourth declension.

So also *-bo* in *Stockholmsboar* (stɔkkɔlmsboor) 'inhabitants of Stockholm,' *bro-ar* (broor) 'bridges,' *ko-r* (koor) 'cows,' *klo-r* (kloor) 'claws,' *vrâ-(a)r* (vraor) 'corners,' and in the compounds *jungfru-r* (jumfruur) 'virgins,' *hustru-r* (hustruur) 'wives,' *fästmö-ar* (fæstməər) 'fiancées.' The simple (fruu) and (məə) form their plurals in (-ar), although the latter scarcely occurs in the spoken language.

Most titles ending in *-e*, drop it before a proper name: *en herre* (hærrə) 'gentleman,' but (hær həəglund). So also *furste* and *furst*, etc.

III. (ər)-plurals.

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	bild (bild)[1]	bild-en ('bildən)
	Gen.	bild-s (bilds)	bilden-s ('bildəns)
Pl.	*Com.*	bilder (bildər)	bild-er (bildər)
	Gen.	bilder-s (bildəs)	bilder-na (bildə*n*a)

So also *gäst* (jæst) 'guest,' *röst* (rəst) 'voice,' *nation* (natsh·oon) 'nation.'

Some have vowel-change in the plural, such as *son* (saon) 'son,' pl. *söner* ('səənər), and generally with shortening also, as in *fot* (foot), *fötter* ('fəttər). Others have the vowel already short in the singular, such as *natt* (nat) 'night,' *nätter* ('nættər), while others shorten a long vowel without otherwise changing it, as in *nöt* (nəət) 'nut,' *nötter* ('nəttər). Observe that all these plurals have the simple tone.

Besides the above common words, there are several foreign neuters which follow this declension, especially those in *-eri*, such as *tryckeri-et* (trykkərii·t) 'the printing-office,' pl. *tryckerier* (trykkərii·ər).

[1] 'picture.'

IV. (n)-plurals.

All the words of this declension are neuter.

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	rike[1] (riikə)	rike-t (riikət, riikə)
	Gen.	rike-s (riikə-s)	riket-s (riikəts)
Pl.	*Com.*	rike-n (riikən)	riken-a (riikəna)
	Gen.	riken-s (riikəns)	rikena-s (riikənas)

So also the other neuters in (-ə), such as *ärende* (aerəndə) 'errand,' *bälte* (bæltə) 'belt.'

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	bo (boo)[2]	bo-et (boot)
	Gen.	bo-s (boos)	boet-s (boots)
Pl.	*Com.*	bo-n (boon)	bon-a ('boona)
	Gen.	bon-s (boons)	bona-s ('boonas)

So also vowel-ending monosyllables, such as *bi* (bii) 'bee,' *knä* (knae) (knee).

The definite plural *bona* has supplanted the older *bo-en* (which is still given in some of the grammars) even in the written language. The reason evidently is that *boen* would be pronounced (boon) and thus be indistinguishable from the indefinite plural.

There is a small class of neuters in (-a) which inflect thus:

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	öga (əəga)[3]	öga-t (əəgat, əəga)
	Gen.	öga-s (əəgas)	ögat-s (əəgats)
Pl.	*Com.*	ög-on (əəgən)	ögon-en (əəgəna)
	Gen.	ögon-s (əəgəns)	ögonen-s (əəgənas)

So also *öra* (oera) 'ear,' *hjerta* (jæta) 'heart.'

V. No change.

Neuters:

		Indef.	*Def.*
Sg.	*Com.*	namn (namn)	namn-et ('namnət, namnə)
	Gen.	namn-s (namns)	namnet-s ('namnəts)
Pl.	*Com.*	namn (namn)	namn-en ('namnəna)
	Gen.	namn-s (namns)	namnen-s ('namnənas)

So also *djur* (juur) 'animal,' *glas* (glaas) 'glass,' *ord* (oo*d*)

[1] 'kingdom.' [2] 'dwelling.' [3] 'eye.'

b) Indefinite:

	Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	en (en)	ett (et)
Pl.	ena (eena)	

Differs from the numeral *en* 'one' only in being unaccented. The plural (eena) = 'some' is used to express contempt or surprise, as in *det var ena obegripliga menniskor de här!* (dae va eena oobegriipliga mænnishor di-h·aer) 'this is an incomprehensible lot of people!'

Adjectives.

Adjectives (including the so-called pronominal adjectives) have no cases, their only inflections being gender, number, declension (strong and weak forms), and comparison.

If, however, an adjective is used as a substantive, it takes the (s) of the genitive, as in *de godas belönning* (di goodas bel·ənniq) 'the recompense of the good,' *en vansinnigs sista tanke* (en vaansinnis sista taqkə) 'a madman's last thought,' but *de goda menniskornas* (mænnisho*n*as) *belönning*, etc., in accordance with the general tendency of the language to inflect only the end of groups of words: compare *kung Karls slott* (kuq kaa*ls sl*ɔt), and the English 'king Charles's castle.' So also with the demonstratives: *dennas hus* (dænnas huus) 'this-man's house,' but *denna mans hus*.

DECLENSION.

a) Strong.

	Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	ung (uq)[1]	ung-t (uqt)
Pl.	ung-a (uqa)	

b) Weak.

Sg. / *Pl.*	ung-a (uqa)

Observe that the strong plural and the weak endings are identical.

[1] 'young.'

Superlatives and past participles in *-ad*, such as *älskad* 'beloved,' take *-e* instead of *-a*: strong plural and weak *vackraste* (vakrastə) 'most beautiful,' (ælskadə).

In the written language the form *unge* for *unga* is often employed in the masculine both in the weak singular and plural and the strong plural, especially in the vocative, as in *store Gud!* (stoorə guud) 'great God!' while the spoken language has such forms as (gooa væn) 'good friend!' =the written *gode vän*. Those adjectives which take (-ə) in the spoken language (*älskad*, etc.) take it also in the written language for all genders. The distinction between *-e* and *-a* as masculine endings on the one hand, and neuter and feminine on the other, is in every way opposed to the genius of the language, which otherwise separates the neuter entirely from the masculine and feminine, if it makes any distinction at all.

Adjectives ending in (ao) generally throw off the inflectional vowel, as in *grå(a) hår* (grao haor) 'gray hairs.' *få* 'few,' and *små* 'little,' are always contracted.

Those in (-ər, -al, -əl, -ən) drop these vowels when the inflectional one is added, as in *tapper* ('tappər) 'brave,' *tappra*, *gammal* (gammal) 'old,' *gamla*. *-nnən-* becomes *-nn-*, even in the written language, as in *vunna* (from *vunnen*) *segrars fröjd* (vunna seegras frœid) 'the joy of won victories.'

The neuter ending (-t) produces various modifications:

1) final long vowels are shortened: *fri* (frii) 'free,' neut. *fritt* (frit); *ny* 'new,' *nytt*. (ao) becomes (ɔ): *blå* (blao), *blått* (blɔt).

2) the inflectional (t) is dropped after (t) or (d), changing the latter into (t): *fast* 'firm,' neuter *fast*; *ond* 'bad,' neuter *ondt* (ont). Preceding long vowels are shortened: *het* (heet) 'hot,' neuter *hett* (het); *våt* (vaot) 'wet,' *vått* (vɔt)—*glad* (glaad) 'glad,' *gladt* (glat); *vid* (viid) 'wide,' *vidt* (vit); *bred* (breed) 'broad,' *bredt* (bret), *röd* (rəəd) 'red,' *rödt* (rət). *god* (good) 'good' has neuter *godt* (gɔt). Length is preserved before (*t*), as in *värd* (vae*d*) 'worthy,' neuter *värdt* (vae*t*). There seems to be a dislike to forming a neuter to adjectives ending in (d) or (t) preceded by a long vowel, for several of

them, such as *vred* 'angry,' *flat* 'flat,' *lat* 'lazy,' have no neuter.

3) *hög* (həəg) 'high' shortens its vowel in the neuter *högt* (həkt).

4) final (sk) drops its (k) before the inflectional (t): *frisk* 'fresh,' neuter *friskt* (frist), *svensk* (svænsk) 'Swedish,' *svenskt* (svænst).

5) polysyllables in (-ən) drop the (n) before the neuter (t), as in *troget* (troogət) from *trogen* 'faithful.' So also in the possessives, *mitt* (mit) from *min* (min) 'mine,' etc.

In other cases no changes take place except the necessary ones: *kall* (kal) 'cold,' *kallt* (kalt); *viss* 'certain,' *visst*; *lycklig* (lykli) 'happy,' *lyckligt* (lyklit); *hel* (heel) 'whole,' *helt* (heelt); *stor* (stoor) 'big,' *stort* (stoot); *svag* (svaag) 'weak,' *svagt* (svaakt).

liten 'little' is declined thus:

a) Strong.

	Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	liten (liitən)	litet (liitət, liitə)
Pl.	små (smao)	

b) Weak.

lilla (lilla)

This is the only adjective which distinguishes between strong plural and weak singular and plural.

Many adjectives are indeclinable:

1) By form: those ending in (a), (ə), (sə), such as *lika* 'like,' *öde* 'desert,' *gängse* (jæqsə) 'current.' Hence also present participles: *ett leende barn* (et leeəndə baa*n*) 'a smiling child.'

2) Adverbs used as adjectives: *från fjerran land* (fraon fjærran land) 'from a distant land,' *inbördes krig* (inboe*d*əs kriig) 'internal (civil) war,' *med särdeles nöje* (mæ sae*d*eeləs nəiə) 'with especial pleasure,' all three substantives being neuter.

3) Superlatives used predicatively with the definite article: *dessa blommor äro vackrast*[1] 'these flowers are the most beautiful;' with the article *de vackraste*.

[1] In the spoken language this sentence (taken from the grammars) would become (di haer blomm*o*na ae vakrast).

4) Various others: *bra* (braa) 'good;' *idel* and *lutter* 'mere'=German *lauter*, as in *han gör mig idel förargelser* (han joer mæi 'iidəl fœra·rjəlsər) 'he causes me nothing but annoyance(s),' *det är lutter osanning* (dae æ 'luttər oosanniq) 'it's downright falsehood;' *qvar* (kvaar) 'quiet,' 'stationary,' as in *stanna qvar* 'stay;' some in *-ig* in special combinations, as in *min salig far* (min saali faar) 'my deceased father,' *kunglig majestät* (kuqli majæst·aet) 'his majesty.'

COMPARISON.

The regular endings are *-are* and *-ast*, as in *stilla* 'still' (stillarə), (stillast), *ädel* ('aedəl) 'noble,' *ädlare* (aedlarə), etc.

Some compare with vowel-change, and the terminations *-re* and *-st*: *lång* (ləq) 'long,' *längre* ('læqrə), *längst* (læqst); *stor* (stoor) 'big,' *större* ('stœrrə), *störst* (stœst); *ung* (uq) 'young,' *yngre* ('yqrə), *yngst* (yqst). *hög* (high) has *högre* ('həəgrə), *högst* (həkst). *smärre* ('smærrə) and *smärst* (smæst) are formed from the plural *små* of *liten* 'little,' as also *färre* ('færrə) from *få* 'few.' Several have a different word for the positive: *god* (good) 'good,' *bättre* ('bætrə), *bäst* (bæst); *gammal* 'old,' *äldre* ('ældrə), *äldst* (ælst); *liten* (liitən) 'little,' *mindre* ('mindrə) *minst; mången* (məqən) 'many,' *flere* ('fleerə), *fleste* (flæstə). Others have only an adverb for the positive: *ut* (uut) 'out,' *yttre* ('ytrə), *ytterst* ('yttəst). Note that all (-rə)s and (-st)s have the simple tone, whether mono- or polysyllabic.

Some of the above class also admit the regular comparison in the spoken language, sometimes with a change of meaning. Thus (goodarə) is used in the sense of 'better to eat,' 'better in taste,' etc.

The comparative is always weak and always keeps its *-e*: it is therefore indeclinable. The dissyllabic ones in *-re*, however, seem often to have (a) in the spoken language, especially ('fœrra) and ('fleera) [1] in the sense of '(the) former,' 'several.' The superlative *-ast* takes (-ə), while (-st) takes (a) in the spoken languages, *-e* (masc.) and *-a* (fem. and neut.) in the written language.

[1] I am not certain about the intonation in these cases.

Many adjectives do not admit of comparison, especially the indeclinables, and many polysyllables, especially those in (-isk), such as *nitisk* ('niitisk) 'zealous,' comparative *mera nitisk*, and all participles, such as *älskad, älskande*.

Numerals.

	Cardinal.		Ordinal.	
1	*ett*	et	*första, -e*	fœsta
2	*två, tu*	tvao, tuu	*andra, -e*	andra
3	*tre*	tree, trii	*tredje*	treedjə
4	*fyra*	fyyra	*fjerde*	fjaede
5	*fem*	fæm	*femte*	fæmtə
6	*sex*	sæks	*sjette*	shætte
7	*sju*	shuu	*sjunde*	shundə
8	*åtta*	ɔtta	*åttonde*	ɔttəndə
9	*nio*	niiə	*nionde*	niiəndə
10	*tio*	tiiə	*tionde*	tiiəndə
11	*elfva*	ælva	*elfte*	ælftə
12	*tolf*	tɔlv	*tolfte*	tɔlftə
13	*tretton*	trættɔn	*trettonde*	trættəndə
14	*fjorton*	fjotɔn	*fjortonde*	fjotəndə
15	*femton*	fæmtɔn	*femtonde*	fæmtəndə
16	*sexton*	sækstɔn	*sextonde*	sækstəndə
17	*sjutton*	shuttɔn	*sjuttonde*	shuttəndə
18	*aderton*	aadətɔn	*adertonde*	aadətəndə
19	*nitton*	nittɔn	*nittonde*	nittəndə
20	*tjugu*	cuugə	*tjugonde*	cuugəndə
21	*tjugu ett*	cuugə-e·t	*tjugonde*[1] *första*	cuu(gə)-f·œsta
22	*tjugu två*	cuu(gə)-t·vao	*tjugonde*[1] *andra*	cuugə-a·ndra
30	*trettio*	trætti	*trettionde*	trættiəndə
40	*fyr(a)tio*	fœti	*fyrtionde*	fœtiəndə
50	*femtio*	fæmti	*femtionde*	fæmtiəndə
60	*sextio*	sæksti	*sextionde*	sækstiəndə
70	*sjuttio*	shutti	*sjuttionde*	shuttiəndə
80	*ått(at)io*	ɔtti	*åttionde*	ɔttiəndə
90	*nittio*	nitti	*nittionde*	nittiəndə
100	*hundra*	'hundra	*hundrade*	'hundradə
1000	*tusen*	'tuusən	*tusende*	'tuusəndə

[1] Also *tjugu*.

en, *ett* differs from the indefinite article only in having full stress.

(tuu) for (tvao) is only used in certain collocations, such as *klockan tu* (or *två*) (klɔkkan tuu) 'two o'clock,' *skära itu* (shaera it·uu) 'cut in two,' *de unga tu* (di uqa tuu) 'the young couple.' For *två* and *tre* the literary language often uses *tvenne* (tvænne) and *trenne* (trænnə).

båda (baoda) and *begge* (bæggə) are employed without distinction to signify 'both.' They are indeclinable as adjectives, but take the (s) of the genitive when used as substantives.

For *femtio två*, etc., *två och* (and) *femti* (tvao ɔ fæmti) is sometimes used, as in English.

In compound ordinals the spoken language gives the ordinal inflection only to the last, while the written language inflects the preceding tens as well, but not generally the hundreds and higher numbers: *femtionde tredje* (fæmti treedjə), *hundra(de) femtionde tredje året* ('hundra fæmti treedjə 'aorət).

Pronouns.

Personal.

The personal (substantival) pronouns have, like the substantives, two cases, which are, however, quite distinct from those of the substantives both in form and meaning. The common case of the substantives is in the pronouns separated into a nominative and an oblique case, which is in meaning both accusative and dative. The genitive is only preserved as a possessive (adjective) pronoun.

	1) First Person.	2) Second Person.
Sg. Nom.	jag (jaa)	du (duu)
Obl.	mig (mæi)	dig (dæi)
Pl. Nom.	vi (vii)	ni (nii)
Obl.	oss (ɔs)	eder, er (eer)

3) Third Person.

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Sg. Nom.	han, den (han, dæn)	hon, den (hon, dæn)	det (dae)
Obl.	honom, den (hɔnnɔm, -ən, dæn)	henne, den (hænnə, -na, dæn)	det (dae)
Pl. Nom.		de (dii, dɔm)	
Obl.		dem (dæm, dɔm)	

4) Reflexive, *obl. sg. and pl.* : sig (sæi).

All long vowels are shortened when unaccented, that of (duu) changing its quality at the same time.

(dae), (dii), and (dæm) are also demonstratives. (dæn) is only used of animals and things; it is, therefore, of the common gender.

The oblique plural (dɔm) is common in the Stockholm dialect, and is often used in the nominative as well.

The forms (-ən), (-na), and (-ət)[1] are enclitic accusatives, as in *tag fatt honom* (taa fat-n) 'take hold of him,' *såg du henne?* (saog-du-na) 'did you see her?' *jag tycker om det* (ja 'tykkər ɔm-ət) 'I like it,' *gif hit det* (jee hiit-ət) 'give it here.'

(han) is sometimes shortened enclitically in the same way, as *sade han* (saa-n) 'said he.'

An old genitive of the reflexive pronoun in *sins emellan* (sins em'ellan) 'among themselves.'

POSSESSIVE.

a) Declinable.

min 'mine,' *mit; mina* (min, mit; miina).

So also *din* 'thine,' *sin* (reflexive=his, her, its, their).

vår 'our,' *vårt; våra* (vaor, vaot; vaora).

eder, er 'your,' *edert, ert; edra, era* (eer, eet; eera).

An older inflection in *ers majestät* 'your majesty,' *ers nåd* 'your grace.'

[1] The first two are the old accusatives *hann* and *hana*.

b) Indeclinable:

	Masc.	*Fem.*	*Neut.*
Sg.	hans, dess (hans, dæs)	hennes, dess (hænnəs, dæs)	dess (dæs)
Pl.	deras (deeras)		

The masculine and feminine (dæs) is applied only to animals and things.

egen (eegən), *eget*, pl. *egna* (eegna) 'own,' is always strong: *hans eget hus* 'his own house.'

DEMONSTRATIVE.

den (dæn) 'that' and *denna* (dænna) 'this' are used both as substantives and adjectives. In the former case they are simply personal pronouns with a special demonstrative force.

a) Substantival:

		Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	*Com.*	den (dæn)	det (dae)
	Gen.	dens (dæns)	dess (dæs)
Pl.	*Com.*	de (dii, dəm)	
	Gen.	deras (deeras)	

The genitive singular (dæns) is literary, and occurs only in a determinative sense with a following relative sentence, as in *på dens sida stå, som här ditt ord försvara må* (po dæns siida stao, som hae *d*it oo*d* fœs·vaara mao) 'stand on his (that-one's) side who can defend thy word (cause) here.' In all other cases the genitive is equivalent to a possessive pronoun and takes (dæs) in the common gender as well as the neuter.

		Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	*Com.*	denne, denna (dænna)	detta (dætta)
	Gen.	dennes, dennas (dænnas)	dettas (dættas)
Pl.	*Com.*	desse, dessa (dæssa)	
	Gen.	desses, dessas (dæssas)	

The genitive occurs practically only as a possessive used absolutely, *det är dennes* (dae æ dænnas) 'it is this-man's,' for instance, being entirely parallel to *det är mitt* 'it is mine.'

b) Adjectival:

	Common.	*Neuter.*
Sg.	den (dæn)	det (dae)
Pl.	de (dii, dəm)	
Sg.	denne, -a (dænna)	detta (dætta)
Pl.	desse-a (dæssa)	

The possessive demonstratives (dæs), (deeras), (dænnas), (dæssas), may be regarded as indeclinable adjectives.

The old demonstrative *hin* survives only in *hin Onde* (hin ondə) 'the Evil One,' shortened into *Hin* (hiin).

INTERROGATIVE.

vem (vem) 'who,' is both nominative and accusative; neut. *hvad* (vaa). The written language sometimes has an archaic nominative *ho* (hoo). The possessive adjective is *hvars* in the written, (hvems) in the spoken language. (vem) does not seem to be used in the plural, which is expressed by various circumlocutions.

hvilken (vilkən), *hvilket* (vilkət, vilkə), *hvilka* (vilka) 'which,' is both a substantive and an adjective, taking the (s) of the genitive in the former case. In the spoken language the forms (ˈhɔkkən, ˈɔkken) also occur.

hurudan, -t (huurudˑan, -t), *hurudana* (huurudˑanna), as in *hurudan är han?* (huurudˑan ae han) 'what is he like?' (what is his character?) is only an adjective.

RELATIVE.

vilken, with possessive *vilkens* or *hvars* (vas) is both substantive and objective. *som* (sɔm) is substantive and indeclinable. Relatives are not much used in speech.

INDEFINITE.

annan, annat; andra 'other.'

mången (mɔqən), *månget* (mɔqət, mɔqə); *många* 'many.'

någon (naogɔn, naon, nɔn), *något* (naogɔt, naot, naogə); *några* (naogra, naora) 'some.'

ingen (iqən), *intet* (intət, iqə); *inga* (iqa) 'none.'

The spoken neuter (iqə) stands for *inget*. (intət) never drops its (t), for it would otherwise be confused with (intə) ='not,' which in the written language appears as *icke* or *ej*. The substantival *intet* of the written language is generally represented by (iqəntiq) in speech, and *något* becomes (naogɔntiq, naontiq, nɔntiq) in the same way.

sådan, -t, sådana (saodana) 'such,' and *dylik, -t, -a* (dyylika) 'such,' are partly demonstrative. In the spoken language the latter sometimes appears in the form of ('tɔkkən), like ('hɔkkən) for *hvilken*.[1]

sjelv (shælv), *sjelf(t)*, *sjelfva* 'self,' is added to a substantive in the strong, and prefixed in the weak form, in the latter case having a more intensitive meaning: *han sjelf* (han shælv) 'he himself,' *sjelfva kungen* (shælva 'kuqən)='even the king,' *i sjelfva verket* (i shælva 'værkə) 'actually.' A superlative form is sometimes used in the latter case: *sjelfvaste kungen*.

hvar (vaar), *hvart* (vat) 'each' has no plural. An old genitive is preserved in the phrase *i hvars mans mun* (i vas mans mun) 'in every man's mouth.'

The substantival *hvarandra* (vara'ndra, var'an) 'one-, each-other,' has a gen., but is otherwise indeclinable. It is both dual and plural in meaning.

The following are also indeclinable except in the genitive:

enda (enda) 'single.'

hvarje (varjə) 'each.'

samme, -a (samma) 'same.'

ömse (əmsə) 'various' plur.

There are many other pronouns formed by running two simple ones together, the last only being inflected. Thus *hvarenda* (vare'nda) 'every single one,' 'every one,' has gen. *hvarendas*. Its neuter is *hvartenda*. So also *hvarannan* (vara'nnan) 'every other (day),' gen. *hvarannans*, neut. *hvartannat*.

[1] The initial (t) corresponds to the old Swedish þ (þolkin).

The combinations *hvar sin, hvar sina,* etc., are regarded as single words, and take a preposition before them, as in *herrarne bjödo armen åt hvar sin dam* (hærrana bjəəd 'armən aot vaa sin daam), literally 'the gentlemen offered their arms to each-his-lady.'

The use of *-dera* as an affix to various kinds of pronouns deserves notice. *dera* was originally the genitive plural of *den,* but is now only added to pronouns to give them a more definite sense. Thus the simple *hvar* (vaar) 'each' may apply to an indefinite number of objects, but *hvardera,* neut. *hvartdera,* literally 'each-of-them,' both generally pronounced (vadeera), implies certain definitely known objects, as in *han bjöd henne och hennes moder hvardera armen* (han bjəəd hænnə ɔk hænnəs moor vadeera 'armən) 'he offered (to) her and her mother (to) each (of them) his arm.' Although these compounds may also refer to three or more definite objects, as in *hvartdera af de tre* (vadeera av di tree) 'each of the three (things mentioned above),' they generally refer to two only, as in the first example. In fact, such forms as *hvilkendera* (vilkəndeera) and *ingendera* (iqəndeera) may often be considered as duals to the singulars (vilkən), (iqən), and the plurals (vilka), (iqa). (endeera), (etdeera) 'one (of them)' is, of course, necessarily singular.

These compounds were originally employed only as substantives, in which case they may have a genitive in (s), but they now occur as adjectives, as in *hvardera damen* (vadeera 'daamən) 'each lady.'

It will be seen that the first elements are declined as independent adjectives.

Even *båda, begge* 'both' may take the affix (-deera), although perfectly definite in themselves. A curious pleonastic form is *beggedera delarne,* literally 'both-of-the-two parts,' as in *jag förmodar att ni har en fader eller en moder i lifvet, kanske beggedera delarne* (ja fœrm·oodar at ni haar en faar 'ællər en moor i 'liivət, kanshə bæggədeera deelana) 'I suppose you have a father or mother alive, perhaps both.'

Verbs.

The verbal inflections are *tense, mood, voice,* and *noun-forms,* which latter are either substantival or adjectival. In the written language they also distinguish *number* and *person.* The tenses are *present* and *past.* The moods are *indicative, subjunctive,* and *imperative.* The subjunctive is nearly extinct in the spoken language, being generally levelled under the indicative. The voices are *active* and *passive,* the latter being often equivalent to the Greek *middle* voice. The substantival noun-forms are the *infinitive;* the adjectival, the *present participle active* and the *past participle passive.* The third noun-form, the *supine,* is a special form of the neuter of the past participle only used in combination with the auxiliary *hafva* 'have' in an active sense; it is neither substantival nor adjectival, having no meaning by itself. In *ett fångadt djur* (et fɔqat juur) 'a caught wild beast' (fɔqat) is a participle, in *han har fångat ett djur* (han haar fɔqat et juur) it is supine. Here there is no distinction beyond the artificial written one, but in the strong verbs there is, *gripet* (griipət) 'grasped,' neuter participle, being distinct from the supine *gripit* (griipit).

The following are the regular endings:

a) Written language:

	Indicative.		Subjunctive.	
	Present.			
Sg.	-r		-e	
Pl. 1.	-a		-e	
2.	-en		-en	
3.	-a		-e	
	Past.			
	Weak.	*Strong.*	*Weak.*	*Strong.*
Sg.	-de [1]	—	-de	-e
Pl. 1.	-de	-o	-de	-e
2.	-den	-en	-den	-en
3.	-de	-o	-de	-e

[1] Also *te,* etc.

Imperative.

Sg.	2.	—
Pl.	1.	-om
	2.	-en

Noun Forms.

	Infinitive	-a
Partic.	*Present*	-ande
,,	*Past*	-d (-t), en (strong)
	Supine	-t, it (strong)

From these active endings the passive ones are formed by adding *s*, before which *r* is dropped. The past participle is, of course, already passive.

b) Spoken language:

		Active.	Passive.
		Present.	
		-r	-s
		Past.	
		Weak. / *Strong.*	*Weak.* / *Strong.*
		-də (-tə) / —	-dəs (-təs) / -s
		Imperative.	
		— (2 pers. sg. pl.)	-s
		Noun Forms.	
	Infinitive	-a	-as
Partic.	*Present*	-andə	
,,	*Past*	-d (-t)	
	Supine	-t, -it	-ts, -its

The present subjunctive is never used in the spoken language, except in a few traditional formulæ, such as *lefve kungen!* (leevə ˈkuqən) 'long live the king!' If it had been preserved generally, it would probably have ended in (-a) in accordance with the general tendency of the language, and it is possible that such a subjunctive may be preserved in the phrase, *kosta hvad som helst måste jag skaffa mig visshet*

(kɔsta vaa sɔm hælst, mɔstə ja skaffa mæi visheet) 'cost what it may, I must get certain information,' although the (kɔsta) may also be an infinitive. In the past the distinction can only be expressed in the strong verbs, as in *var* (vaar) 'was,' *vore* (voorə) 'were,' *fick* (fik) 'got,' *finge* (fiqə), and many speakers keep up the use of the subjunctive more or less imperfectly in these forms; others, again, never employ such forms as (fiqə) at all, substituting (fik).

The (t) of the supine is often dropped after an unaccented vowel, *elskat* 'loved,' *bundit* 'bound,' becoming (ælska), (bundi).

The form (-ts, -its) only occurs in a middle sense in the spoken language, as in *han hade blygts* (han haddə blyykts) 'he had been-ashamed,' although the written language employs it occasionally as a passive, as in *han hade sårats* 'he had been wounded,' where the spoken form would be (han haddə bliivit saorad). The plural passive imperatives such as *kalloms* 'let us be called,' *kallens* 'be ye called,' very seldom occur except in grammars, and the spoken passive imperative occurs only in a middle sense, as in *gläds!* (glaeds) 'rejoice!'

The passive (s) sometimes shortens the preceding vowel, as in *slås* (slɔs) 'to fight' (middle), *törs* (tœs) 'dares,' (pres.), infin. *töras* (toeras).

WEAK CONJUGATION.

1) **a**-class.

	Active.	*Passive.*
Present	kallar[1]	kallas
Past	kalladə, kalla	kalladəs
Imperative	kalla	(kallas)
Infinitive	kalla	kallas
Partic. Pres.	kallandə	—
,, *Pret.*	kallad (*neut.* kallat)	—
Supine	kallat	(kallats)

[1] 'calls.'

The great majority of verbs follow this class. Observe that as the (t) of the supine is often dropped, the only necessarily distinctive active forms are (kalla, kallar, kallandə).

2) **də**-class.

	Active.	*Passive.*
Present	ˈbrænnər[1]	bræns
Past	brændə	brændəs
Imperative	bræn	(bræns)
Infinitive	brænna	brænnas
Partic. Pres.	brænnandə	—
,, *Pret.*	brænd (*neut.* brænt)	—
Supine	brænt	(brænts)

After voiceless consonants the (-də) of the past becomes (-tə), as in (ləəstə), (səəktə), from *lösa* 'loosen,' *söka* 'seek.' Exceptionally also in a few others: (bejˈyntə, krəəntə, rəəntə, syyntəs, færmˈaeltə), from *begynna* 'begin,' *kröna* 'crown,' *röna* 'experience,' *synas* 'seem,' *förmäla* 'mention.'

(ə) is retained in the passive after (s) as in (ˈləəsəs), the written languages generally preserving *e* after other consonants as well, as in *brænnes* (ˈbrænnəs).

The (-ər) of the present is dropped after (r) and (l) preceded by long vowels as in (han hoer, han taol) from *höra* 'hear,' *tåla* 'endure.' (d) is dropped medially in (han klaer) from *kläda* 'clothe,' and several others.

The long vowel of verbs in (d) or (t) is shortened before inflectional (d)s or (t)s, as in the pasts (pryddə, mətta) and the supines (pryt, mət) from *pryda* 'adorn' and *möta* 'meet.' (d) and (t), preceded by consonants, take no additional (d) or (t): (sændə, sænt) from *senda* 'send,' (lyftə, lyft) from *lyfta* 'lift.' *nemna* 'name,' drops its (n) before (d) and (t): *nemnde* (næmdə), *nemnt*, (næmt).

The following in (j) have vowel-change in the past forms, together with loss of the (j) and varying quantity:

[1] 'burns' (trans.).

Infin.	*Past.*	*Supine.*	*Present.*	*Imperative.*
glädja (glaedja) 'gladden'	gladde (gladdə)	gladt (a)	gläder ('glaedər)	gläd (glaed)
välja (vælja) 'choose'	valde (vaaldə)	valt (aa)	väljer ('vælјər)	välj (vælj)
sälja (sælja) 'sell'	sålde (sɔldə)	sålt (ɔ)	säljer ('sæljər)	sälj (sælj)
vänja (vaenja) 'accustom'	vande (vaandə)	vant (aa)	vänjer ('vaenjər)	vänj (vaenj)
dölja (dəlja) 'hide'	dolde (daoldə)	dolt (ao)	döljer ('dəljər)	dölj (dəlj)
smörja (smœrja) 'smear'	smorde (smoo*d*e)	smort (oo)	smörjer (smoer)	smörj (smœrj)

Like *glädja* also *städja* (staedja) 'arrange,' like *välja* also *dväljas* 'dwell,' *qvälja* 'torment,' *tälja* 'count.' The written *rödja* 'clear away,' *rödde* appears in the spoken language as (rœia), being thus confounded with *röja* 'betray.'

The following have no (j):

Infin.	*Past.*	*Supine.*	*Present.*	*Imperative.*
tämja (taema) 'tame'	tamde (taamdə)	tamt (aa)	tämjer ('taemər)	tämj (taem)
lägga (lægga) 'lay'	lade (laa)	lagt (lakt)	läggər ('læggər)	lägg (læg)
säga (sæia) 'say'	sade (saa)	sagt (sakt)	säger ('sæiər)	säg (sæi)
sätta (sætta) 'place'	satte (sattə)	satt (sat)	sätter ('sættər)	sätt (sæt)
böra (boera) 'ought'	borde (boo*d*ə)	bort (boo*t*)	bör (boer)	—
göra (joera) 'do'	gjorde (joo*d*e)	gjort (joo*t*)	gör (joer)	gör (joer)
—	torde (too*d*ə)	—	tör[1] (toer)	—
töras (toeras) 'dare'	tordes (too*d*əs)	torts (too*ts*)	törs (tœ*s*)	törs (tœ*s*)

bringa 'bring,' *bragte* (braktə), *bragt* (brakt), is altogether irregular.

Some middle verbs throw out the vowel of the infinitive and present, such as *lyss* (lys) 'listen,'[2] which is both in-

[1] 'may,' impers.
[2] Contracted from *lydas*.

finitive (at lys) and present (han lys), the preterite being (lyddəs). So also *leds* (les), *leddes* 'to be weary.'

Some verbs, which in the written language are of the preceding conjugation, often follow this one in the spoken language. Such verbs are *tala* 'speak,' *spela* 'play;' *låna* 'borrow,' *mena* 'mean,' *visa* 'show,' *ropa* 'call,' the spoken preterites being (taaltə, speeltə, laontə, meentə, viistə, rooptə).

Some have only the supine (past participle) according to the *a*-class. Such are *lefva* 'live,' present *lefver* ('leevər), supine *lefvat*, and *duga* 'avail,' *dugde* (duugdə)—but also *dugade*—*dugat*.

3) **ddə**-class.

Monosyllables ending in long vowels, to which the endings are added without any intermediate vowel, except in the present participle, the (a) of the infinitive being dropped, and which are shortened in the past forms, whose medial (d) is doubled.

	Active.	*Passive.*
Present	troor[1]	troos
Past	troddə	troddəs
Imperative	troo	(troos)
Infinitive	troo	troos
Partic. Pres.	trooəndə	—
,, *Pret.*	trod (*neut.* trot)	—
Supine	trot	(trots)

The present subjunctive of these verbs is disused even in the grammars. So also *ske* (shee) 'happen,' *skedde*, *skett*, *bo* 'dwell,' *nå* 'reach' past *nådde* (nɔddə).

STRONG CONJUGATION.

The following paradigm will show the endings of the spoken language:

	Active.	*Passive.*
Present	'bindər	bin(d)s
Past	band	ban(d)s
Imperative	bind	(bin(d)s)
Infinitive	binda	bindas
Partic. Pres.	bindandə	—
,, *Pret.*	bundən, -ə(t)	—
Supine	bundi(t)	(bundits)

[1] 'believes.'

In the written language the past has pl. *bund-o, -en, -o* and subj. sg. *bunde*, pl. *bund-e, -en, e;* the other written forms according to the paradigm p. 517.

The final (*t*) of the neut. past partic. and of the supine is often dropped.

Verbs in (r) and (l) after a long vowel drop the (-ər) of the present, as in *far* (faar) 'goes,' *bär* (baer) 'bears,' *stjäl* (shael) 'steals' from *fara, bära, stjäla.*

There is great fluctuation between strong and weak forms, the latter generally predominating in speech. Strong past participles are often preserved as adjectives, as in the case of *vuxen* (vuksən) 'grown up' contrasting with the verb *växa, -te, -t.*

In the grammars the strong verbs are divided into two classes: 1) those which change the vowel of the infinitive only in the past, and 2) those which change it in the past participle as well.

I. Class.

1) **ii- ee**-verbs.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
bita (biita) 'bite'	bet (beet)	beto	bitet (biitit)
blifva (blii) 'become'	blef (bleev)	blefvo	blifvit (bliivit)
skina (shiina) 'shine'	sken (sheen)	skeno	skinit (shiinit)

So many others. (blii) has present *blifver* (bliir). *tiga* 'be silent' has supine *tegat.*

2) **aa- oo**-verbs.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
draga (draa) 'draw'	drog (droog)	drogo	dragit (draagit)
fara (faara) 'go'	for (foor)	foro	farit (faarit)
taga (taa) 'take'	tog (toog)	togo	tagit (taagit)

The presents are (draar, faar, taar), in the written language *drager, far, tager.*

In this group are also included:

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
falla (falla) 'fall'	föll (fəl)	föllo	fallit (fallit)
hålla (hɔlla) 'hold'	höll (həl)	höllo	hållit (hɔllit)

3) **uu**-verbs.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
bjuda (bjuuda) 'offer'	björd (bjəəd)	björdo	bjudit (bjuudit)
hugga (hugga) 'hew'	högg (həg)	höggo	huggit (huggit)
tjuta (cuuta) 'howl'	tjöt (cəət)	tjöto	tjutit (cuutit)

4) Miscellaneous.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
ligga (ligga)	låg (laog)	lågo	legat (leegat)
gifva (jee)	gaf (gaav)	gåfvo	gifvit (jet)
bedja (bee)	bad (baad)	bådo	bedit (bet)
äta (aeta)	åt (aot)	åto	ätit (aetit)
komma (kɔmma)	kom (kɔm)	kommo	kommit (kɔmmit)
sofva (saova)	sof (saov)	sofvo	sofvit (saovit)
gråta (graota)	grät (graet)	gräto	gråtit (graotit)
låta (laota)	lät (laet)	läto	låtit (laotit)

Note the presents (jeer) and (beer), written *gifver*, *beder*.

II. Class.

1) **i**-class.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
binda (binda) 'bind'	band (band)	bundo	bundit (bundit)
dricka (drikka) 'drink'	drack (drak)	drucko	druckit (drukkit)

So also in many others. *sitta* has supine *setat* as well as *suttit*.

In careless speech the supines (bindit), (sittit), may be heard, with the vowel of the infinitive.

2) **ae**-class.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
bera (baera) 'bear'	bar (baar)	buro	burit (buurit)
skära (shaera) 'cut'	skar (skaar)	skuro	skurit (skuurit)
stälja (shaela) 'steal'	stal (staal)	stulo	stulit (stuulit)

3) **yy**-verbs.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
bryta (bryyta) 'break'	bröt (brəət)	bröto	brutit (bruutit)
frysa (fryysa) 'freeze'	frös (frəəs)	fröso	frusit (fruusit)

So many others.

In careless speech the supines (bryytit), etc., occur.

4) Miscellaneous.

Infin.	*Past Sg.*	*Past Pl.*	*Supine.*
få (fao) 'get'	fick (fik)	fingo	fått (fɔt)
gå (gao) 'go'	gick (jik)	gingo	gått (gɔt)
le (lee) 'smile'	log (loog)	logo	lett (let)
slå (slao) 'strike'	slog (sloog)	slogo	slagit (slaagit)
dö (dəə) 'die'	dog (doog)	dogo	dött (dət)
stå (stao) 'stand'	stod (stood, stoog)	stodo	stått (stɔt)
svärja (svaera) 'swear'	svor (svoor)	svoro	svurit (svuurit)
se (see) 'see'	såg (saog)	sågo	sett (set)

IRREGULARS.

vara 'be':

är (ae), *var* (vaar, va); *var!* (vaar); *vara* (vaara), *-ande*, *-it*. The written language has present plural *äro*, *-en*, *-o*, preterit plural *voro*, etc., preterit subjunctive *vore*, etc. (voorə) seems also to be common in the spoken language.

varda 'become':

Occurs in speech only in the past *vardt* (vat).

hafva 'have,' belongs to the second weak class, but is made irregular by contraction:

hafver, *har* (haar), *hade* (haddə); *haf!* (haa); *hafva* (haa), hafvande (haavandə), *haft* (haft).

skal (ska) 'shall,' *skulle* (skullə); infinitive *skola* (skoola). The last form is also plural present in the written language.

må (mao) 'may,' *måtte* (mɔttə).

måste (mɔstə) 'must,' past *måste* (mɔste), supine *måst* (mɔst, mɔstat). The spoken language also has an infinitive (mɔsta).

kan (kan) 'can,' *kunde* (kundə); infinitive *kunna*, supine *kunnat*. Written present plural *kunna*. *vil* (vil) 'will,' *ville*; *vilja*, *velat* (veelat). Written present plural *vilja*.

SYNTAX.

The object of the following brief notes is not only to indicate some of the divergences between the spoken and written language, but also to call attention to some features of the language common to both of them, but which have not been treated of in the ordinary grammars, or else are of exceptional interest to students of English.

In the numerals we must note the colloquial addition of (stykken) 'pieces' to the numerals when used absolutely, even in speaking of persons, as in *vi voro fem, sex stycken* (vi vooro fæm, sæx stykkən) 'there were five or six of us.'

In the pronouns we need only mention the strictly reflexive use of *sin* and *sig*, exactly as in Latin, but lost in Danish. Even in Swedish some speakers are less accurate than others in distinguishing between *sin* and *hans* (suus, ejus), *sig* and *dem*, etc. The different modes of address, on the other hand, require a more detailed account.

The pronouns of the second person are (duu) and (nii), which latter has entirely superseded the older (ii) in the spoken language, and is employed in addressing a single person as well as several. But in polite society the address in the third person has always been preferred. The peculiarity of Swedish is that it does not take the pronoun of the third person,[1] but always employs some *substantive*, either a general or special title, a proper name, or a combination of title and name.

The more general addresses are (hæ*n*), a shortened form of (hærrə-n) for gentlemen, (fruntimrət) for ladies generally, (fruun) for married ladies, (ˈfrəəkən)=(frəəkən-ən) for unmarried ladies of noble birth, and (mamsˑæl) for the same when not noble, all in the definite form, 'the gentleman,' etc. All these titles (with the exception perhaps of the last) originally implied nobility, but they gradually became so vulgarized by constant and indiscriminate use, that, with the

[1] (han) and (hon) were, however, formerly employed as familiar addresses towards an inferior.

exception of (frəəkən), they lost all distinctiveness, and are now almost entirely disused among the upper classes. Thirty years ago, however, they were in general use, the distinction between (ˈfrəəkən) and (mamsˈæl) being still strictly kept up. Now, however, the latter is considered derogatory, the title (ˈfrəəkən) being extended indiscriminately to all classes, (mamsˈæl) being thus entirely discarded.[1] The 'pronouns' (hæ*n*), (fruntimrət) and (fruun) are only employed by inferiors in addressing their superiors; also by shopkeepers to their customers. The following examples, taken from Blanche's 'Berättelser,' will show the older usage: ae hæ*n* gaalən? 'are you mad?' fruun mottə haa braa starka ˈtændər fœ *s*iina aor 'you seem to have very good teeth for your age,' fruu laggə, saa hær ˈhassəl ˈtil mæi haerəmsˈistəns, ja æ mykkə nœid mæ fruuns saon 'Mrs. L., said Mr. H. to me lately, I am much satisfied with your son.'

In the upper classes special titles are now employed as addresses, a count, for instance, being addressed as (greevən), a professor as (profˈæsso*n*), a countess as (greevˈinnan), etc. When there is no convenient title, the name is employed with (hær) or (fruu) prefixed: (vil hær høøglund . . .) (vil fruu høøglund . . .). Unmarried ladies can be, and generally are, addressed simply as (ˈfrəəkən) without the necessity of adding the name, this title not having entirely lost its original complimentary meaning. When both name and title are unknown, the direct address is avoided as much as possible, often by considerable circumlocutions, except, of course, when (ˈfrəəkən) can be employed, and in the last extremity recourse is had to (hæ*n*), (fruntimrət) or (fruun).

Inferiors are addressed by (nii), which is the main reason of this word not being considered polite to an equal. The owner of an estate or factory often addresses his workmen with (duu) instead of (nii). The king also addresses his subjects with (duu).

Many attempts have been made to abolish these cumbrous

[1] It is, however, still preserved on visiting cards, but in the more dignified form of *mademoiselle*.

formulæ, and to introduce the convenient and unambiguous (nii) into society as well as into novels and plays, where it is now universally employed, having, indeed, always been the regular form on the stage. Although the reform has only been partially carried through, it has won many adherents, and there can be little doubt that it will prevail in the end.[1] The present forms are certainly a strange anachronism in a country where political and social freedom has made such advances, and where the barriers between the different classes of society are so slight.

The use of (duu) in Swedish is much the same as in German. Children, however, sometimes address their parents in the third person with (pappa) and (mamma), and parents sometimes address their children by their Christian name instead of with (duu), and even brothers and sisters sometimes address one another in the same way: (vil pappa haa . . .), (vil aadɔlf haa . . .) 'will you have . . .?' Children are addressed by adults either by their Christian name or with (duu). Intimate friends employ (duu), and this address is often adopted even on a very slight acquaintance, in order to avoid the troublesome title forms.

When several persons are addressed, (nii) is employed as the plural both of (duu) and of itself, or (hærra*n*a), (daamə*n*a), etc., are used. The collective neuter (hæskaapət) is used to include both sexes, not only towards superiors, but also among equals. Examples are: (hærra*n*a too*d*ə vaara gooa ɔ stiiga uur) 'please alight gentlemen,' (huur mɔqa pæs·oonər ae hæskaapət?) 'how many are you?'

The substantives employed instead of pronouns are generally not repeated more than once in a sentence, but are replaced by the reflexive pronoun of the third person: (har hæ*n* stət sæi?) 'did you hurt yourself?' (har 'frəəkən stət sæi), (goo(d)a pappa, luqna sæi) 'dear father, calm yourself.' Formerly, however, the substantive was sometimes repeated, as in (guud fœ*l*·aotə pat·roon pat·roons syndər) 'master, may God forgive your sins!'

[1] It may be noted that the oblique (eer) is more polite than the nominative (nii), especially when written out in full *Eder*.

In the spoken language the demonstrative *denne* (and *hin*) is very seldom used, the English 'this' and 'that' being expressed by (dæn haer) and (dæn daer) respectively, literally 'the-one here,' 'the-one there': (dæn haer 'bookən) 'this book,' (dæn daer 'booken) 'that book'; *det här blifver aldeles odrägligt* (dæ h·aer bliir aldeeləs oodraeglit) 'this is getting quite intolerable.' The same use of (haer) and (daer) occurs with other demonstratives, not only pronouns, such as *sådan* (saodan, saon) 'such,' as in *låt oss nu slippa flera sådana der narrstreck* (laot ɔs nu slippa fleera saona dae *nast*rek) 'let us have no more of such tricks,' but also the adverb *så* (sao) 'so,' (sɔ-h·aer) especially being always used in speech instead of the literary *sålunda:* (han taala *sɔ* h·aer)=literary *han talar sålunda,* 'he speaks in this way'; (du faor intə joera sɔ d·aer) 'you mustn't do that (so).'

In the verbs the use of the preterite for the English present in such exclamations as 'that's true!' is noteworthy. The Swedes always say *det var sant!* (·dæ va sant), *det var lustigt* (·dæ va lustit) 'that's a good joke!' although there is no idea of the statement applying to the past only. Indeed, a Swede will answer such an exclamation as (·dæ va bes·ynnə*l*it) 'that's strange!' with (næi, dæ æ intə bes·ynnə*l*it) 'no, it *is* not strange.'

The Swedish prepositions offer many very remarkable features. There is a strong tendency to make compounds of the simple prepositions, especially in speech, (ii) 'in' being replaced by *uti* (uutii·) 'out-in,' (aav) 'of' by (uutaa·f, uutao·v) 'out-of,' without any change of meaning or application, as in (en uutaov ɔs) 'one of us.' Others, such as (uutæ·ftər) 'along,' = 'out-after,' have special meanings. 'up' and 'down' are expressed by *uppför* (upfœr)='up-before' and *utför* (uutfœr) = 'out-before,' as in (upfœr en bakkə) 'up a hill,' (han jik uutfœ *t*rappo*n*a) 'he went down-stairs.' In the latter word the idea of 'descent' is implied in that of 'forwards.'

One great difficulty in acquiring a command of the Swedish prepositions lies in their peculiar *specialization* of those various abstract relations which in English, French

and German are all generally expressed by one preposition, 'of,' 'de' or 'von,' or, in English and German, by the genitive. Thus the English 'widow of . . ' is expressed in Swedish by 'widow after . . ,' 'inhabitants of . . ' by 'inhabitants in . . ,' etc., the general English abstraction being split up into a number of more special and concrete expressions for each relation. In the first of these two phrases the genitive is expressed by a *temporal*, in the second by a *local* preposition.

The following are examples:[1]

hon var enka enka efter en prest (hon var æqka æftər en præst) 'she was a clergyman's widow,' *spår efter kulor* (spaor æftər kuulor) 'bullet-marks,' *egenskaperna hos en prins* (eegənskaapə*n*a hos en prins) 'the qualities of a prince,' *hon dansade med lekfullheten hos en kattunge* (hon dansadə mæ leekfulheetn hos en katuqə) 'she danced with the playfulness of a kitten,' *invånarne i staden* (invaona*n*a i staan) 'the inhabitants of the town,' *värden i huset* ('vae*dn* i 'huusət) 'the master of the house,' *ärmen på en rock* ('ærmən pɔ en rɔk) 'the sleeve of a coat,' *jag hade råkat i händerna på ett röfvareband* (ja haddə raokat i 'hændə*n*a pɔ et rəəvarband) 'I had fallen into the hands of a band of robbers,' *son till . .* (saon till . .) 'son of . . ,' *skälet till . .* ('shaelət til . .) 'the reason of . . ,' *en hylla med böcker* (en hylla mæ 'bəkkər) 'a book-shelf,' *full med . .* (full mæ . .) 'full of . . ,' *en massa med folk* (en massa mæ fɔlk) 'a lot of people.' (aaf) may, however, be also used in many cases: (saon aav . .), (en massa aav . .).[2] The same specializing tendency in other cases where the genitive is not employed in other languages, as in *att dö i en sjukdom* (at dəə i en shukdom) 'to die of an illness,' *att samtala i olika ämnen* (at samtaala i oolika æmnən) 'to converse on various topics.'

A peculiar feature of colloquial (and, to a certain extent, of literary) Swedish is its frequent use of adverbs as conjunctions. Thus (bæst) 'best,' (baara) 'only,' (dæ fœ*st*a)

[1] Note that (hos) = French 'chez,' (pao) = 'on,' 'upon,' (mæ) = 'with.'
[2] Also simply (en massa fɔlk).

'the first,' are conjunctions in the following sentences: *bäst jag språng, hörde jag ett rop bakom mig* (bæst ja sprɔq, hoe*d*e ja et roop baakɔ·m mæi) 'as I ran (as I best could), I heard a cry behind me,' *maten går väl an, bara man viste hvad man åt* ('maatn gaor vael ·an, baara man vistə vaa man aot) 'the food is good enough, if one only knew what one ate,' *jag, som tappade bort sjelfkänslan, bara han visade sig i dörren!* (jaa sɔm tappadə bɔ*t* shælvcænslan, baara han viisadə sæi i dœ*n*) 'I, who lost my self-confidence, only because (as soon as) he appeared at the door!' *det första han kommer hem, skal han köra Er på dörren* (da fœ*st*a han 'kɔmmər ·hem, ska han coera eer pɔ dœ*n*) 'as soon as he comes home, he'll turn you out of doors.' So also (hælst) 'especially' comes to be used in the sense of 'because,' and (sao) 'so' in that of 'so that,' which is also expressed by the full (sao at).

The conversion of prepositions into conjunctions is especially interesting, as illustrating the origin of such conjunctions as the English *for* from the O.E. *for ðám* (*ðe*). So also in Swedish the full (fœ ·*d*ae at), literary *derföre att*, is shortened first into (fœ·*d*ae) and then (in certain cases) into (fœr): *jag förebrådde henne för det (att) hon förstört både sin och min lycka* (ja foerəbrɔddə hænnə fœ-*d*·ae hon fœ*st*·oe*t* baodə sin ɔ min lykka) 'I reproached her for having destroyed both her own and my happiness,' *han var ute hos oss, för som jag handlar i boden, så hade jag bjudit honom ut* (han var uutə hos ɔs, fœ sɔm ja handlar i 'boodən, sɔ haddə ja bjuudit hɔnnɔm uut) 'he was out (in the country) at our house, for as I deal at his shop, I had invited him out.' In this last case the literary form would be *ty*. So also *på det att* (pao ·dae at) 'in order that,' and (undə ·*d*ae at) 'during,' are shortened by omitting the (at).

SPECIMENS.

The following phonetically-written texts will, it is hoped, afford sufficient illustration of the phonetic structure of the language, and also of some of its more important structural peculiarities—as far as they have been touched on in the

preceding sketch. Want of space has prevented me from adding the ordinary spelling to all the texts, but I have throughout given the spelling of those words that seemed to require it in the notes.

A. Colloquial Sentences.

In the following sentences I have tried to mark the stress with some minuteness. (-) before a word indicates want of stress, (·) extra stress—on the accented syllable, if the word is polysyllabic, as in (·bev·aara), where the second syllable is supposed to have more stress than in the normal (bev·aara). (-) before a word containing a (·) reduces the latter to half-stress (written (:) in the middle of a word), as in (-ij·eenəm). A preliminary study of the stress-marks of the English translation will make all this clear.

-va staor ·pao? iqənt:iq.

-hon -æ ·ləqt -if·raon 'vakkər. -dæ -æ braa lessamt[1] -at -han intə -kan kəmma im·'ɔrrən.[2]

-ja hɔppas -ni -maor braa ia·'ftən. -v·aa -æ kləkkan? kləkkan -æ mykkə. -huuru dax -kan -ni kəmma im·'ɔrrən? -ja -kan intə kəmma -fœr -æn kləkkan -h·alv sæx. -ve[3] -v·a tiid -g·ao 'taogə(t)? pres·iis -t·ree kvat -pɔ tuu. -vi -v·a(r) -pɔ spe(k)t·aaklə(t) -i tiisdax fjotən daa[4] sæn.[5] -ja -har intə set -hənnəm -pɔ læqə. -vi -har goo tiid -pɔ -ɔs. vaa -æ -dæ -fœ daatum id·aa(g)? -hu læqə 'drəiə -dæ -i·nnan -vi 'hinnər ·fram?

-ja -ska -v·aara -i staan[6] -et -p·aar vekkor. -v·a -æ -dæ -fœr fɔlk -sɔm boor -i 'rummə(t) næst -intil mit? -v·aar boor -eer væn? -han boor -ve drənniqg:aatan, -wh·ots -dhə mætə? nəthiq.

-shiiz faa -frəm priti. -its veri taiəsəm -dhət -ii kant kəm təm·oro.

-ai houp -yaoə ·wel tən·ait? -wh·ot -ə klok -iz -it? -its leit. -ət whot taim -kən -yu kəm təm·oro? -ai kant kəm -bef·aoə haf -past faiv. when -dəz -dhə ·trein gou? kwaotə -tə tuu pris·aisli. -w·ii -wər -ət -dhə thiətər -on tjuuzdi faotnait. -ai -h·ævnt siin -im -fə loq. -wiiv plenti -əv taim. -wh·ots -dhə dei -əv -dhə mənth? hau loq -l -it bii -bif·aoə -wii get -dhaoə?

-ai -shəl -b·ii -in -dhə taun -ə fyuu wiix. huu -ə -dhə piipl -huu liv -in -dhə rum next main? whaə -dəz -yaoə frend liv? -hii livz -ət nəmbər il·evn

[1] ledsamt. [2] imorgon. [3] vid. [4] dagar. [5] sedan. [6] stad-en.

ˈhuusə(t) ˈnumro ælva, -tˑvao trappor ɔp (up).

-hˑa -*n*i -vaarit uutə -ɔ gɔt? flytta -ee *l*iitə -aot siidan; -ja -har intə ˑrum noog. -til kləkkan təlv ˈ-hˑinnər -vi vael ˑfram. nuu -æ -vi frammə! -ja -ska gao -pɔ -et kafˑee -fœr -at laesa tiidniqa*n*a: -vil ni fəlja ˑmae? -tˑaa ˑhiit -et -gˑlaas vattn. vaarfœ *s*prɔq -du -din vaeg? -han -æ bɔ*t*bjuudn iaˑˈftɔn.

-ja troo -*d*æ knakkar -pɔ dœ*n*[1]: stiig ˑin! -han fəl ˑuut -jeenɔm ˈfənstrə(t).

-han ˈstiigə *t*iidit ˑup -ɔm mao*n*a*n*a.[2] -han raoka(də) -at falla ˑɔmkˑul -pɔ gaatan.

slao ˑii -et -gˑlaas viin -aot -hˑænnə.

-han brəət ˈbeenə(t) aov[3] -sæi. alla ˈfənstər -jˑik ˈˑsəndər.

-dæ ˈriqə *n*aogɔn -pɔ kləkkan: -sˑee ˑæftər vem -dæ ae.

-ja -mˑaor intə braa: -ja -har huuvudvːærk. -æ intə -eer hees-heet ˈbætrə idˑaa(g)? næi, -dæn -æ ˈsæmrə.

-ja -haddə ræt roolit -pɔ ˈbaalən. -ja tyktə -dæ -va traokit.

faor -ja liitə brəə(d)! faor -ja bee -eer -at rætta -mit uuttaal?

-han ˈsæiər[4] alt -sɔm ˈfallər -hɔnnɔm ˑin. mins -ni va -sɔm hændə -ɔs -i ˈlɔndɔn? -ja ˈkɔmmər intə ihˑaog -ət. -ja ˈcænnər -hɔnnɔm -til ˈnamnə(t). nao(g)ra -av -hans feel -æ sao paotaa(g)liga -at -man intə -kan -vˑaara blind -fœ -*d*ɔm.[5]

faor -ja taala -ve -eer -et əəgɔnblik? taala intə ˑɔm -vˑa -ni nuu hoe*t*! taala -*n*i kwiinstriit, -on -dhə sekənd flaoə.

-hˑæv -yu -bˑiin aut -fər -ə waok? muuv -ə litl -on wən said; -ai -hˑævnt rum -inˑəf. -ai səpˑouz -wii -shəl get -dhaeə -bai twelv. ˑhiiə -wi aa! -aim gouiq -tu -ə kæfei -tə riid -dhə peipəz: -wil yuu kəm tuu? briq -mi -ə glas -əv waotə. whai -did -yu -rˑən əwˑei? -hiiz invˑaited ˑaut -fə tənˑait.

-ai thiqk -dhəz səmwən nokiq -ət -dhə daoə: kəm in! -hii fel -auˑt -əv windo.

-hii gets əp əəli -əv -ə maoniq. -hii hæpnd -tə faol daun -in -dhə striit.

paoər out -ə glas -əv wain -for -ə.

-hii brouk -iz leg.

aol -dhə windoz -wə broukn.

səmwən -z riqiq -ət -dhə bel: sii -hˑuu -it iz.

-aim not wel: -aiv got -ə hedeik. iz -nt -yaoə haosnis betə təd·ei? nou, -its wəəs.

-ai injˑoid -maisˑelf -vˑeri wel -ət -dhə baol. -ai thaot -it slou.

giv -mi -səm bred! -mˑei -ai ask -yu -tə kər-ekt -mai prənːənsieiˑshən?

-hii sez ˑevre-thiq -dhət kəmz -iˑntu -iz hed. -d -yˑuu rimˑembə -whˑot hæpnd -tu -əs -in ləndən? -ai dount rimˑembər -it. -ai nou -im -bai neim. -sˑəm -əv -iz folts -ə sou evidənt -dhət -yuu kant -bi blaind -tə -dhəm.

-kˑæn -ai spiik -tə -yu -fər -ə moumint? dount ripˑiit -whˑot -yuuv jəst həəd. -dyu spiik

[1] dörr-en. [2] morgnar-ne. [3] af.
[4] säger. [5] dem.

svænska? mykkə liitə; -mæn -ja fœ*st*·ao -*n*·aer andra -t·aala. -i alla ·fal 'kommər -ja tilb·'aaka, -ɔ 'sæiər -eer buud. -ja -har fɔt veeta -t -av -min broor.[1] vistə -ni intə dae? -joo bev·a*s*!

-v·aar goo -ɔ shynda liitə: -vi -har brɔttɔm.[2]

-dæ ·hae *st*aor -man intə 'læqrə uut -mæ!

-ni -f·ao *l*aov -at -vaara fœs·ikti -n·ae -*n*i 'aokə *s*kriskor.[3] faor -ja see? næi, -du faor intə!

-ni baer -eer mykke dumt aot.

-ni 'kommər just laagɔm. skaffa -mæi -en cæp -sɔm -æ laagɔm lɔq.

-min rɔk beh·ɔɔvər laagas. -vi -har -h·aft mɔqa oolykkor, -mæn -dæ -b·lii[4] *n*oog 'bætrə -mæ[5] 'tiidn.

shyl -eer shælv! shyl intə -pɔ mæi! -vi næns intə banna -hænnə.

uu*s*:ækta, -ja 'kommər -ɔ stoer! als intə. -ja -æ ræt ·glaad -at -f·ao see -eer. nuu faor -ja gao, a(d)jəə. -ja ənskar -eer -en goo(d) reesa. hælsa -sɔ mykkə -til ees *s*ystər.

swiidish? veri litl; -bət -ai əndəst·ænd -when ədhəz spiik. -in ·eni keis -ail kəm bæk -ən let -yu nou. -ai həəd -it -frəm -mai brədhə. -didnt -yu nou dhæt? yes, -əv kaoəs!

pliiz meik ·heist: -wiər -i·n -ə həri.

-wən kaant stænd dhis -eni loqgə!

-y·uw -məs(t) -bi kaeəfl -when -yu gou aut skeitiq. mei -ai sii? nou, -yu -mei not!

-yu beh·eiv veri fuulishli.

-yu kəm jəst -ət -dhə rait taim. get -mi -ə stik -əv -dhə rait leqth.

-mai kout won(t)s mendiq. -wiiv -h·æd meni misf·aocənz, -bət -wii houp -fə betə taimz.

bleim yəs·elf! dount bleim mii! -wii dount laik -tə skould -ə.

-aim əf·reid -aim dist·ɔəbiq -yu. not -ə ·taol. -aim veri glæd -tə sii -yu. -ai məs(t) ·gou nau, gud bai. -ai wish -yu -ə pleznt jəəni. rim·embə -mii -tə -yaoə sistə.

B. Prose.

As it is as impossible in Swedish as in other literatures to find a connected piece of prose written in purely colloquial language, I have simply chosen the most suitable of the texts I have by me written out phonetically, and have cautiously substituted the colloquial for the literary forms, either in the text itself or the notes—perfect consistency in this respect would be difficult for a native, and is impossible for a foreigner. It must be remembered that in reading aloud even such a prose piece as this, a Swede would pro-

[1] broder. [2] brådtom. [3] skridskor.
[4] blifver. [5] med.

nounce most of the consonants here omitted, such as the (d) of (mæd), the (t) of (duktikt), although he would always be liable to fall into the colloquial elisions.

I have also given the ordinary spelling, adding occasionally the strict literary forms, some of which, however, such as *hafver* for *har*, are never written. The notes to both texts will, therefore, exhibit the two extremes of colloquialism and archaism. It is instructive to observe the utter want of consistency in the dialogue, the genuine spoken forms being only occasionally introduced to give a colloquial flavour, just as Scotticisms are in Burns's poems and Scott's novels. Compare the colloquial *tänker ni* with the literary *följen*, etc.

Öfverste Vegesack var under finska kriget 1809 anförare för en lif-bataljon, som utgjordes af Dalkarlar.

En dag skulle han med den intaga en skans, och tilltalade sitt folk på det raska och lifliga sätt, som ei felar att uppelda ett dessutom af naturen tappert manskap. Dalkarlarne gjorde anfallet med största tapperhet, men mötte ett lika kraftigt motstånd och blefvo med förlust tillbakakastade. Vegesack samlade åter sitt folk och tilltalade dem sålunda:

"Hör[1] på, gossar! Vi ha[2] misslyckats denna[3] gång, men icke lär ni[4] vilja låta piska er[5] af ryssarne i dag! Utan, tänker ni[6] som jag, så skola vi nu dugtigt tukta dem för det[7] de velat tukta oss. Följen mig! Låt oss[8] gripa oss an, och jag svarar er för att vi inom en timme ha[9] skans och kanoner

-əə·vəstə 'fæisak -va(r) -undər finska 'kriigə(t), aadətən 'hundra niiə, anfoerarə -fœr -en liiv-batalj:oon -sɔm uutjoodəs -av daalkaarar.

-en daa(g) -skullə -han -mæ dæn intaa(ga) -en skans, -ɔ tiltaala(də) -sit fɔlk -pɔ -dæ raska -ɔ liivliga sæt -sɔm -æi·[1] feelar -at upelda -et dæsuutɔm -av nat·uun 'tappət manskaap. daalkaaran joodə anfallə(t) -mæ stæsta tappərheet, -mæn mɔttə -et liika kraftit mootstɔnd, ɔ -bl·eev -mæ fœl·ust tilb·'aakakastadə. 'fæisak samla(də) 'aotə -sit fɔlk, -ɔ tiltaala(də) -dæm[2] saolunda[3]:

"-hœr 'pao, gɔssar. -v·i -har mislykkats dænna gɔq,[4] -mæn intə lae -ni -v·ilja -l·aota piska -eer -av ryssana id·aa. -uu·tan 'tæqkə nii -sɔm jaa, -sao -ska -vi -nu duktit tukta dæm, -fœ dae -di -v·eelat tukta ɔs. fɔlj -mæi. -l·aot -ɔs griipa -ɔs ·an, -ɔ -ja svaarar -eer -f·oer -at -vi -inɔm -en timmə -ha skans -ɔ kan·oonər

[1] hören.
[2] hafva.
[3] denne.
[4] læren i.
[5] eder.
[6] tänken i.
[7] för det att.
[8] låtom.
[9] hafva.

[1] (intə).
[2] (dɔm).
[3] (-sɔ haer).
[4] (dæn haer 'gɔqən).

i våra händer. Framåt, marsch!"

Men ingen man i hela troppen rörde sig.

Öfversten såg sig om med stränga blickar. "Ja så," sade han långsamt, "jag ser hur det är. Men jag skal säga er hur[1] det blir.[2] Ännu en gång kommenderar jag framåt, och den förste, som visar tecken till olydnad — skjuter jag ner.[3] I kännen alla er pligt, och jag känner min. Framåt, marsch!

Men troppen rörde sig icke.

Öfversten fattade sin pistol, sigtade på en man i första ledet och sköt. Denne nedföll död.

Ännu en gång kommenderade öfversten "framåt, marsch!" Alla följde.

Anfallet, som skedde med en stormande häftighet, kröntes med framgång. Skansen eröfrades med alla kanoner, och fångar gjordes till ett större antal än de anfallandes voro. Segern var fullkomlig.

Men i Dalkarlarnes trotsiga och långsinta själar grodde bitterhet och hämndlust mot den, som hade dödat deras raska kamrat, och som med våld hade fört dem i kampen.

De talade mellan sig om att hämnas, om att döda deras[4] stränga anförare. Han blef underrättad derom, kallade tillsammans sitt folk och tilltalade dem så:

"Jag hör att ni lär vara onda på mig för det att jag

-i -vaora 'hændər. ·framao·t, ·marsh!"

-mæn iqən man -i heela 'trəppen roe*d*ə -sæi.

əəvə*st*ən saog -sæi ·əm -mæ stræqa blikkar. "-ja sao," saa(də) -han ləqsamt, "-ja seer -huu -*d*æ ae; -mæn -j·a -ska sæia -eer -huu -*d*æ bliir. -æn nuu -en -g·əq kəmmənd·eerar -ja ·framao·t, -ə -dæn fæ*st*a -səm viisa '*t*ekkən -til[1] oolyydnad 'shuutər -ja neer. -ni 'cænnər alla -eer plikt, -ə jaa 'cænnər min. ·framao·t, ·marsh!

-mæn 'trəppən roe*d*ə -sæi ikkə.

əəvə*st*ən fatta(də) -sin pist·ool, sikta(də) -pə -en man -i fæ*st*a 'leedə(t), -ə shəət. dænnə needfəl ·dəəd.

-æn nuu -en -g·əq kəmmənd·eera(də) əəvə*st*ən ·framao·t, ·marsh! alla følj*d*ə.

anfallə(t), -səm sheddə -mæ -en stormandə hæftigh·eet, krəəntəs -mæ framgəq. 'skansən aerəə:vradəs -mæ alla kan·oonər, -ə fəqar joo*d*əs -til -et 'stærrə antaal -æn -di anfallandəs -vooro. 'seeg*ə*n -va(r) fulk·əmli.

-mæn -i daalkaara*n*as trətsiga -ək ləqsinta shaelar groddə bittərh:eet -ə hæmdlust -moot dæn -səm -haddə dəədat -d·eeras raska kam·raat, -ə -s·əm -mæ vəl(d) -haddə foe*t*-*d*æm -i 'kampən.

-di taala(də) -m·ellan -sæi -əm -at hæmnas, -əm -at dəəda -d·eeras stræqa anfoerarə. -han -bleev underrættad daerə·m,[2] kalla(də) tils·'ammans -sit fəlk, -ə tiltaala(də) -dæm sao[3]:

-ja hoer -at -n·i -l·aer -vaara onda -p·ə -mæi -fœ *d*ae (-at) -ja

[1] huru.
[2] blifver.
[3] neder.
[4] *irregular for* sin.

[1] te.
[2] (əm -ət).
[3] (sə ·haer).

skjutit en af edra kamrater, och att ni tänker på att hämnas. Nå väl, ni skola[1] få tillfälle dertill.

Ni vet att det vanligen står tvenne poster vid mitt tält. I afton afskedar jag dem, och i fjorton dagar sofver jag der om nätterna, ensam, utan poster. Men på bordet vid min säng skola ligga två laddade pistoler. Hvem af er, som har[2] lust att komma och slås(s) med mig, är—välkommen."

Dalkarlarne lyssnade till detta tal, mörka i hågen, och tego.

I fjorton nätter sof öfversten obevakad, midt ibland sin upproriska tropp. Ingen störde hans sömn.

Efter detta prof följde honom hans manskap hvart han ville och var honom tillgifvet in i döden.

[1] i skolen.
[2] hafver.

shuutit en -av -eera kamr·aatər, -ɔ -at -ni 'tæqkər -p·ɔ -at hæmnas. -nɔ vael: -ni -ska -f·ɔ tilfællə dae*t*·il.[1]

-ni veet -at -dæ vaanligən stao *t*vænnə pɔstər -ve -mit tælt. -i aftən aavsheedar -ja -d·æm. -ɔ -i fjo*t*ɔn daar 'saovər -ja daer -ɔm 'nætte*n*a eensam -uu·tan pɔstər. -mæn -pɔ 'boo*d*ə(t) -ve -min sæq -ska ligga tvao laddadə pist·oolər. vem -av[2] -ee -*s*·ɔm -ha *l*ust -at kɔmma -ɔ slɔs -mæ -m·æi -æ vaelkɔmmən."

daalkaara*n*a lysna(də) -til -d·ænna taal, mœrka -i 'haogən, -ɔ teeg.

-i fjo*t*ɔn 'nættər saov əəvə*st*ən oobevaakad mit -ib·lan(d) -sin uprooriska trɔp. iqən stoe*d*e -hans sɔmn.

-æftə -*d*·ætta proov fəljdə -hɔnnɔm -hans manskaap va*t* -han villə, -ɔ -v·a -hɔnnɔm tiljiivit in -i 'dəədən.

[1] (til -ət) or (te -ət).
[2] or (uutao·v).

C. Poetry.

The distinctness and rhythm of poetry gives it an especial value to the phonetic student. I have therefore added the following pieces, although they do not, strictly speaking, belong to the spoken language. I give the most distinct pronunciation possible, even adding the *r* of *barn*, etc., as many consider that it ought to be sounded in poetry.

It will be observed that the specimens are taken from the works of the three most prominent Swedish poets. It may be mentioned that Tegnér's *Floden* is original in form only, being mainly an adaptation from a poem of Göthe. I have chosen it partly because I had it written out, partly because it is as good a specimen as any of Tegnér's harmony and command of language.

'floodən (tæqn·eer).[1]

Vid flodens källa sitter jag och stilla	vid 'floodəns cælla 'sittər jag ək stilla
betraktar himlabarnet, nyfödt der.	bet·raktar himlabaarnət, nyyfət daer.
I fjällens vagga hvilar än den lilla,	i 'fjælləns vagga viilar æn dæn lilia.
och diar molnet, som dess moder är.	ək diiar 'maolnət, som dæs mooder aer.
Men se i skogen växer gudasonen,	mæn see i 'skoogən 'væxər guudasaonən,
och drömmer redan om bedrifters larm.	ək 'drəmmər reedan om bed·riftərs larm.
Han gungar solen och han gungar månen,	han guqar 'soolən ək han guqar maonən,
med evig längtan i sin unga barm.	mæd eevig læqtan i sin uqa barm.
Men icke trifs han under furens grenar,	mæn ikkə triivs han 'undər 'fuurəns greenar,
ej mellan bergens trånga väggar mer.	æi mellan 'bærjəns trəqa væggar meer.
Hur yr han jagar efter dalens stenar!	huur yyr han jaagar æfter 'daaləns steenar!
Hur vild han hoppar ifrån klippan ner!	huur vild han høppar ifraon klippan neer!
Kom med! Kom med! Så till hver bäck han talar,	kəm ·maed! kəm ·maed! sao til vaar bæk han taalar,
här bränner solen, dricker sanden er!	haer 'brænnər 'soolən, 'drikkər 'sandən eer!
I bröder, kommen! Genom fält och dalar	ii 'brəədər, kəmmən! jeenəm fælt ək daalar
jag för er alla till vårt ursprung ner.	jag foer eer alla til vaor*t* uurspruq neer.
Och regnets söner höra det och följa	ək 'ræqnəts 'səənər hoera dæt ək følja
med sorl den unge äfventyrarn åt.	mæd saor*t* dæn uqə aevəntyyrar*n* aot.
Likt kungens hjerta sväller högt hans bölja,	li(i)kt 'kuqəns jær*t*a 'svællər høkt hans bølja,
och skog och klippa störta i hans stråt.	ək skoog ək klippa stær*t*a i hans straot.
Nu ner på slätten stiger segerhjelten,	nuu neer po 'slættən 'stiigər seegərjæltən,
med mörkblå hären, hyllad af en hvar,	mæd mœrkblao 'haerən, hyllad av en vaar,
Hans ande lifvar de förbrända fälten,	hans andə liivar *d*e fœrb·rænda 'fæltən,
Han döper länder med sitt namn—och far.	han 'dəəpər 'lændər mæd sit namn—ək faar.
Och skaldens sånger till hans ära ljuda	ək 'skaldəns səqər *t*il hans aera juuda,
och skepp och männer dra med honom hän.	ək shep ək 'mænnər *d*raa mæd hənnəm haen.
Till gäst de rika städer honom bjuda,	til jæst de riika 'staedər hənnəm bjuuda,
och blomsterängar fatta om hans knän.	ək bləmstəræqar fatta əm hans knaen.
Men ej de hålla honom qvar, han hastar	mæn æi de hølla hənnəm kvaar, han hastar
de gyllne torn, de rika fält förbi,	de 'jylnə toor*n*, *d*e riika fælt fœrb·ii,
och hastar oupphörligt, tills han kastar sig i sin faders famn, och dör deri.	ək hastar ooph·oer*t*ikt, tils han kastar sig i sin faadərs famn, ək doer *d*ærii.

[1] Tegnér.

vaor*t* *l*and (ruunəbærj).[1]

vaor*t* *l*and, vaor*t* *l*and, vaor*t* fostər*l*and,
juud høkt,[2] oo dyyra oor*d*!
æi lyfts en hœid moot himləns rand,
æi sæqks en daal, æi shəljs en strand,
meer ælskad æn vaor bygd i noor*d*,
æn vaora 'faedər*s* joor*d*.

vaor*t* *l*and ær fattikt, skal sao blii
fœr *d*æn, som gul(d) bej·aer.
en fræmliq faar os stəlt fœrb·ii;
mæn dætta 'landət ælska vii,
fœr os mæd mooar, fjæl ok shaer
et gul(d)land dək dæt aer.

vi ælska vaora strəmmar*s* bruus
ok vaora bækkar*s* *s*prəq,
dæn mœrka 'skoogəns dystra suus,
vaor shaer*n*ənat,[3] vaor*t* *s*ommarjuus,
alt, alt, vad haer *s*om syyn, som soq
vaor*t* jær*t*a roer*t* eng·oq.

haer *s*triddəs vaora 'faedər*s* *s*triid
mæd taqkə, svaer*d* ok ploog,
haer, haer, i klaar *s*om muulən tiid,
mæd lykka haor*d*, mæd lykka bliid,
dæt finska 'fəlkəts jær*t*a sloog,
haer baar*s* vaad daet fœr*d*·roog.

vem tæljdə vael de striidər*s* *t*aal,
som dætta fəlk bes·tood,
dao 'kriigət rəət fraon daal til daal,
dao 'frostən kom mæd 'huqrəns kvaal,
vem mættə alt dæs spilda blood
ok alt dæs taolamood?

ok dæt vaar haer *d*æt 'bloodət fləət,
jaa haer fœr os dæt vaar,
ok dæt vaar haer *s*in frœid dæt njəət,
ok dæt vaar haer *s*in suk dæt jəət,

[1] Runeberg. [2] ljud högt. [3] stjernenatt.

dæt fɔlk sɔm vaora boer*d*or baar
lɔqt foerə vaora daar.

haer aer ɔs juuvt,[1] haer aer ɔs gɔt,
haer aer ɔs alt besh·aer*t*;
huur ɔɔdɔt kastar æn vaor *l*ɔt,
et land, et fostər*l*and vi fɔt,
vaad fins pɔ 'joor*d*ən meera vaer*t*
at hɔllas dyyr*t* ɔk caer*t*?[2]

ɔk haer ɔk haer ær *d*ætta land,
vaor*t* ɔɔga seer *d*æt haer;
vi kunna strækka uut vaor hand
ɔk viisa glat[3] pao shɔɔ ɔk strand
ɔk saega: see dæt 'landɔt daer,
vaor*t* fostər*l*and dæt aer.

ɔk foer*d*ɔs vii at boo i glans
bland guldmaoln i dæt blao,
ɔk bleev vaor*t* *l*iiv en shaer*n*ɔdans,
daer *t*aor æi jɔɔts,[4] daer *s*uk æi fans,
til dætta arma land ænd·ao
vaor *l*æqtan skullə stao.

oo land, du 'tuusən shɔɔar*s*[5] *l*and,
daer *s*ɔq ɔk trooheet bykt,
daer '*l*iivɔts haav ɔs jet[6] en strand,
vaor foor*nt*iids land, vaor framtiids land,
vaar fœr *d*in fattigdom æi shykt,
vaar frit, vaar glat, vaar *t*rykt!

din blomniq, sluuten æn i knɔp,
skal moogna uur *s*it tvɔq;
see, uur vaor caer*l*eek skal gao ɔp
dit juus,[7] din glans, din frœid, dit hɔp,
ɔk 'hɔɔgrə kliqa skal en gɔq
vaor fostər*l*æn(d)ska sɔq.

[1] ljuft. [2] kärt. [3] gladt.
[4] göts. [5] sjöars. [6] gett = gifvit.
[7] ljus.

'nækkən (staqn·eeljus).[1]

'kvælləns gul(d)maoln fæstət kransa,
ælvor*n*a pɔ 'æqən dansa,
ɔk dæn blaadbekrəənta 'nækkən
jiigan roer i silvərbækkən.

liitən pilt bland 'strandəns piilar
i vioo·ləns əqa viilar,[2]
'klaqən hoer fraon cællans 'vattən,
roopar i dæn stilla 'nattən:

"arma gubbə, vaarfœr *s*peela?
kan daet smær*t*or*n*a fœr*d*·eela?
frit du skoog ɔk mark mao liiva,
skal guts[3] baar*n* *d*ɔk aldrig bliiva!

paaradiisəts maonsheensn:ættər,
'eedəns bləmstərkrəənta slættər,
'juusəts æqlar i dæt həəga,
aldrig skaodar *d*æm dit əəga."

taorar gubbəns anleet shəlja,
need han 'dyykər i sin bəlja
jiigan tystnar. aldrig 'nækkən
speelar meer i silvərbækkən.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

This paper is the result of a seven month's study of Swedish in Upsala, for which I was prepared by a previous study at home. The contrast was very instructive, and I am convinced that a thorough knowledge even only of the elementary sounds of a language can never be acquired without a stay in the country itself. My work at Swedish was only part of a contemplated practical study of all the living Teutonic languages, as the basis of a comparative grammar with which I hoped to supplement Grimm. I had,

[1] Stagnelius. [2] ånga hvilar. [3] Guds.

however, been forced to abandon this ambitious scheme long before I was in a position to visit Sweden, and when I have worked up the scraps I have been able to pick up during my few weeks' stay in Denmark and Holland, together with the results of my home study of Icelandic, and of my (comparatively speaking) tolerably sound elementary knowledge of German and Swedish, into a sketch of the sound-changes which have formed the living languages, I shall henceforth devote myself to English. Meanwhile, it is as well to publish part of the material for the study of living Swedish, collected with some labour, and otherwise quite unaccessible to non-Swedes, on the chance of its being useful to others, especially English students, to whom the Neo-Scandinavian languages, practically representing, as they do, the middle stage of English, are of especial value.

Economy of space has obliged me not only to abstain from all historical comment and comparison with the cognates (except in a very few instances), but has also excluded the full word lists which I hoped to add. I have, however, bestowed all the more care on the choice of the examples, and have facilitated their study in every way I could think of, by adopting the simplest notation I could contrive, and by adding the nomic spelling and English translation in nearly every case.

I venture to hope that my account of the sounds will be found useful even to Swedish phoneticians, as it supplies what has hitherto been wanting—a detailed comparison of the Swedish with the general European sounds. Phonology without comparison is a sheer impossibility, and the disadvantages of being a foreigner are partly counterbalanced by the advantage of being forced to observe and systematize, and also of having a special knowledge of individual sounds. It is certain, for instance, that no English observer would ever have found the English (wh) in any of the Swedish dialects, as has actually been done by some Swedish phoneticians. I have myself learnt much from the observations of foreign students on English pronunciation. My physiological analysis is, of course, based on my imitations of native pro-

nunciation, and although my attempts were greatly aided by the results of the labours of such acute observers as Leffler, J. A. A. and Noreen,—I was, for instance, ignorant of the true nature of the inverteds till I became acquainted with their observations,—I have always exercised an independent judgment.

In spite of the care I have taken to insure accuracy, I cannot hope to have escaped without many errors, and I shall be very thankful for any corrections. I am, on the other hand, quite prepared to find perfectly correct statements of mine impugned occasionally.[1]

The following are the books I have found most useful:

Weste: Svenskt och Fransyskt Lexicon. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1807. (Still the only complete pronouncing dictionary.)

Dalin: Svensk Handordbok. Stockh. 1868. (For general purposes.)

Sundén: Svensk Språklära. 3de upplagan. Stockh., 1875.

There is a bad Swedish grammar in English by May, and a bad *Svensk-Engelsk Hand-ordbok* by Öman. A list of phonetic treatises is given in Noreen's *Fryksdals-målets Ljudlåra* (Upsala, 1877).

I have finally to express my thanks to my many friends in Sweden who helped me with advice and information during my stay at Upsala, especially Messrs. Erdmann, Stjernström, and Lundell, together with Prof. Storm, of Christiania.

IX.—RUSSIAN PRONUNCIATION. By H. Sweet, Esq.

The following sketch of Russian pronunciation is the result of a careful study with a native of Moscow. The only aid I have had beyond the ordinary grammars is Boehtlingk's *Beiträge zur russischen grammatik* (Mélanges Russes, ii. 1, St. Petersb. 1851), which has been a great help, although the St. Petersburg pronunciation he describes appears to differ

[1] I once met a Swede who quite laughed at my assertion that *vagnen* is often pronounced (ˈvaqən).

considerably from that of Moscow. It will be seen that many of my observations are also opposed to the statements of the grammars generally, which is probably due partly to difference of dialect, partly to the usual conservatism of grammarians.

I am fully conscious that mine is a very inadequate study of an exceptionally difficult sound-system, but I have been able to make some additions to our knowledge, and have, I hope, stated with greater precision than before what was already known, as well as what is self-evident to any trained phonetician. The language is so interesting phonetically, representing, as it does, in its extraordinary development of every kind of assimilation what was probably an earlier stage of many other languages as well, that any contribution such as the present, however imperfect, cannot fail to be of some value to comparative philologists.

VOWELS.

	ɪ	ɾ			
		[	ɔ		ɕ
				ɹ	
ɨ					
			ɟ		

Diphthongs: ɔ̞ɾ; ɪɾ; ɾɷ, [ɾ; ɨɾ, ɟɾ.

The only Russian vowel that offers any special difficulty is the ы, first correctly identified by Bell as ɪ. It is still

described by foreign phoneticians as a combination of *u*-position of the tongue with *i*-position of the lips, which would give 1, not Ī.[1]

CONSONANTS.

—	ϵ, c	ⱺ, ⱺ	ⱱ	—	ⱋ, ⱋ	ⱌ, ⱌ	—	—	ⱍ, ⱍ
—	ⱎ	—	—	ⱏ	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	ⱏ	—	ⱐ	—	—	ⱑ	—	—
—	ⱒ, ⱒ	ⱓ, ⱓ	—	ⱔ, ⱔ	—	—	ⱕ, ⱕ	—	—

Palatalized: ⱱ\; ⱌ\, ⱌ\; ⱍ\, ⱍ\. ⱑ\. ⱒ\, ⱒ\; ⱕ\, ⱕ\.
Rounded: ⱋ; ⱍ, ⱍ. ⱑ. ⱒ, ⱒ; ⱕ, ⱕ.
There are other shades of sound, due to assimilation.

The following key-words will exemplify the elementary sounds, and also show their correspondence with the Russian letters, and the Revised Visible-Speech[2] and Broad Romic symbols I employ—the latter only occasionally.

VOWELS.

ⱐ	a	она	she	ⱐⱐ·ⱐ	an·a
ⱑ	ə	часы	watch	ⱔⱋⱑⱌ·Ī	tshəs·y
Ī	y	сынъ	son	ⱌĪⱐ	syn
ⱏ	i	видъ	sight	ⱍ\ⱏⱔ	vit
ⱐ	e	ея	hers	ⱺ[ⱺ·ⱐ	jej·o
ⱑ	æ	это	this	ⱑⱔⱐ	æto
ⱒ	u	супъ	soup	ⱌⱒⱕ	sup
ⱐ	o	домъ	house	ⱔⱐⱑ	dom
ⱐ·ⱏ	ai	дай	give!	ⱔⱐⱏ	dai

[1] See Storm's Engelsk Filologi, p. 24 (Kristiania, 1879). Bell's successful identification of this sound is the more remarkable as being based entirely on Dr. J. A. H. Murray's pronunciation, acquired by a casual hearing of a Russian whom he chanced to meet (as I learn from Dr. M. himself).

[2] A full account of this system will be given in a future paper.

Ɪɾ	yi	добрый	good	ϖϯɘωIɾ	dobryi
ʃɷ	ij	русскій	Russian	ωɫsɑ\ʃɷ	ruskij
[ɾ	ei	пей	drink!	ɒ\[ɾ	pei
ɫɾ	ui	жуй	chew!	ɛɫɾ	zhui
ϯɾ	oi	твой	thy	ʊ>ɤϯɾ	tvoi

Note that e and ѣ are both initially (or after a vowel) ɷ[(ɷ[), э being simple [. i, v=и. й only as the second element of diphthongs. Initial и is sometimes ɷʃ. Initial я, ю=ɷ], ɷɫ. e sometimes=ɷϯ, and then often written ё. я is a shortened *ia*, and ю a shortened *iou*, the Russian y being a shortened *ov* (Greek *οὐ*).

Consonants.

ϵ	gh	когда	when	ɑ]ϵϖ·]	kaghd·a
c	x	хочу	I wish	c]ʊ·ɛɫ	xat·shu
ɑ	x	худо	badly	ɑɫϖϯ	xudo
ɷ	j	я	I	ɷ]	ja
ɷ	c	орѣхи	nuts	]ω\·[ɷʃ	ar·eci
ωɾ	r	радъ	glad	ω]ʊ	rat
ωɾ\	r(j)	царь	emperor	ʊs]ω\	tsarj
ɛ	*l*	палка	stick	ɒ]ɛɑ]	pa*l*ka
ωɸ	l	ключъ	key	ɑωɫʊɛ	klutsh
ɛ	zh	жена	wife	ɛ[ɿ·]	zhæn·a
ɛ	sh	душа	soul	ϖɫɛ·]	dush·a
s	z	завтра	to-morrow	s]>ʊω]	zaftra
s\	z(j)	зима	winter	s\ʃϝ·]	zim·a [1]
s	s	насъ	us	ɿ]s	nas
s\	s(j)	гусь	goose	ɑɤɫs\	gusj
>	v	васъ	you	>]s	vas
>\	v(j)	видъ	sight	>\ʃʊ	vit
>	f	кровъ	roof	ɑωϯ>	krof
>\	f(j)	кровь	blood	ɑωϯ>\	krofj
ʟɸ	N	не	not	ʟ[	Næ
ɿɸ	n	онъ	he	ϯɿ	on
ϝ	m	намъ	us	ɿ]ϝ	nam
ϝ\	m(j)	нами	by us	ɿ]ϝ\ʃ	nami
ɑ	g	нога	foot	ɿ]ɑ·]	nag·a

[1] (zj) would=sɷ.

ɐ˥	g(j)	сапоги	boots	sʃɒʃɐ·˥ʃ	sapag·i
ɑ	k	какъ	how	ɑʃɑ	kak
ɑ˥	k(j)	руки	hands	ɯɫɑ˥ʃ	ruki
ɷ˦	D	дядя	uncle	ɷʃɷʃ	DaDa
ɔ˦	T	мать	mother	ꞓʃɑ	maT
ɷ˦	d	да	yes	ɷʃ	da
ʊ˦	t	братъ	brother	ɒɯʃʊ	brat
ɒ	b	баба	old woman	ɒʃɒʃ	baba
ɒ˥	b(j)	обѣдъ	dinner	ʃɒ·˥ʃʊ	ab·æt
ɒ	p	Пасха	Easter	ɒʃsɕʃ	pasxa
ɒ˥	p(j)	песокъ	sand	ɒ˥ʃs·ɟɑ	pæs·ok

The following consonant-groups are represented by single letters in Russian: щ ƨʊƨ (shtsh), ч ʊƨ (tsh), ц ʊs (ts). ф and ɵ both => (f).

QUANTITY.

Vowel-quantity is indistinctive, accented vowels being generally half-long, before combined as well as single consonants: sʃ•ʊ (садъ) 'garden,' gen. sʃ•ɷʃ, ʊƨʃ•sʊɟ (часто) 'often.' There seems to be a tendency to shorten final accented vowels in polysyllables: ɷʃɒ·ɯɟ (добро) 'well.' The diphthongs have their vowels short.

Double consonants occur, as in the name ʃɿɿʃ (Анна), also long consonants, as in s•˥ʃɯʊsʃꞓ (съ сердцемъ) 'with anger.' Written double consonants are often pronounced single, as ɒɯʃ>·˥ʃsɟɯ (профессоръ), sɫɒ·ɤɟʊʃ (суббота) 'Saturday.'

STRESS.

The stress may be on any syllable, and is generally evener than in English, though it often comes out very strongly. Stressless vowels often change their quality according to fixed laws, as in the change of ɟ before a stress-syllable to ʃ, ɑɤɟɛɟɑɤɟɛ (колоколъ) 'bell,' having its plural ɑʃɛʃɑʃɛ·ʃ (колокола). Stressless ʃ preceded by palatals (and palatalizeds) or blade-points (ɛ, ƨ) becomes mixed, and if preceded and followed by palatals it becomes the front ʃ. These changes are described below.

INFLUENCE.

A) Vowel on Consonant.

Palatalization.—The front vowels ſ, ſ, (ſ) communicate their own front articulation to most preceding consonants, but in various degrees, according to the nature of the consonant.

ω, ѕ, ѕ, ⋗, >, ꟻ, ꟼ, ᴅ simply arch the tongue into the ſ-position (=ᴍ), or, in other words, anticipate an ſ, but without otherwise modifying their original articulations. The lip and front movements being entirely independent of one another, it is easiest to begin with such a combination as ſꟻſ, maintaining the ſ-position throughout. Then try ꟻſ, by bringing the tongue into the ſ-position simultaneously with the closure of the lips. Lastly, ꟻ] (мя) and]ꟻſ, observing that they sound almost (mja) and (aimi) to an unaccustomed ear, the ᴍ-effect being due to the palatal off- and on-glide respectively. If the off-glide in ꟻ] were dwelt upon, we should have full ꟻᴍ] or ꟻſ], according to the degree of closeness. In the lip stops the glide constitutes the whole of the audible palatalization, the ſ-position in ᴅſ not being heard till the lips are opened to form the vowel. In ω, ѕ and ѕ the palatalization seems to move the original point and blade positions somewhat forward.

ᴇ, ᴄ seem to be the same sounds as the older English in *sky*, *guard*, =ᴇ, ᴄ with simultaneous ᴍ, ᴏ (ᴍ, ᴏ?), the back element predominating.

ᴄ becomes full ᴏ before front vowels (ᴏ?). As ᴇ never occurs before vowels, it does not seem to be palatalized. In those dialects (the St. Petersburg of Boehtlingk, for instance) which have palatal ᴇ, it is probably buzzed ᴍ.

The palatalization is carried out most fully with the point nasal and stops, whose place of stoppage is shifted back entirely to the outer front ſ-position, both consonant and vowel in ᴌſ, ᴍſ, ᴏſ being apparently formed exactly in the same place, the point of the tongue not being employed at all.

ω does not follow this analogy, and the consonant of ωſ is, in fact, identical with that of French *li*, being simply an *approximation* to ω\, that is, English point ω (only dental) formed with a simultaneous approach to the palatal position. The explanation of ω before palatal vowels not having developed into full ϖ (Italian *gl*) must probably be sought in the pronunciation of original ω before back vowels as the pure back ε. It is evident that the wide divergence between ε and ω made any further differentiation superfluous. The earlier distinction was probably ωʒ, ω\ſ (perhaps even ϖſ), parallel to ʒʒ, ʟſ, the palatalization of the one being almost entirely dropped when the other was exaggerated to ε through ω‹ or ω›.

This gutturalizing of ω seems to be paralleled by a tendency to change ωɨ into εɨ before back vowels. If this ever becomes general, we may expect to see ω\ſ sinking to ωſ.

ε and ƨ are not palatalized, even when written so, as: ωɫεʃ (ружье) 'gun,' ꟻɫɪƨ (мышь) 'mouse,' ʒɟɨʊƨ (ночь) 'night.' Boehtlingk, however, expressly includes ε\, ƨ\, etc., in his list of elementary sounds.

ʊsʃ- is also not palatalized, as in ʊsʃωɑɤɟ>\ (церковь) 'church.' ци- occurs only in foreign words, and is pronounced with ɪ, as in ʊsɪʒɑ (цинкъ) 'zinc,' ʊsɪωɑɤɫω (циркуль) 'compasses.'

The modifiers ъ and ь originally denoted a back and a front vowel respectively, the former being occasionally expressed by *o*, the latter by *e*, which makes it probable that they represented ɫ and ſ, which were not dropped till the ſ had palatalized its preceding consonants, ɫ and ſ being retained. When ʒ, ɫ, ɟ are preceded by 'soft' consonants, they are written я, ю, е (ё). Conversely, when a 'hard' consonant is followed by a front vowel, ъ is placed between them.

The following table will exemplify the way in which the relations between the consonants and the vowels which follow them are expressed:

ри	ре	ра	ру	ро	ря	рю	рё
ω\ſ	ω\ʃ	ωʒ	ωɫ	ωɟ	ω\ʒ	ω\ɫ	ω\ɟ

ли	ле	ла	лу	ло	ля	лю	лё
ωɪ	ωɛ	ɛ]	ɛɨ	ɛʇ	ω]	ωɨ	ωʇ
си	се	са	су	со	ся	сю	сё
sɪ	sɛ	s]	sɨ	sʇ	s]	sɨ	sʇ
ви	ве	ва	ву	во	вя	вю	вё
⋗ɪ	⋗ɛ	⋗]	⋗ɨ	⋗ʇ	⋗]	⋗ɨ	⋗ʇ
ни	не	на	ну	но	ня	ню	нё
ɭɪ	ɭɛ	ɭ]	ɭɨ	ɭʇ	ɭ]	ɭɨ	ɭʇ
ми	ме	ма	му	мо	мя	мю	мё
ꝼɪ	ꝼɛ	ꝼ]	ꝼɨ	ꝼʇ	ꝼ]	ꝼɨ	ꝼʇ
ки	ке	ка	ку	ко	кя	кю	кё
ɑɪ	ɑɛ	ɑ]	ɑɨ	ɑʇ	ɑ]	ɑɨ	ɑʇ
ти	те	та	ту	то	тя	тю	тё
ɑɪ	ɑɛ	ɑ]	ɑɨ	ɑʇ	ɑ]	ɑɨ	ɑʇ
пи	пе	па	пу	по	пя	пю	пё
ɒɪ	ɒɛ	ɒ]	ɒɨ	ɒʇ	ɒ]	ɒɨ	ɒʇ

Rounding.—The influence of rounded vowels on some preceding consonants, which assume the back-round quality of a weak E. *w*, has not, as far as I know, been hitherto noticed. It is most marked with c, which before the two round vowels becomes ɑ (=cɒ): ɑɨ, ɑʇ. In ꝼɒɨ, ꝼɒʇ the *u*-quality is distinctly heard in the consonant itself. In ɑɒʇ, ɑɒʇ, ɒɒʇ, ɒɒʇ only the off-glide is heard, which sounds like a half-suppressed ɔ, so that the unaccustomed ear is apt to hear ɑɒ] alternately as *ko* and *kwo*. It will be observed that only back and lip consonants are rounded in this way. ɛ has itself so much of the *u*-quality that the difference between ɛʇ and ɛɒʇ is hardly perceptible.

The mixed ɪ has the same influence (pointing to an earlier f?), so that ⋗ɒɪ, ꝼɒɪ, ɒɒɪ have a slightly diphthongal effect—to a foreign ear something like *ui*.

It will be observed that these influences are backward only; while хи and ху become ᴑʃ and ɑɫ, их and ух remain ʃc and ɫc (although the ɫ does communicate a little of its rounding to the following c).

B) Consonant on Vowel.

a) backwards.

These influences were first fully brought out by Boehtlingk (p. 54 foll. of his essay), who has shown that ʃ before a palatal or palatalized is always narrowed to [. Thus енъ necessarily =ʃъ and ень, ени=[ʟ, [ʟʃ. In the last example the final ʃ is the primary cause of the narrowing, but it can only do so through the ʟ. If a front vowel fails to palatalize a preceding consonant, an ʃ preceding that consonant remains wide, as in ɑω\ʃɒɑ\ʃ (крѣпки) 'strong' pl. (B. p. 64).

There is no parallel change of ʒ to ɟ, as might be expected, the ʒ of ʒɑ·ᴑʒʟ (огонь) 'fire,' for instance, being as wide as in ʒъ 'he.' The influence here seems to be rather that of drawing the position forwards in the direction of ʇ, which is still clearer in the case of ʒ, они being ʒ⊦ʟ·ʃ. So, also, apparently with ɫ. Boehtlingk also asserts that ʃ is modified by a following palatal, which I am unable to appreciate.

The ɾ of the diphthongs has the same influence on its vowel, as pointed out by Boehtlingk, ей being necessarily [ɾ, ай being ʒ⊦ɾ, etc.

b) forwards.

Palatalization.—A palatal consonant has a tendency to draw forward the following vowel, thus ся, сю, сё are generally s\ʒ⊦, s\ɫ⊦, s\ʒ⊦, different from the vowels of sʒ, sɫ, sʒ.

The ʒ⊦ varies but little, but the other two are very fluctuating. сю is sometimes almost pure s\ɫ, and sometimes the ɫ is advanced almost to ɫ̄. The ʒ is often full ʇ, and sometimes becomes almost pure front ʇ. After ω the full back positions are generally retained, лю being full ωɫ. The advance seems to be most marked in >\ʒ (often >\ʇ), a combination which

only occurs in words of foreign origin. ю and ё are the nearest approaches that Russian has to the f and ɸ, ɸ of foreign languages, *Sue* being expressed by сю, and *Göthe* by гёте.

Unaccented я often weakens its vowel to ʃ, as in ɱʃʊ·ɯɟ (ядро) 'ball,' ɱʃɾƨ·ʊƨʃɑ (ямщикъ) 'coachman,' which ʃ is narrowed before palatals, as in ɷ[>\[ɑ (девять) 'nine.'

Blade-points.—ƨ and ƨ often change a following unaccented ɟ into the mixed ɟ, as in ʊƨɟs·ɫ (часу) 'watch.' They modify ʃ in a very peculiar way, by communicating to it something of their own blade-point position, the point of the tongue being turned up and slightly retracted, which may be expressed by writing ƨʃ˞, etc. They seem to affect ʃ similarly, though not so markedly.

Nasalizing.—The (back-) round vowels and ɪ are nasalized by a preceding nasal: ɿɫ, ɿɟ, ɿɪ; ɾɵɫ, ɾɵɟ, ɾɵɪ.

C) Consonant on Consonant (Palatalization).

A palatal consonant often palatalizes a preceding one. This influence is difficult to observe with accuracy, and is not generally indicated in the Russian spelling. It is most general in the case of ɷ, ɑ, which seem generally to palatalize a preceding s or s, as in s\ɷ[s\ (здѣсь) 'here,' ƨ[s\ɑ (шесть) 'six.' s is also palatalized before ʟ in s\ʟʃɑ (снѣгъ) 'snow.' The weakest influence seems to be that of a vowel-like on a stop or sibilant, but I must confess my inability to give any reliable details.

VOICE.

Vowels.—In Russian, as in French, a high final vowel is often unvoiced after a breath stop, as in ɯɫɑ\ʃ: (руки) 'hands,' sʊɟɯ·ɫƨɑɵɫ: (старушку) 'old woman,' acc.

Consonants.—The vocality of initial consonants is very marked. Initial stops seem always fully to voice the stop itself as well as the glide. The same full vocality in initial buzzes, also when followed by other consonants, as in >ʊɟ>·ɟ (вдова) 'widow.'

Finally all buzzes and stops are unvoiced, thus the gen. sgs. ɾɵɫƨɟ, ʊɯɫɑɟ have as nominatives ɾɵɫƨ (мужъ) 'husband,'

ϖωłα (другъ) 'friend.' The stops, however, seem also to admit the compromise of whisper—ϖωłαϑ, and when a stop is preceded by a buzz, the latter retains its voice, and the former is whispered. Such, as least, is the pronunciation of дождь 'rain'—ϖʃεαϑ.

A stop seems always to determine the vocality of a preceding consonant, as in ϑʃσα] (водка) 'brandy,' sιαſε]α (сдѣлать) 'do,' and the foreign ϑʃϖsϖ]ϝ (Потсдамъ). Sibilants do not necessarily, as in sϑʃɾ (свой) 'his.' But такъ же 'as' is pronounced σ]αεſ, in one word.

THE SOUNDS IN DETAIL.

ʃ: ʃτ·] 'she'; ωʃσ (радъ) 'glad'; σɾʃs (часъ) 'hour'; ϖ] 'yes.' Unaccented may tend to ʃ·.

ʃ·: ϖ] 'I'; ϝιʃsʃ (мясо) 'meat.' sτ]ϖł (знаю) 'I know'; sʃιłſ (сани) 'sledge.'

I: σɾIs·I (часы) 'watch.'

I: ωIϑI (рывы) 'fishes'; sIτ (сынъ) 'son'; ϑI (вы) 'you'; ϖIϝ (дымъ) 'smoke'; σI (ты) 'thou'; ϑϑIε (былъ) 'was.'

Iι: τIιłſ (нынѣ) 'now'; ϝϑIι (мы) 'we'; ϝϑIιεʃ (мыло) 'soap.'

ſ: ſωſ (или) 'or'; ϑιſσ 'view.'

ſ·: τʃιεſα (ножикъ) 'knife'; εσɾſ (щи) 'cabbage-soup.'

ſ: ſσʃ 'this'; ϖſϝ (ѣмъ) 'I eat'; εſτ·] (жена) 'wife'; łſ (не) 'not.'

ſ: ϖſϖ·ʃ 'hers'; σ]ϝιſα (память) 'memory'; αſł (день) 'day.'

ł: łasłs (уксусъ) 'vinegar'; εłα (лукъ) 'meadow'; ωłαſ (люди) 'people'; ϑϑłϖł (буду) 'I shall be.'

ł·: ωιłϝα] (рюмка) 'wine-glass'; εϑłsι (гусь) 'goose.'

łι: ϝϑłιɾ (мужъ) 'husband.'

ʃ: ʃτ 'he'; sʃω (соль) 'salt'; εϑʃωʃσ (городъ) 'city'; ʃε·ϑʃł (огонь) 'fire.'

ʃ·: ʃω·ιʃε (орелъ) 'eagle'; ϖſɾ·σɾʃ (еще) 'yet'; sιʃϝα] (семга) 'salmon'; ϑιʃϖʃω (Ѳедоръ) 'Theodore'; αʃσα] (тетка) 'aunt.'

ʃι: τʃι (но) 'but.'

ʃ·ι: ϝιʃισ (медъ) 'honey.'

ᑐ⊢ɾ : ϖᑐɾ 'give!'; ϖᑐɾᗡ⊂ (дайте) 'give ye!' The second element full high-narrow in all the diphthongs.

ᒥɾ : ϖᑭᘐϖᒥɾ 'good.' In some cases ᒥɾ becomes ᑭɾ, as in новый годъ 'new year' = ᒣᑭ⊢ᘐᑭɾ ᘐᘐᑭᗡ. According to Boehtlingk, this is always so.

ʃᗡ : ϖᒣsᗡ\ʃᗡ 'Russian.' Might be written ʃɾ⊢; closely resembles the ordinary English *ee* (ʃ⊢ɾ⊢). According to Boehtlingk ій is simply ʃ long.

[ɾ : ᗡ\[ɾ 'drink!'

ᒣɾ : ᘐᒣɾ 'chew!'; ᗡᒣɾᗝ (дюймъ) 'inch.'

ᑭɾ : ᗡᘐᑭɾ 'thy'; ᗡᑐᗡ·ᘐᑭɾ (покой) 'room.'

ᘓ : ᗡᑐᘓϖ·ᑐ 'when'; ᘓᗡ⊂ (гдѣ) 'where.' Only occurs before another (voiced) consonant.

ᑕ : ᑕᑐᗡ·ᘐᒣ 'I wish'; ᑕϖ⊂ᗡ (хлѣвъ) 'bread'; ᑕϖᑐᗝ (храмъ) 'temple'; ᑕᗡᑭ (кто) 'who.' ʃᑕ (ихъ) 'them'; ϖᒣᑕ (духъ) 'odour.'

ᘓ : ᘓᒣϖᑭ 'badly'; ᘓᑭᗡᘐ⊂ᗡ (хочетъ) 'wishes.'

ᗡ : ᗡᑐ 'I'; ᗡ[ᗡ·ᑭ 'hers'; sᗡ⊂ᘐ (съѣлъ) 'ate' [distinct from s\⊂ᘐ (сѣлъ) 'sat'].

ᑎ : ᑐϖ·\[ᑎʃ 'nuts.'

ϖᘐ : ϖᑐᗡ (радъ) 'glad'; ϖᒣᗡ·ᑐ (рука) 'hand'; ᘐϖᑭᗝ (громъ) 'thunder.' ᘐ\⊂ᗡϖ (вѣтръ) 'wind.' Sometimes ᘓᘐ after back vowels.

ϖᘐ\ : sᗡᑐϖ·\ʃᗡ (старикъ) 'old man'; ϖ\ᑐᗡ (рядъ) 'rank'; ᗡsᑐϖ\ (царь) 'emperor'; ϖᘐ\[ϖ\ (дверь) 'door'; ᘐ\ʃᑎϖ\ (вихрь) 'whirlwind.'

ᘐ : ᗡᘐᑐᗡᘐᑐ (плакала) 'she wept'; ᘐᘐᑐs (глазъ) 'eye'; ᗡᑐᘐᗡ 'stick'; ⊂ᘐ (злъ) 'l'; sᗡᒣᘐ (стулъ) 'chair.' Pure guttural, apparently without any simultaneous point contact, certainly not ϖᑕ. Does not sound at all like an *l* to a foreign ear, but rather like a deep *u*. At first I often heard it as ᘓ.

ϖ⊢ : ϖ⊂ᗡᑭ (лѣто) 'summer'; sᑭϖ (соль) 'salt.'

ᘐ : ᘐ⊂ᒣ·ᑐ 'wife'; ᘐϖᒣ (жду) 'I wait.'

ᘐ : ϖᒣᘐ·ᑐ 'soul'; ᘐᗡᑭ (что) 'what'; ᘐᗡᑐᘐᑐ (шпага) 'sword.' ᗡᘐᑐs (часъ) 'hour.' ᘐᗡᘐʃᗡ (щитъ) 'shield.'

s : sᑐ>ᗡϖᑐ 'to-morrow'; ᘐᘐᑐs·ᑐ (глаза) 'eyes.'

s\ : s\ʃᗝ·ᑐ 'winter'; ᗡᒪᑐs\ᑐ (князя) 'of a king'; s\ᗡ[s\ (здѣсь) 'here.'

s: sʃɔ (садъ) 'garden.' ʒʃs 'us.' ɔsʃωɑɘʃ>ʌ (церковь) 'church.
sʌ: sʌʃωɔsʃ (сердце) 'heart'; sʌłω·ʃ (сюда) 'here.'
ɑɘłsʌ (гусь) 'goose.' ɷʃsʌɑ (есть) 'is.'
>: >ʃs 'you'; ω>ʃ (два) 'two'; ɔωʃ>·ʃ (трава) 'grass.'
>ʌ: >ʌʃɔ 'sight.'
>ɘ: >ɘʃɔ (вотъ) 'here'; ɷʃ>·ɘʃ (его) 'of him.'
>: >ʃʒ·ʃωʌ (фонарь) 'lantern'; >ɔɛʃω·ʃ (вчера) 'yesterday'; ɑωʃ> (кровъ) 'roof.'
>ʌ: ɑωʃ>ʌ (кровь) 'blood.'
>ɘ: >ɘłʒɔ (фунтъ) 'pound.'
ʃ: ʃʃ 'not'; ɷʃʃ (день) 'day.'
ʒ: ʒʃF 'us'; Fʒʃɘʃ (много) 'much'; ʃʒ 'he.' ɔωʃɔ·ʌʃʒɑʃ (тропинка) 'path.' ɜ does not seem to occur.
F: Fʃɛʃ (мало) 'little'; ɔʃF 'there.'
FʌFʃω (міръ) 'world'; Fʌʃsʃ (мясо) 'meat'; ʒʃFʌʃ 'by us.' Does not seem to occur finally, семь 'seven' being pronounced sʌʃF.
Fɘłɛ (мужъ) 'husband'; Fɘʃsɔ (мостъ) 'bridge.'
ɑ: ʒʃɑ·ʃ 'foot.'
ɑʌ: sʃɔʃɑ·ʌʃ 'boots'; ɑʌʃω·ʃɾ (герой) 'hero.'
ɑɘ: ɑɘʃωʃɔ (городъ) 'city.'
ɑ: ɑʃɑ 'how.'
ɑʌ: ωłɑʌʃ 'hands.'
ɑɘ: ɑɘʃFʒʃɔʃ (комната) 'room.'
ω: ωʃω 'uncle'; ωʃɑ·ʃ (дитя) 'child.'
ɑ: ɑʃɑʃ>·ʃ (тетива) 'bow-string'; słɑ (суть) 'are.'
ω: ωʃ 'yes.'
ɔ: ɔʃF 'there'; ɘωʃɔ 'brother.'
ɘ: ɘʃɘʃ 'old woman.'
ɘʌ: ʃɘ·ʌʃɔ 'dinner.'
ɘɘ: ɘɘʃɑ (Богъ) 'God.'
ɔ: ɔʃɛɑʃ 'stick.'
ɔʌ: ɔʌʃs·ʃɑ 'sand'; ɑɘʃɛłɔʌ (голубь) 'pigeon.'
ɔɘ: ɔɘʃɔ (попъ) 'priest.'

TEXTS.

A) Sentences.

Что далеко еще до города?	Are we still far from the town?
Хороша ли дорога? Очень дурна.	Is the road good? It is very bad.
Въ которомъ часу обѣдаете вы?	At what o'clock do you dine?
Въ четыре часа.	At four o'clock.
Здоровы ли вы? Я здоровъ.	Are you well? I am well.
Ты добрый малый.	You are a good fellow.
Говорите ли вы по-русски? Говорю; я русскій.	Do you speak Russian? Yes, I am a Russian.
Не имѣю времени.	I have no time.
Подай мнѣ трубку.	Give me a pipe.
Пожалуйста, не говорите так скоро.	Do not speak so fast, please.
Добрая ночь! Прощайте!	Good night!
Почивайте спокойно!	Sleep well!
Устали ли вы? Я совсѣмъ не усталъ.	Are you tired? I am not tired.
Вотъ вамъ столъ, стулъ, и шандалъ.	There is a table, a chair, and a candlestick.
Извините, что я перебью вашу рѣчь.	I beg pardon for interrupting you.
Русскіе добрые люди.	The Russians are a worthy people.
Садитесь, гдѣ вамъ угодно.	Sit down where you please.
Подайте мнѣ перо и чернила.	Give me a pen and ink.
Сдѣлайте мнѣ милость.	Do me this favour.
Поди, достань мнѣ дрожки.	Go and fetch me a cab.
Гдѣ люди? Здѣсь они, сударь.	Where are the servants? Here they are, Sir.
Я пойду съ вами. Поди сюда.	I will go with you. Come here.
Пожалуйте мнѣ рюмку водки.	Please give me a glass of brandy.

-ʂɔʃɯ] ɯʃ·ɑɲʃɱ[ʂɔʂʃ ɯʃ·ɑɲʃ-ɯʃɯ]`.	-shto dal·oko jæsh·tsho do -goroda?
-ɕ]ɯ] ʂ]ɯ[ɯ] ɯʃ·ɑ]`. ʃ·ɔʂ[ʟ -ɯɨɯ ɾ].	xarash·a -li dar·oga? otshen durn·a.
->ɑ] ɔʃ·ɯʃꜰɔʂɪ sɨ] ɑ\[·ɯ]ɱ[ɑ[-·ɤɪ`.	fkat·orom tshəs·u ab·ædajeræ :vy?
->ɔʂ[ɔɪ·ɯ\[ɔʂɪ ʂ].	ftshæt·yræ tshəs·a.
-ʂɯ] ɯʃ·>ɤɪɯ[>·ɤɪ`. -ɱ]ʂɯ] ɯʃ·>.	zdar·ovy-li :vy? -ja zdar·of.
ɔɪ ɯʃ·ɑɯɪɾ ꜰ]·ʂɪɾ.	ty dobryi ma*l*yi.
-ɑ]>] ɯ\[·ɑ[ɯ[>·ɤɪɑ] ɯɨʂɑ\[`. -ɑ]>] ɯ\ɨ; -ɱ] ɯɨʂɑ\[ɱ.	gavar·ire-li :vy -pa ruski? gavar·ju; -ja ruskij.
-ʟ[[ꜰ\[·ɱɨ >ɯ\[·ꜰ\[ʟ[.	-ne im·eju vremeni.
-ɑ] ɯ]ɾꜰʟ[ɔɯɨɑɲɨ.	pad·ai -mnæ trupku.
-ɑ] ɛ]·ʂɨɾʂɔ] -ʟ[ɑ·]>] ɯ\[·ɑ[-ɔ·]ɑ ʂɑɲʃɯʃ.	pazh·a*l*uista, -næ gavar·iræ :tak skoro.
ɯʃ·ɑɯ]ɱ] ɾʃ·ɔʂ. -ɑɯ] ʂɔʂ]ɾɑ[.	dobraja notsh! prash·tshairæ!
-ɑ]ɔʂ[· >]ɾɑ[ʂɑ] ɑɲʃɾɾʃ·.	patshiv·airæ spak·oino.
-ɨ ʂɔ]·ɯ[ɯ[>·ɤɪ`. -ɱ]ʂ]> ʂ\[·ꜰʟ[ɨ ʂɔ]·ʂ.	us·tali-li :vy? -ja safs·æm -næ us·ta*l*.
>ʃ·ɔ>·]·ꜰ ʂɔʃ·ʂ ʂɔɨ·ʂ[ʂ]ɾ ɯ]·ʂ.	vot :vam sto*l*, stu*l* -i shand·a*l*.
:[ʂ\>\[ʟ[·ɑ[ʂɔʃɱ·]ɑ\[ɯ\[ɑ\ɱɨ ->·]·ʂɨ ɯ\[·ɔʂ.	izvin·iræ -shto :ja peræb·*j*ju :vashu rætsh.
ɯɨʂɑ\[ɱ[ɯʃ·ɑɯɪɱ[ɯɨ·ɑ[.	ruskijæ dobryjæ lupi.
-ʂ] ɑ[·ɑ[ʂ\ ɛɑ[>]ꜰɨ ɑɲʃ·ɯɾʃ·.	sad·iresj ghdæ -vam ug·odno.
-ɑ] ɯ]ɾɑ[ꜰʟ[ɑ\[ɯʃ[ɔʂ[ɯ ʟ[·ʂ].	pad·airæ -mnæ pær·o -i tshærn·i*l*a.
ʂ\ɑ[·ʂ]ɾɑ[ꜰʟ[ꜰ\[·ʂʃʂ\ɑ.	zjdæ*l*airæ -mnæ mi*l*osjr.
-ɑ] ɑ[ɯ] ʂɔ]·ʟꜰʟ[ɯɯʃʂɑ\[.	pad·i das·tan -mnæ droshki.
ɛɑ[· ɯɨ·ɑ[`. ʂ\ɑ[·ʂ\]ʟ[sɨ· -ɯ]ɯ\.	ghdæ lupi? zjdesj -ani sudarj.
:ɱ]ɑ·]ɾ ɯɨʂ·>]·ꜰ\[. -ɑ] ɑ[ʂ\ɨ ɯ].	:ja paid·u :svami. pad·i sjud·a.
-ɑ] ɛ]·ʂɨɾɑ[ꜰʟ[ɯ\ɨ·ꜰɑɲɨ >ʃ·ɔ -ɑ\[.	pazh·a*l*uiræ -mnæ rjumku votki.

Хочешь ли хлѣба? Да, сударь; я васъ прошу.	Will you have some bread? Yes please, Sir.
Вотъ ваша комната.	Here is your room.
Если такъ угодно Богу.	Please God!
Мнѣ хотѣлось бы посмотрѣть рѣдкости города.	I should like to see the curiosities of the city.

Въ Потсдамѣ есть русская церковь подъ надзираніемъ стараго русскаго солдата, который живетъ тамъ со временъ царствованія Императрицы Анны.

Мы насилу могли сыскать его. Дряхлый старикъ сидѣлъ на большихъ креслахъ, и услышавъ, что мы Русскіе, протянулъ къ намъ руки, и дрожащимъ голосомъ сказалъ. Слава Богу! Слава Богу!

Онъ хотѣлъ говорить сперва съ нами по-русски: но мы съ трудомъ могли разумѣть другъ друга. Намъ надлежало повторять почти каждое слово.

"Пойдемте въ церковь Божію, сказалъ онъ, и помолимся вмѣстѣ, хотя нынѣ и нѣтъ праздника."

Сердце мое наполнилось благоговѣніемъ, когда отворилась дверь въ церковь, гдѣ столько времени царствуетъ глубокое молчаніе, едва перерываемое слабыми вздохами и тихимъ голосомъ молящагося старца, который по воскресеньямъ приходитъ туда читать святѣйшую изъ книгъ, приготовляющую его къ блаженной вѣчности.

Въ церкви все чисто. Церковныя книги и утварь хранятся въ сундукѣ. Отъ времени до времени старикъ перебираетъ ихъ съ молитвою.

"Часто отъ всего сердца, сказалъ онъ, сокрушаюсь я о томъ, что по смерти моей, которая отъ меня конечно уже не далеко, не кому будетъ смотрѣть за церковью."

Съ полчаса пробыли мы въ семъ священномъ мѣстѣ, простились съ почтеннымъ старикомъ, и пожелали ему тихой смерти.

ɕʃ˖ɔʂʃʐɯʃ ɕɯʃ˖ɐʃ˙. ɐʃs˙ɬɐʃɯ\; :ɱʃ>˙ʃsɔɯʃ ʂɬ.	xotshæsh-li xlæba? da :sudarj; :ja :vas prash˙u.
>ɒʃ˖ɔ >ʃ˖ʂʃ ɑɒʃ˖ɟʒʃɔʃ.	vot vasha komnata.
ɱʃ˖sɯʃ ɔʃ˖ɑɬ ɑɒʃ˖ɐʒʃ˖ ɒʃ˖ɑɒɬ.	jæsli tak ug˙odno bogu.
:ɟʟʃ˖ɕʃ ɔʃ˖ɛʃs\ɒɒɪɔʃsɟʃ ɔɯ\ʃ˖ɔ ɯ\ʃ˖ɔɑɒʃs\ɔʃ ɑɒʃ˖ɯʃɐʃ.	:mnæ khat˙æ/osj -by pasmat˙-reт rætkosjтi goroda.

B.

(In this piece the quantity is only occasionally marked.)

>ɒʃ˖ɐsɐʃ\ɟ˙ʃs\ɔ[1] ɯɬsɔʃɱʃ ɔsʃɯɑɒʃ>\ɒʃ˖ɐʒ˙ʃɐsʃ ɯʃʟʃɱʃɟ sɔʃɯʃ>ʃ ɯɬsɑɒʃ>ʃsʃɛ ɐʃɔʃ, -ɑʃ ɔʃ˖ɯɪʃɛʃ˖ >\ʃ˖ɔɔ˙ʃɟsʃ>˙ɯ\ ɟ\ʃ˖ʒ ɔsʃɯsɔ>ɒʃ>ʃʟ˙ʃɱʃʃ˙ɟɒ\ʃɯʃ ɔɯ\ʃɔsɪ ʃʒʒɪʃ.

:ɟɒɪ˖ʒʃ s\ʃɛɬɟʃ ɛɯʃsɪ sɑʃɑɱʃ>˙ɒʃ. ɐɯ\ʃcɛɪʃsɔʃ ɯ\ʃɑs\ʃ ɐʃɛʒʃɑʃɛ ʂʃ˖c ɑɯ\ʃsɛʃc, -ʃɬs ɛɪʂʃ>ʂɔʃɟ˙ɒ˖ɪ˖ ɯɬsɑ\ʃɱʃ, :ɒɯʃɑʃ ʒɬ˖ɛɑʒʃɟ ɯɬɑ\ʃ, -ʃɒɯʃ ɛʃʂɔʂʃ˖ɟ ɑɒʃɛʃsʃɟsɑʃ sʃɛ: sɛʃ>ʃ ˙ɒʃɑɒɬ! sɛʃ>ʃ ˙ɒʃɑɒɬ!

:ʃʒc] ɔʃɛɑ˙ʃ>ʃ ɯ\ʃɔsɒ\ʃɯ >ʃs˙ʒʃ\ʃɒʃ ɯɬsɑ\ʃ; -ʒʃ˖ɟ˖ɪ˖ʂɔɯɬ ɐʃɟɟʃ ɑɯʃɯʃsɬ ɟ\ʃɔ ɐɯɬɑ ɐɯɬɑʃ. :ʒʃɟʒʃɐɯʃ ɛʃɛʃɔʃ>ɔʃ ɯ\ʃɔɒʃʃɔʂ ɔʃ ɑʃɛɐʃɱʃ sɛʃ>ɒʃ.

-ɒʃ˙ ɑʃɟɟɔʃ >ɔʂʃɯɑɒʃ>\ ɒɒʃɛʃ˖ɱɬ, -sɑʃ sʃɛ ʃʒ, -ʃɒʃ ɟɒʃ˖ɯʃɟɟs\ >ɟ\ʃ\ʂ\ɔʃ, -cʃ ɔʃ ʟɪ˖ɪʟʃʃ ʟʃɔ ɒɯʃsʟʃɑʃ.

s\ʃɯɔsʃɟʃɱ˙ʃʒʃ ɒʃɛʃɛʃɛʃs\ɐ˙ɛʃɑɒʃɐʃ >\ʃʟʃɱʃɟ, -ɑʃɛ ɐʃʃɔ>ʃ ɯ\ʃɛʃs\ ɐ>\ʃɯ\ >ɔʂʃɯɑɒʃ>\, ɛɑʃ sɔʃɯ˖ɑɒʃ >ɯ\ʃ\ʃ\ʃ ɔsʃɯsɔ>ɒɬ -ɱʃɔɑsɬ ɒʃɑɒʃɱʃɟʃɛ ɔʂʃ\ʃɱʃ, -ɱʃɐ >ʃɒ˙\ʃɯ\ʃɯɪ >ʃɱʃɟɒʃ˖ɱʃ sɛʃɒɒɪʃ\ʃ >ɐɐʃcʃ\ʃʃʃ ɑʃ\ʃ\ʃ ɑɒʃɛʃɛʃɟʃʃ ɯʃʂɔʂʃ>ɒʃs\ sɔʃɯɔsʃ, -ɑʃ ɔʃ˖ɯɪʃɒʃ>˙ʃsɑɯ\ s\ʃ\ɱʃɟɒɯ\ʃ cʃ˖ɑʃɔɔɬ ɐʃɔʂʃ˖ ɔʃɑsɒ\ʃ ɔ\ʃʂɬ˖ɬʃs ɑ\ʃɑ, :ɒɯ\ʃɑʃɔʃ >ɯʃ˖ɬʂɔʂɬ˖ɬ˖ɱʃ>˙ʃ˖ɛɒɛʃ ɛʃʒʒʃ˖ɟ >\ʃɔʂʒʃ˖s\ɔʃ.

>ɔʂʃɯɑ>\ʃ >s\ʃ ɔʂʃ˖sɔʃ. -ɔʂʃɯ ɑɒʃ˖>ʒɪ˖ɱʃ ɑʟʃɒ\ʃʃ ɬɔ>ʃɯ\cɯʃ ʟʃɔs\ʃ>s˙ɬɔɬ ɑ\ʃ. -ʃɔ >ɯ\ʃ\ʃ\ʃɟɯʃ >ɯ\ʃ\ʃ\ʃʂɔʃ ɯ\ʃɑɒ˙\ʃɯ\ʃ -ɒ\ʃ ɯʃɱʃɔʃcsʃ ɯʃɔ>ɒʃɱɬ.

ɔʂʃ˖sɔʃʃɔ>\s\ʃ >ɒʃ s\ʃɯɔs], -sɑʃ sʃɛ ʃʒ, :sʃɑɯɬ ʂʃɱɬs\ɱʃʃ ɔʃɟ, -ʂɔʃɟɔʃ sʃ\ʃɯɑʃ\ʃ ɱʃɟ, -ɑʃ ɔʃɯʃɱʃʃɔʃ\ʃ ʟʃɑʃ ʟʃʂʃɟ˖ɟ ɛʃʟʃɯʃ ɯʃɑʃɟ, ʟʃɑʃ\ɟ˖ɪ˖ ɒɒ˖ɑʃɔsʃ ɔɯ\ʃɑs] ɔsʃɯɑɒʃ>\ɱɬ.

:sɒɒʃɛɔʂɪ s] ɒɯʃɒɒɪɯɪʃɟ˖ɪ˖>s\ʃʃs>\] ʂɔʂʃʒʒʃ˖ɟ ʃ\ʃs\ɑʃ, -ɒɯ] s\ɑʃɯɪs\sɒʃɔʂ ɑʃʒʒɪ˖ɪʃsɔʃɯ\ʃ ɑɒʃʃ, -ʃɒ˙ʃɛʃ ɛʃɯʃɱʃ ʃ˖ɪ˖ ɑʃɕʃ˖ sʃ\ɯɑʃ.

[1] Or >ɒɒɯs ɯ.

C.

(In this piece palatalization is not marked before front vowels.)

[ˈsɐ]ˈsɐ ˈɡɐ]ˈɡɐ ˈɡɐ]ˈɡɐ ˈɡɐ]ˈɡ

X.—EIGHTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, 16TH OF MAY, 1879. BY DR. J. A. H. MURRAY.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

REPORTS BY—	PAGE
The PRESIDENT, on the *Work of the Philological Society* in 1878–9	561
The PRESIDENT, on the *Philological Society's Dictionary*...	567
The PRESIDENT, on *Problems and Principles of Lexicography* ...	573
Prof. RAJNA, on *Dialects of Italy*	587
Prof. SCHIEFNER, on the *Languages of the Caucasus*	593
Dr. OTTO DONNER, on the *Finnish and Lappish and their Mutual Relationship*	602
R. N. CUST, Esq., on the *Korean Language*	613
Conclusion	617

THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM MAY, 1878, TO MAY, 1879.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

IT is my pleasing duty to congratulate you upon the progress of another year, and upon the philological work which it has seen accomplished or begun, both within our Society and beyond its immediate bounds.

The papers read at our meetings do not appear in the retrospect so numerous as in some former years; this is due, however, to the circumstance that several of them were long papers, extending over more than a single evening; as a matter of fact, we have met specially often during the session, having had no less than three extra meetings. The contributions to English Philology in one or other of its branches have, as in former years, been the most numerous. My predecessor in this chair, Mr. Sweet, brought before us contributions to Old English Phonology and Etymology. The latter consisted of proposed etymologies for the difficult O.E. words *gársecg*, *fultum* and *sulung*. The phonological notes had reference to the history of the forms *cóm*, *wén*, and *wǽ*, the action of *r* and *l* upon the

vowel *a*, and the passage of original *au* into *ea*, a subject to which Mr. Sweet has devoted much attention.

Mr. Nicol read us an important paper on the late Middle-English diphthong *au*, and its fate in late Modern English, wherein he threw light upon the varieties in the current pronunciation of such words as *command, chant, aunt, daunt, laundry, vaunt, gauge, bauble*, showing that the Old English diphthong had most usually become long *ah* in Modern English, but that, from the want of any distinctive mode of indicating the latter sound, it had a tendency to be sounded with short *a* (æ) in *command, chant*, or labialized to *aw* (ʌ) in *daunt, laundry, vaunt*. In *gauge, chamber, danger*, it had, after passing into long *ah* (*aa*), apparently followed the fate of this sound in words of Romance origin, and sunk into *ai* (*eei*), *gaige, chaimber, dainger*, the present written form of which is at variance with every principle of English spelling.

Two highly important papers were brought before us by our former President, Mr. Ellis, on the results of his investigations into the characteristics and classification of English dialects, illustrated by a large map on which the classification was shown topographically. I believe that every one who saw the latter and compared it with the former state of our knowledge was struck with the extensive changes which Mr. Ellis's recent investigations—far more systematic and minute than anything before attempted or thought of—had led him to make. Mr. Ellis's chief test for his Southern division was the existence of reverted *r*, so characteristic of South-western speech. In accordance with this, the boundary of the Southern dialects was drawn in something like a straight line along the parallel of 52° N. from Harwich to Tewkesbury, but in the part of this district north of the Thames, as well as in the extreme east, the typical character faded away. The Northern test was the preservation of O.E. long *ú* (uu), which in modern standard English has become *ou* (əu), and the area thus marked out extended farther southward in the east, and retreated farther north in the west, than had been previously supposed, North Lincolnshire being included and the North-west of Yorkshire excluded from the Northern area. Mr. Ellis

mentioned that, while in accordance with the character of his inquiry, which was into *English Pronunciation*, his standards were *phonetic* ones, they were found to agree generally with tests founded on grammar and vocabulary. As I pointed out at the time, such divisions are from the nature of the case only temporary, and would require altering from time to time. In the case of the retention of O.E. *ú* especially, the area within which it is used is regularly shrinking; in many districts it is in the very process of developing into *ou*, and in another generation it might be necessary to remove Westmorland and Cumberland, for example, from Mr. Ellis's Northern division, or else adopt some more permanent test for Northern idiom.

Our only other English paper was one from our veteran etymologist Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood, on the derivation of the difficult words *duffel, kill, mumper, bout, joram, cave in, pore, pour*, and *cadeau*.

In wider Teutonic philology, we had an important paper on "Spoken Swedish," by Mr. Sweet, who, having spent a winter in Sweden for the purpose of familiarizing himself with the living speech of the country and its most interesting dialects, was able to bring before us facts in regard to these new, not only to all Englishmen, but probably to most Swedes themselves.

In the Romance domain, Mr. Nicol read us two papers on the O.Fr. vowel-end law, showing all the minute and conscientious study which characterizes his philological work; and Mr. R. Martineau dealt with the Rhæto-Romanic dialect of the Grisons, its topographical distribution, its dialects and sub-dialects, its relations to Latin and the kindred modern Romance languages.

A paper on Russian pronunciation, and the history of Russian spelling, fixing the actual value of the difficult simple and combined sounds of that language, was read by Mr. Sweet; an account by Professor Ascoli, of Milan, of his work at the Old Irish Glosses in the Ambrosian Library, was communicated through and read by Mr. Cust. Mr. Brandreth contributed an interesting paper "On the *Gaurian* Languages

(*i.e.* the modern descendants of Sanskrit in India) compared with the *Romance.*"[1] In this he showed what close analogies exist between the changes by which Sanskrit has become Sindhi, Hindi, or Bengali, and those whereby Latin has become French, Italian, or Spanish. Mr. Leland's paper on the language and origin of the Gipsies completed our work at the Aryan languages, if indeed it did not carry us beyond the Aryan pale. Mr. Leland, while agreeing with Captain Burton that the Jâts of North-West India had probably furnished the main stock of the Gipsy race, thought that the Luris of Persia and the Doms had also greatly contributed to it. In support of the Dom element, he adduced important philological evidence, suggesting that the English gipsy words *Rom*, male gipsy; *Romni*, female gipsy; and *Romnipen*, gipsyhood, were no other than the Indian *Dom*, *Domni*, and *Domnipana*, the interchange of *d* and *r* being one of the commonest consonantal phenomena of the Indian vernaculars.

In general philology we had a paper by Mr. Sweet on proposed modifications and additions to Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, whereby that physiological alphabet might be adapted to general use as a means of explaining sounds in our *Transactions*. Here also I may place the very full accounts given to us by Mr. Brandreth and Mr. Cust of the proceedings and results of the Congress of Orientalists at Florence, which they had attended as delegates from this Society. And, lastly, Mr. Sweet, who has done Hercules' share in contributing papers at our meetings, read a series of three upon the "Classification of word-meanings," being an attempt at a rational and logical classification of nameable things, with their names appended; the complement of a Dictionary or Cyclopædia, which is an alphabetical arrangement of *words*, with an appended explanation of the *things* to which each refers. In such a scheme the same word might occur many times, if applied to several different things; just as in a Dictionary, the same definition will occur several times if it fits several synonymous words.

[1] Printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1879, vol. xi. pp. 287–316.

Such, Ladies and Gentlemen, was the varied bill of fare presented to us during the Session; in reviewing it I cannot but regret that, from the scattered position of our membership, so few have been able actually to be present with us to enjoy it. And I cannot but sympathize with the somewhat injured feelings of our country members, who, on hearing what is going on amongst us here, feel that the Society ought to do something to enable them at least to taste the dishes here fully enjoyed. Since I have been President, I have had several communications asking if nothing can be done for the members at a distance in the way of printing once a month two or four pages of the proceedings of the meetings. I think that the request is reasonable, and the suggestion practicable; if I were not so fully harnessed as I am, I should myself have undertaken the work of preparing such reports or digests of the meetings; and I am perfectly sure that there are amongst our London members more than one who, whether under the official designation of Recorder, or as a simple Member of Council, would undertake this service. At least we must not say that such is not the case until we have made the trial. I know that our funds are low, and can ill afford any further drain upon them; but I believe also that they will continue low until we adopt some such plan of showing our interest in our absent members, and cherishing and retaining their interest in us. As a practical proof that I would have undertaken the office of making these abstracts, if other work had permitted, I beg to say that if any member will volunteer to be Recorder or Abstracter for the coming year, I will undertake personally the expense of paying for the printing. And I feel confident that on this evening next year there will be congratulations upon the success of the experiment.[1]

I ought now to refer to philological labours beyond our own immediate circle, but from causes to which I am coming shortly, it has not been possible for me to keep my eyes open to the literary work of the year. But it would ill befit me to

[1] In compliance with these proposals, Mr. Sweet kindly undertook the preparation of the monthly Abstracts of Proceedings, which have since the date of this Address been supplied to the members.

be silent about the work of one of our own members, Mr. R. N. Cust, whose "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies," with its two beautiful language maps,—in preparing which he has had the co-operation of Mr. Brandreth, who indeed first brought the subject before us, so far as concerned British India, in a paper read at one of our meetings, —is, I believe, one of the most important pieces of linguistic geography that England has produced. My own article on the English language in the seventh volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* also appeared last autumn, and provides, I believe, the most succinct account yet presented to Englishmen of the changes through which their language has passed, the causes of these changes, and the temporary phases of the long continuous whole, "which stands before us century after century like an evergreen tree, the same and yet different, yesterday and to-day and to-morrow, different and yet the same in its youth and prime and age." I had expected to publish before this a somewhat fuller and more popular treatise on the same subject, the completion of which recent engagements have delayed. The eighth volume of the *Encyclopædia* contains an article on the French language by our member, Mr. Henry Nicol, the features of which, as every one may anticipate, will be new to most Englishmen, and which I hope he will find it possible to render generally accessible in another form. Mr. Nicol has there succinctly but firmly traced the leading outlines of the external history, political and literary, of the language, and its internal history under the heads of *Vocabulary*, *Dialects*, *Phonology*, *Orthography*, *Inflexions*, *Derivation*, and *Syntax*. His account of the relations of Norman French to Parisian, and of both Parisian and Norman to English, is of the utmost value, and might well be expanded into a treatise of considerable length. It is satisfactory, as it is fitting, to find these articles entrusted to members of our Society; a good many follies would have been avoided if the plan had been tried at an earlier period. But it is never too late to mend; if Chaucer has fallen among strangers, Shakspere may come to the society of his friends.

The fourth work of one of our members is the important

Etymological Dictionary of our esteemed coadjutor, Professor Skeat, of which a first part extending from A to Dor has appeared within the last six weeks. A single glance at this work will show what advances Etymology has made both in matter and manner since the appearance of the last work on the subject. Professor Skeat's work is thoroughly scientific and inductive. Specialists will of course be able in various points to suggest improvements or make corrections, for the subject abounds with what may be called isolated facts; but the work as a whole is sober, scholarly, and satisfactory in a high degree.

The Philological Society's Dictionary.

When you did me the honour a year ago of electing me to be your President, I expressed the hope that though I might not be able to fulfil the office with the dignity of the eminent scholars and philologists who have preceded me, and whose names are indissolubly associated with English Philology wherever it is known, I might at least be a useful President, and my occupancy of the chair prove not uneventful in the annals of our Society, if the negociations for the publication of the Society's Dictionary, which we were then conducting, should result in its becoming, under my editorship, an accomplished fact. Those negociations, notwithstanding sundry shocks and serious jars, were successful; the Dictionary is now in full progress, if not on so gigantic a scale as some of its promoters dreamed of fifteen years ago, at least on one much ampler than any of us during the last ten years had hoped ever to see. It is unnecessary for me to sketch even in outline the history of the Dictionary movement, from its commencement in 1857 to its practical renewal in 1876. You are all aware that during the last three years, ever since overtures were made first to Dr. Morris, and then to myself, by two publishing houses, one in England and the other in the United States, to prepare for them a new Dictionary—which, in the course of negociations, assumed a character so far in accordance with the scheme of the Society as to bring up the question whether its projectors would not

so enlarge their scheme as to identify it with ours, and thus in effect publish the Society's Dictionary in a compendious form—the subject has been continually before the Council, and that finally an agreement has been entered into with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in the University of Oxford, whereby the Society's materials are now being employed for a Dictionary, preserving all the essential features of that projected by the leaders of this Society twenty years ago, and, I venture to think, considerably more extensive not only than the *Supplemental Dictionary* which they first planned, but also than the idea which they next formed of a new work to supersede all existing dictionaries. And, whatever view some may take as to the terms—as these affected this Society—on which alone the Delegates were prepared to undertake a work of such magnitude and cost, the completion of which must extend over a long, and, to a certain extent, indefinite, period of time, every one feels that, in accepting its responsibilities, they have undertaken a noble service to the English language—a service peculiarly appropriate to the greatest and wealthiest seat of English learning, that Oxford which has been so gloriously associated with every development of the language and literature of England, the Oxford of Wyclif and Sir Thomas More, of Hooker and Hobbes, of Burton and Locke, of Addison and Johnson, Ruskin and Gladstone.

The contracts between the Society, the Delegates, and the Editor were signed on the 1st of March last. A fortnight before that day I had commenced the erection of an iron building, detached from my dwelling-house, to serve as a *Scriptorium*, and to accommodate safely and conveniently the materials. This has been fitted with blocks of pigeon-holes, 1029 in number, for the reception of the alphabetically arranged slips, and with writing desks, reference desks, and other conveniences for the extensive apparatus required. On Lady Day, when I was joined by my assistant, Mr. S. J. Herrtage, I received from Mr. Furnivall some ton and three-quarters of materials which had accumulated under his roof as sub-editor after sub-editor fell off in his labours. With a

considerable body of assistants I have been engaged since that date, as to all appearance I must be for many months to come, in turning out, examining, sorting, and bestowing these materials. Only within the last few days have I succeeded in gaining some general idea of what materials exist, and of the state in which they exist, and in sending to our Secretary a sort of inventory of what we have in hand.[1] With gladness I say that one or two of the letters, and sections of letters, are in excellent order, and really sub-edited, in a true sense of the word. This refers especially to F, K, parts of C and R; in a less degree to A, E, N, parts of O and U; of others of the letters it may be said that the slips have received *some* amount of alphabetic arrangement; of one or two unhappily—and these even such as had been reported to the Secretary as "nearly done," or "well advanced"—I have to report that they are in primitive chaos, and will take the labour of months to reduce even to alphabetical order, and enable my assistants to begin the simplest outlines of sub-editing. Still we are progressing even with these, and as my Scriptorium is now in full orderly work, I am able to invite a visit from any of our members or friends who may prolong a rural ramble as far as to Mill Hill.

But the examination and arrangement of the existing raw material has not been the only or indeed the most troublesome part of the Editor's work since Lady Day. When the early work for the Dictionary dwindled away, multitudes of books undertaken by readers were still in their hands. In order, if possible, to obtain information as to which of these, if any, had been finished, and the results sent in, as well as to give to former readers, as seemed meet, the first intimation of the renewal of the work to which they had

[1] The following portions of the old materials are still in the hands of sub-editors who have worked at them for a longer or shorter period, and have made known their willingness to continue, and, if possible, finish their labours: Second half of B, Mr. R. W. Griffiths, Cardiff; L, Mr. C. Y. Pott, Ledbury; M, Mr. Brown, Grammar School, Kendal; First part of O, Mr. W. J. E. Crane, North Brixton; Per to Poz, Mr. W. J. Anderson, Arbroath; Second half of U, and V, Rev. T. Sheppard, Exeter College, Oxford; Y and Z, Rev. J. Smallpiece, St. Bee's. Since the Address was delivered, the Hon. G. F. Marsh has sent in the letter H from the United States Legation at Rome.

contributed, and an opportunity, if they were disposed, to renew their contributions, about 250 circular letters were issued, informing them of the resumption of the work, and asking information as to past work and future help.

I regret to say that the great majority of these letters were returned to us from the post office, marked, "Gone, and left no address;" but in many cases they served their purpose, in obtaining the desired information as to books read, and, in some, brought back the encouraging assurance that the recipients were willing to renew their reading at once, now that the Dictionary, which every one had long since believed given up, was really going to be done. But, as was to be anticipated, these went but a very little way towards completing the work of reading, and as a new generation had arisen since 1857 who had never heard of the Dictionary, I prepared an Appeal to the English-speaking and English-reading public, which was adopted by the Council a month ago, and printed along with a list of books to be read, and a sheet of directions to readers, with model quotation slips. The formation of the list of books was a long and arduous work; and it is no matter of wonder, if it has been found both to contain the names of books which we have since discovered to have been read years ago, and to omit many which ought to have been included, and must be included in a supplemental list. It was a working list notwithstanding, and having been extensively circulated in all likely quarters, and noticed by the chief literary journals and newspapers, it has successfully attracted, and continues to attract, the interest of a large number of ladies and gentlemen who have offered their assistance. Fifteen hundred copies of the "Appeal" have now been issued; in response to it, up to to-day, 165 readers have offered themselves, 128 of these have chosen their books, been supplied with slips, and are now at work for us. The number of books actually undertaken and entered against readers is 234; arrangements are in progress for perhaps half as many more. Every member of the Philological Society has, I believe, received a copy of the "Appeal," List of Books, and Directions; seven

of them have as yet offered to undertake books. This reminds me of a passage contained in the annual statement of my predecessor Mr. Furnivall for 1862, wherein he says, that of the 756 books up to that time read for the Dictionary "the members of the Philological Society proper (not counting those brought in by the Dictionary scheme) have read just *six*." I sincerely trust that this is not a foreshadowing of what the members mean to do now, when the Council has by strenuous efforts brought the scheme within sight of realization, and I would suggest that every one of them, with the exception of those few who are known to be busy with special work, had better at once undertake *one book* at least, and complete it. We do not expect Mr. Ellis with his Early English and Dialect Phonology, Mr. Nicol with his exhaustive work at the French element in English, Mr. Sweet with his varied work at general and special Philology, and his persevering, if thankless, efforts to hold the mirror of German perfection up to English amateurs, Dr. Morris with his Early English editing, or Mr. Furnivall with the direction of half a dozen societies on his shoulders, and the projects of as many more in his head, Professor Skeat with his own Etymological Dictionary, or Mr. Cust with his zealous and successful catering for contributions to the Annual Address, to read books and write slips (yet, as a fact, Mr. Furnivall sends in more than anybody else, Mr. Skeat is unwearied in his helping communications, and Mr. Cust finds time to undertake the reading of several books); but we do ask other members, who are not so occupied, to do this at least for the credit of the Society. Those who do, will observe that no *Bases of Comparison* are offered, and only general directions offered as to the classes of words to be extracted. In my own opinion, the Bases of Comparison formerly issued by the Society were a mistake, and detrimental to the work which they were designed to serve. Their most obvious result, to one who examines the material, is, that while rare, curious, and odd words, are well represented, ordinary words are often most meagrely present; and the editor or his assistants have to search for precious hours

for examples of common words, which readers passed by because they happened to find them put down in their 'Basis' as occurring in the Bible or in Burke. Thus of *Abusion*, we found in the slips about 50 instances: of *Abuse* not five, and we had to spend much time in tracing out the early occurrence of this word which readers had omitted to record. This is why we have asked every reader to give as many *common words* as he conveniently *can*: I had almost asked that rare and odd words should be omitted,—as apparently we have them all—and only common words noted henceforth. It is obvious that not even the noting of the appropriately-used common words in the texts still to be read will supply the first instances of all words; it will, however, go a certain length towards doing so, and for the rest the only thing left is to make complete verbal indexes of a large number of books at convenient intervals, which will show what words are actually to be found there, and being made in the form of blank slips can be expanded into quotations when necessary. We have not yet asked any volunteer help in this work, but indexes to some books are already in progress in the hands of my *employés* at Mill Hill.

With all this external work, of securing, examining, and arranging the existing materials; of trying to reunite the long-snapt links of former work, and to form new ties,—work which has necessitated the writing of from five-and-twenty to forty letters every day—with all this work *about* the Dictionary, I need hardly say there has been little time for work *at* the Dictionary. I have, however, been able to advance, subject to final revision before going to press, as far as *Aby*, having indeed just been trying to bottom *Abyss* this very afternoon. This is, of course, a microscopic portion of the whole work; yet in itself it is not quite despicable. It will make thirty-six pages of the Dictionary, and will actually contain 557 words,[1] and not less than 902

[1] The corresponding entries in *Webster's* Dictionary (last edition) are 446. If this proportion holds in the work as a whole, it will make the words that have become obsolete since 1100 (for these are, of course, the additional element which our Dictionary contains) equal to *one fourth* of those still current, or estimating the latter at 100,000, the words that have become obsolete during the last seven centuries and a half will be 25,000. The great majority of these *were born*, as

definitions of the various meanings of words, which are a little more to the lexicographer than separate words, since the latter come to his hand in alphabetical order, while much time and thought has to be spent in determining the genetic order of the different meanings and uses of a word; and the commoner the word, the more difficult is the history of its meanings. Mr. Furnivall has told us of a sub-editor who finished all the rest of D, but gave up "Do" in desperation after some weeks of work. There are few simple verbs or prepositions in the language that will not demand a day or several days to work out properly the historical development of their meanings.

Problems and Principles of Lexicography.

Even in the small portion which has passed through my hands, many difficulties, both of manner and matter, have presented themselves, and have had to be solved provisionally in the hope that the practical experience of three years will suggest final solutions. Among these may be mentioned the question of how the pronunciation is to be noted. I have several appeals from gentlemen interested in Spelling Reform, suggesting that the pronunciation should be indicated in some system of Reformed Spelling which might be capable of being used as an alternative orthography. The idea is worthy of attention, although I hardly as yet see it to be practicable. If we had a powerful National Spelling Reform Association who were agreed upon some one system of writing English words, there would be obvious advantages in adopting this as a pronouncing key in the Dictionary. But at least as yet we have no such unanimity of opinion; and, so far as my experience goes, none of the practical systems proposed are delicate enough to serve the purpose of a scientific key in a Dictionary. To take an obvious instance, the ordinary English idea of the letter *r* is so perverted that all

well as *died*, during the period, consisting of words introduced, or sought to be introduced, from French and Latin, since the Revival of Learning, many of which were, indeed, still-born.

English Spelling Reformers (with the exception of Mr. Sweet, who, I believe, does not profess to be practical) are quite contented to write the same consonantal *r* at the end of *rear*, *roar*, *river*, that they write at the beginning, a defiance of fact, and a deference to fancy, which could hardly be tolerated in a scientific treatment of the subject. I am marking the pronunciation provisionally on a method which I hope to perfect during the next three years; but I shall be glad if united action on the question of Spelling Reform settles the difficulty before we go to press. While speaking of Pronunciation, I may refer to the great variety of pronunciation in many words and classes of words at present to be found; and also to the fact that the Dictionary pronunciation of many words, as founded on the labours of Walker, Sheridan, Nares, Smart, Worcester, and other orthoepists, and found in most existing dictionaries and spelling-books, is often obsolete in actual London usage, and in the case of words specially irregular, replaced by one which is evidently founded on the spelling. Thus we had recently, in our Council, a question as to the pronunciation of the word *Caviare*, which I, following the authority of dictionaries and spelling-books, had always been accustomed to call *Caveér*, but which other of our members knew only as a word of three syllables, *ca-vi-ar'* or *cá-vi-ar;* while one of our members made it four syllables, *ca-vi-á-re.* I believe that, at the first introduction of the word into English, all these varieties of pronunciation in a foreign word which could only be guessed at may have existed; but by the end of the seventeenth century usage settled down to *Caveér*, the only pronunciation shown by the Dictionary quotations from the poets and dramatists of the period. Thus in well-known lines from Swift:

> She sent her Priests in Wooden Shoes
> From haughty Gaul to make Ragous,
> Instead of wholesome Bread and Cheese,
> To dress their Soupes and Fricassyes;
> And for our home-bred British Cheer,
> Botargo, Catsup, and Caveer.
>
> (1730) *Panegyrick on the Dean*, Misc. v. 141, ed. 1735.

I might bring instances in abundance from other writers, some like Swift's absolutely proving "*caveer*," others showing at least that the word was a dissyllable, accented on the last, down to our own day, when Barham gives us in his Ingoldsby Legends:

> And the very best beer,
> That ever was brewed,
> Was all caviare
> To the multitude.

I have been informed also by an aged play-goer that it is the only pronunciation he ever heard from Charles Kean in Hamlet's well-known "Caviare to the general," to which we are mainly indebted for making the word English; and it is the only pronunciation known to the orthoepists, whether dictionary- or spelling-book-makers, of the last and present century previous to Worcester's Dictionary in 1847.[1] But Englishmen do not take their pronunciation from dictionaries or spelling-books; and I am told that this *ca-veér* has now largely yielded to *ca-vi-ár*, founded apparently on the spelling, and on an affectation of treating the word as more or less French. It was an interesting illustration of a remark of Mr. Ellis's, that the most different pronunciations may co-exist, without those who use them having any suspicion of the fact, that when the subject was mentioned among us, I had never heard of *ca-vi-ár* or *ca-vi-á-re*, which sounded to me like a joke; while the President of the New Shakspere Society had never heard "*caréer* to the general," and was utterly incredulous that it had ever been said by anybody in his sound senses. And yet Mr. Furnivall and I do not live in remote corners of Britain, or move in totally different spheres of work. We have both read *Hamlet;* both perhaps even Swift and *Ingoldsby*.

[1] Walker even shows that no other pronunciation was known to him, as he thus bemoans the irregularity of the word:—"CAVIARE—*ka-veér*. Either the spelling or the pronunciation of this word should be altered; we have no instance in the language of sounding *-are*, *ēre*, the ancient spelling seems to have been *Caviare;* though Buchanan and Bailey, in compliance with the pronunciation, spell it *Caveer;* and W. Johnston, *Cavear;* and Ash, as a less usual spelling, *Cavier*."

In the slips actually sent in for the word, *Cavear*, *Caveare* occur seven times, and *Caveer* once during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Of the way in which the pronunciation of words may be affected by their written forms—that is to say, how *words* themselves may be affected by their *pictures*—we have many curious instances in Old French words introduced into English at an early period in their Old French form, and afterwards modified in their spelling, from a desire to make their written picture more like to what was rightly or wrongly supposed to be their Latin original; this modification of spelling in turn giving currency to a modified pronunciation, whereby the true history of the word became perverted. We know the curious results of this process in such words as *cognizance, adventure;* and its mystification of origin in such a word as *advantage,* where a word really containing the Latin prepositions *ab* and *ante* is made to look as if it contained the preposition *ad.* The history of the word *abyss* presents us with an illustration. The oldest form of this in English, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century at least, seems to be *abime, abyme,* representing the contemporary French pronunciation *abîme* of the Old French *abysme,* standing for a late Latin *abyssimus,* a kind of superlative of *abyssus.* But towards the close of the fifteenth century a knowledge of French *spelling* led Englishmen also to spell their native word *abysme, abisme,* as, for example, it is found in Shakspere. But there is interesting evidence that while the *spelling* was *abism(e),* the *word itself* continued for some time to be *abīme.* Thus Drummond of Hawthornden has the rhyme:

> "Feele such a case, as one whom some Abisme
> In the deep Ocean kept had all his Time."—*Wks.* p. 59.

Finally, however, the spelling triumphed over the pronunciation, and the word is now without any question *abysm.* The history of this word supplies us also with an interesting illustration of the rise of double forms. *Abysm* or *Abime* had by the end of the sixteenth century come to be so intimately connected with the cosmological idea of the "great deep," the gulf of the lower world, the pit of hell, that some writers scrupled to use it in a more scientific or figurative sense, and preferred instead to use its Latin prototype *Abysmus* or the simple

Latin *Abyssus*,[1] which latter, curtailed of its Latin ending, soon took its place in the language as *Abyss*. It has now nearly displaced the older *abysm*, which survives beside it as a poetic or metaphorical form, as where Dr. Farrar speaks of "the *abysm* between spiritual perception in thought and articulate utterance in speech." There are many similar examples of the rise of secondary forms, of which, as a late instance, I may mention the word *Abnormal*, now in everybody's verbal stock, but not found in any dictionary before 1846,[2] and which Professor Huxley has told me he first heard used by a lecturer in 1843, and noticed as a new word. The older word was *abnormous*, common in all the writers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and first half of the present nineteenth century; common, for instance, in *Grote* and *Hallam*.[3] *Abnormous* had, however, acquired, over and above its original sense of *irregular*, that of *monstrous*, *misshapen*; and it was apparently to provide a term which should not embrace any such depreciatory or prejudicial sense that *Abnormal* was struck out by some one to convey the simple colourless meaning of *not according to the norm*, or *ordinary type*. But *abnormal* has entirely supplanted *abnormous*, which is now as completely obsolete as if it had not been used for ages.

I might refer to the important part which *confusion* has played in the history and development of words. I have elsewhere pointed out a curious instance of this in the word *Carousal*, which is now treated as a verbal noun formed on *carouse*, on the pattern of such words as *committal*, *denial*, *refusal*, and *rehearsal*. Yet there is evidence to show that it was originally an entirely different word, *carousel*, the Italian *carosello*, a kind of tournament,[4] which, as it signified some-

[1] 1601. COTGRAVE: "*Abysme* [French]: An Abysmus; a bottomlesse hole or pit." 1635. W. AUSTIN'S *Medit.* p. 3: "The Profound Wisdome of the Humilitie, the Abyssus of the great Mysterie." JACKSON, *On the Creed*, Wks. vol. x. p. 371: "This is a depth or Abyssus which may not be dived into."

[2] Mr. Herrtage has since found it in Humble's *Dictionary of Geology and Mineralogy*, 1840.

[3] 1855. HALLAM, *Lit. Hist.* iv. 251: "The general structure of the couplet through the 17th cent. may be called abnormous." 1846. GROTE, *Hist. Greece*, i. 5: "The former being the more extravagant and abnormous in their incidents."

[4] 1650. MARVELL. *Lachrymæ Musarum*:—

Before the crystal palace, where he dwells,
The armed angels hold their carousels.

thing obsolete, was blunderingly referred to *carouse*, and used in that sense alone. There are instances of a similar confusion in the later history of the old verb *Abye*, part. *abought*, to buy up, redeem, pay for, whereby it was confounded with *abide*. The confusion was aided not only by the resemblance in sound of *abye* and *abide*, but also by the fact that to "abide, that is, to await, the consequences of a deed," was in effect the same as to "abye the deed itself"—*i.e.* to pay for it; hence an easy passage into the corrupt form to "abide the deed," common about 1600; and I have little doubt that it was this substitution of *abide* for *abye* which caused the latter soon to become obsolete. Spencer, and some of the writers in the *Myrroure for Magistrates*, constantly confuse *Aboard* and *Abroad*, speaking of "abord the Pontic sea," and a flood which "doth beare aboord the ploughman's hope and shepheard's labour vaine," which they evidently referred to aboard a ship. On the other hand, the 1611 Version of the Bible uses *abroad* for *aboard*, in Acts xxi. 2: "And finding a ship sailing ouer vnto Phenicea, we went abroad and set foorth."

The mention of *Aboard* reminds me of another curious lexicographical phenomenon; that, namely, a word may have two origins. In the specimen of the Dictionary which has been printed, I have pointed out that *Castle* was originally a direct adaptation of the Latin *Castellum* in its late sense of *village*, used in the Vulgate. As such it was naturally a neuter noun, with plural *castelu*, as found in the Old English Gospels, Luke ix. 12: "Læt þas menego ⁊ hiȝ farun on þas castelu & on þas tunas þe her abutan synd." But *castellum* had in France retained a different and older meaning, that of *fortress*, and in this sense *castel* became very familiar to Englishmen between the reign of William of Normandy and that of Stephen, when the wretched men of England were so sore oppressed with *castel-weorces*,[1] in building those

[1] "Hi suencten suyðe þe uurecce men of þe land mid castel-weorces. þa þe castles uuaren maked þa fylden hi mid deoules & yuele men."—*O.E. Chron.* 1137. The Hatton Gospels have also changed the O.E. *castelu* into *castelles*, in the passage above cited: "Læt þas manifye þæt hyo faran on þas castelles."

castles which, in the graphic words of the Peterborough chronicler, the barons filled with devils instead of men. This Norman-French *castel* was at first *masculine* with plural *castelas*, but before the twelfth century the older and newer forms and senses of the words were quite confounded, and finally the older disappeared. It is doubtful whether *Becon*, who last quotes *castel* in the sense of village, really understood it in this sense. In the word or phrase *Aboard*, we have another instance of a word with a double source. *Board* is, of course, originally Teutonic, and in O.E. *bord* was quite common in its modern sense of a *board* or *plank*, with several special or *metaphorical* meanings, as a *table*, a *shield*, and poetically a *vessel* or *ship*. Also the naval phrase *on borde* is found in O.E., though I think only as a poetic phrase for *in ship*. But like the poetic language of O.E. generally, *on borde* seems to have become obsolete after 1100; no instance of it is known for several centuries, the regular prose form being *within shippes borde*, where *bord* is of course the simple prose *boarding* or side of the vessel; a use which still survives in the phrase *to throw overboard*, that is, over the *boarding* which borders or forms the side of the vessel. But meanwhile the Old Teutonic *bord* had also been adopted in French, from the Frankish conquerors, with the meaning, 1. of the *boarding* or *side* of a ship; and, by extension in one direction, of the *border* or *side* of anything, and in another, of the *whole ship*. Hence *à bord* is in French, *on* or *to* the *side* or *coast*, *on* or *to* the *side* of a *ship*, and generally *in* or *on* a *ship*, like *à cheval*, *à pied*. All these usages of *aboard* appear in late Middle English, as "to run galleys close up *aboard* one of another," "they came to *aborde* in the porte of phylie," to "fall *aboard* with another ship;" or even "with a person." And even the phrase *board aboard*, a mere transference of the French *bord à bord*, side to side, "hard aboard." But the phrase to *go aboard*, French *aller*, *venir à bord*, was the commonest of all. As *board* was in use in English, in such phrases as *within shippes borde*, *over board*, the adopted French *à bord* was very soon treated in English as if it were a genuine descendant of the O.E. *on borde*, and in due course

expanded into *on board*, which I suppose all modern Englishmen use under the impression that the *board* is the *boards* of the deck, and not, as it is really historically, the *boarding* of the ship's side, and hence by extension the vessel as a whole.

There is often great difficulty in words of Romance origin, in settling satisfactorily whether they were adoptions or adaptations of existing French words, or were formed in English directly from the Latin. This is especially the case with non-popular French words, which were themselves formed in French from Latin words after the Revival of Learning. The want of Old French Dictionaries, or other materials, often renders it impossible to say whether the word appeared in English or in French first, and thus whether it was possible that the English could be borrowed from the French word rather than formed independently from the Latin. We may be tolerably certain that the latter is the case, when the English word has a much wider range of meaning than the French, retaining, perhaps, all the Latin senses of the word, while French has, perhaps, only one of them; though here, again, caution is necessary, because the word may have had all these meanings in sixteenth-century French, and have since lost them. More than once, after supposing that an English word of the same spelling as a French one, *abuse*, for instance, was an independent formation from Latin, on the ground that it has so many of the Latin meanings which the French word has not in Littré, I have found in Cotgrave that at that time all the English meanings were in French also.

I am not aware whether any one has given attention to the origin in English of the habit of giving the termination *-ate* or *-t* of the passive participle, to Latin verbs adopted in English, as *penetrate, create, separate, communicate, terminate.* It is of purely English formation, as seen by comparing the French verbs *penetrer, créer, separer, communiquer, terminer,* which would have given in English *penetre, cree, separe, communick, termine,* as actually seen in *compare, announce, revoke, determine.* Modern verbs are, of course, so formed by mere

analogy; we want to know what established the analogy. So far as my researches have gone, I find that few, if any, of these verbs existed before the sixteenth century, and that they were usually, if not always, preceded by a participial adjective in *-ate*, or *-t*, formed directly from the Latin participle passive, as *separate, create, institute, abstract.* My impression is that two lines of development led to this participial adjective being in English used as a verb: one, the existence of several verbs in English ending in *-t*, in which the participle was by contraction the same as the verb itself, as in *put, set, hit*, whence it might be analogically inferred that the participles *separate, create, institute, abstract*, belonged to verbs of the same form; the other, on which I am disposed, on the whole, to place more importance, the fact that, in English, adjectives were now being freely used as verbs, without any change of form, as *dry, clear, wet, round, weary, square, better, happy*, whence *to dry, to clear, to wet, to round, to square, to weary, to better, to happy* (Shakspere), whence by analogy *abstract, distort, content, disperse*, would give *to abstract, to distort, to content, to disperse.* Whatever was the process, the verbs were at first formed in England from the participial adjectives, and not direct from the Latin; although *seeming* to be formed from the Latin verbs, they soon set an analogy which is now almost universally followed. It is worthy of note, also, that, after they had given birth to verbs, these soon began to produce participles of their own regularly formed, in presence of which, after a struggle, the original participle either disappeared or remained only as an adjective. Thus the Latin *abstractus, contentus*, gave the participial adjectives *abstráct, contént*, and these gave the verbs *to abstract, to content*, which produced the regular participles *abstracted, contented.* For a while the older *abstráct, contént*, shared the field with *abstrácted, conténted*, but finally the latter gained the day as participles, leaving the earlier forms (sometimes like *ábstract* with a new accent) as simple adjectives. The participial adjective *create*, on the other hand, after pro-

suggestion shows a confusion of ideas as to the respective functions of Lexicon and Grammar. *Castle* in *Castle-bell* *means* neither more nor less than it does in Windsor *Castle*; it is only *construed* differently; it not merely *names* an object, but by virtue of its position, and, as Mr. Sweet has pointed out, its relative stress, it names that object as pointing out the *kind* of another; and this it does precisely as *all other names of things* do (so far as their meaning permits,) this construction of the noun being one of the *general facts* of English *Grammar*, which the Lexicon assumes to be known. It fulfils in fact precisely the idea which the Greeks had of ἡ πτῶσις γενική the *case of the kind*, blunderingly translated in Latin "*Genitivus*." In *Castlebell*, *Castle* is a noun standing in the *genitive relation to bell*. It is no more to have a separate entry for itself, than *Castelli* has a distinct entry for *Castellum*. True, it has no *inflexion* to show this relation, but it has *position*; and it is the nature of English, as of other modern languages, that *position* largely, very largely, does the relational work once done by inflexion. Our English *Grammars* are slow to recognize these simple principles. The best of them are 800 years behind the facts in many parts. This is notably the fact in what is usually stated under the heading CASE. *Case* is first defined as *an Inflexion, signifying a Relation*; and then in treating of the Nominative and Objective we find *Inflexion* quietly ignored, and *Relation* alone spoken of. Next we come to the Possessive, and lo! presto pass! *Relation* is gone! only *Inflexion* is recognized; it is the "*apostrophe 's*" we hear of alone; that, this *inflexion* is only one very limited way of expressing the genitive relation is deftly concealed. It is as clever as thimble-rigging, and as bewildering! The true way to deal with a language like English, is to cease to speak of *Case*. Explain the *Relations* first, and then explain *how the Relations are shown*; mainly by *position*; largely, in some relations, by *prepositions*; slightly, in one form of the genitive, by *inflexion*. It is only in living agents, and nouns of time, as a rule, that an inflexion now exists for the genitive; the

ordinary method with things is by position: "*One noun before another* (which is not merely in apposition to it) *is in the genitive relation to it;* as *mountain top, gold watch, Windsor Castle, castle bell, soup kitchen, fish soup, winter morning hours, railway carriage wheel inspector.*"[1] It is an interesting fact that all the Old English case-relations still exist in English, and are all capable of being expressed by position alone, without the help of any particle: the Nominative in *the king reigns,* the Objective in *honour the king,* the Dative in *give the king reverence,* the Instrumental in *God-forsaken, fever-haunted, panic-stricken, ice-bound,* the Genitive in *fever bed, panic fit, ice floe, ice cream.* Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental, have each their position, whereby their sense is made as distinct as in the most highly inflected language that ever existed. Would that our grammars would treat English *as it is,* instead of forcing it into the *crucet-hús*[2] of Latin Accidence, where all its bones are broken!

The full explanation of these points will save much useless work in the Dictionary; readers will expect to find *attributive, instrumental,* and *datival* uses of nouns, as well as *subjective* and *objective* uses; and they will not look for *castle* adjective, or *panic* adverb. An adjective is a word whose *primary function* is to define, or express the attribute of, a substantive; it is not a substantive itself; but every substantive can either by position, inflexion, or the use of a preposition, also be employed as an attribute to another, and this is precisely what the old grammarians recognized as its *genitive* use, the

[1] Some time ago it was stated that a School-Inspector "plucked" some little boys in English Grammar, because in parsing *cannon ball,* they did not call *cannon* an *adjective!* A good many teachers would like to hear that Jack-in-office parse *School Inspector,* with "SCHOOL, *adjective,* qualifying INSPECTOR, noun;" and then give him *Infant School Inspector,* to parse *infant,* with the alternative of being "plucked" also, and sent to earn an honest living at something for which he was fit. Would he venture on "INFANT, *adjective,* qualifying the *adjective* SCHOOL," with a new rule, "Adjectives qualify Adjectives;" or on "INFANT, *adverb,* qualifying the *adjective* SCHOOL"? I recommend the Vice-President of Council to have the Inspectors up, and try them with the question, before sending them to try little boys.

[2] "*Crucet-hús,* ðæt is an cæste þat was scort, and nareu, and undép . . . and þrengde þe man þær inne, ðæt hi bræcon alle þe limes"—*O.E. Chron.* 1135.

kinship of which to, but not its identity with, an adjective, was also recognized by the subtle Indian grammarians thousands of years ago.

In referring to Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary I have been tempted to contrast its cautious inductions with certain *derivations* that have passed under my hands since commencing the Dictionary. The original Etymological Committee, you may remember, announced that they were prepared to receive "well-considered derivations of difficult words." Several of these were in due course submitted, and have been preserved among the papers; I do not know that they would amuse anybody more than their writers, such of them as are still alive, and I propose at some future date, when we have a very dry paper, to bring in a little collection of these "well-considered etymologies," and read them for edification, reproof, and instruction in foolishness. Thus one eminent philologist has "always had an impression that *abide* is from the Hebrew *beth* a house, which is in Persian *abád*." He is "not sure whether *body* is from the same root, but the Ags. synonym *bánhús* supplies strong supporting evidence." Another eminent Orientalist derives *able* from an *Ethiopic* word, which is picturesquely given in Ethiopic characters, meaning *artful*. A wag suggests that the word has been introduced by the "Ethiopian Minstrels," who are well known to be *artful* dodgers, and whose *able*ness in appearing black by night and white by day no doubt gave rise to the proverb, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"

But it is time that I should turn from these, my odds and ends of dictionary lore, to the valuable reports which have been contributed to this Address by several eminent foreign scholars. Since the plan of including such reports in the Annual Address was instituted, we have swept over the languages of a large portion of the earth. The Aryan tongues have been fully taken up; as have also the Syro-Arabic or Semitic; competent authorities have reported to us on Basque, Hungarian, and Turkish. The Non-Aryan Languages of India; the varied tongues of the Indo-Chinese

Peninsula; Chinese itself, and Japanese; the Malay dialects, the languages of Polynesia, and the Malagasy, have all passed under review. But little remained for the present Address in order to finish the languages of the Europasian continent, and it was hoped that that little might now be brought before you. This hope has not been quite realized, but I have to confess, that had the work been left to myself, absorbed as I have been in the Dictionary, it would have failed altogether. But our esteemed Member of Council, Mr. R. N. Cust, whose work on the geographical distribution of the languages of nearer and further India I have already spoken of, with that promptitude which ever distinguishes him, and that unsparing and successful exertion which has made many preceding Presidents his debtors, has made me his debtor above them all, and has taken the entire trouble, as he deserves the exclusive credit of obtaining the following reports on Italian Dialects, Caucasian tongues, and Finnish and Lappish languages, which I now lay before you. We confidently expected a report from Professor Teza, of Pisa, on Mandchu, and until a few days ago one from Professor Julg, of Innspruck, on Mongolian; and in order that we might thus complete Northern Asia from West to East, Mr. Cust himself contributed a report upon Corean. Unfortunately, Professor Teza has failed us, and Professor Julg has broken down at the last moment from overwork; so that our geographical sweep is interrupted; but both hope to let us have their papers in good time for another year, when they will be no less welcome.

As we do not yet print these reports in their writers' own languages, my thanks, as well as those of the Society, are due to two of our colleagues who have willingly shared the labour of furnishing English translations—Mr. C. B. Cayley of Prof. Rajna's Italian, and Prof. Rieu of Dr. Donner's German; for the English dress of Prof. Schiefner's report I am responsible.

Professor Rajna, of Milan, on the Dialects of the Italian Language.

[By favour of Professor Ascoli, of Milan.]

"It is a praiseworthy activity which the Italians continue to display in such linguistic studies as are applicable to their own varieties of speech. I shall here review rapidly the publications which have appeared since the Philological Society received its last report on this subject. As the time which has elapsed since that day is already considerable, I shall be compelled, if it were only for the sake of economizing space, to leave my task incomplete. But it matters little; the essential point is, that a sufficiently precise idea should be conveyed of the activity which has here been brought to bear, and that nothing truly important should be forgotten.

"In Italy, as in the other Neo-Latin countries, the achievement of unity of direction has been hitherto unrealized. The strictly scientific school, headed by Ascoli, is still surrounded by numerous bands of irregulars, who are as yet unbroken to the new discipline, and imperfectly educated for any severity of method. But even their labour is valuable, so far as it is expended in collecting materials from the mouths of speakers or from the pages of manuscripts.

"I do not mean that we ought to acquiesce in this condition of things. We ought to study how the rigour of science may be everywhere substituted for the groping of an incomplete knowledge. And there is no doubt that much benefit will be reaped in this respect from the new determination which was given four years ago by our minister Bonghi to the linguistic teaching of the universities, of which the object now, as its name announces, is the comparative study of the Classical and the Neo-Latin languages. And other chairs instituted by the same minister will not fail to contribute to the same end, provided that the 'Comparative History of the Neo-Latin Literatures' be professed there. This very teaching, as, according to the design of the

institution, it has to embrace the study of texts, must certainly afford a wide scope for glottologic observation and research. And one of its objects, and certainly not the least important, is to provide, by training and inciting the efforts of the young, for our still unsatisfied need of critical editions of our earlier authors.

"Whether this object will be obtained, futurity will show; but it is with the Past and the Present that we must now be occupied. And in reporting progress I will begin with works of a more general character, and proceed gradually to the publications which illustrate, or which afford materials for illustrating single dialects.

"Before commencing a review of particular writings, it will be proper to refer comprehensively to the 'Archivio Glottologico,' which, under the guidance of such a pilot as Ascoli, is steadily pursuing the path for which a large tribute of praises was offered to it in our preceding reports. The year 1878 has seen its fourth volume completed and its fifth begun, the latter being devoted to a publication of great bulk and high importance, which exceeds the limits of my abstract.[1]

"With interest and curiosity, especially among foreigners, will be read two papers of N. Caix, on the subject of our language, namely, 'La formazione degl' idiomi letterarii, in ispecie dell' italiano, dopo le ultime ricerche,' in the *Nuova Antologia*, xxvii. 35 and 288, and 'Die Streitfrage über die italienische Sprache' in the *Italia* of Hillebrand, iii. 121. He is controverted with vivacity, and on some points with solidity, by Fr. d'Ovidio in a paper, 'Della questione della nostra lingua, e della questione di Ciullo d' Alcamo,'

[1] Prof. Rajna's sober mention of the *Archivio Glottologico* and the Romanologic activity of its director is fully justified by honourable motives. We are not always free enough when speaking of our own. Prof. Neumann characterizes both the *Archivio* and its founder without any hesitation in his important paper, "Die romanische Sprachforschung in den letzten beiden Jahren" (Kuhn's *Zeitung für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 1877, xxiv. 158—200). Ascoli's edition of Irish Glosses in the fifth volume of the *Archivio*, which Prof. Rajna alludes to, has been separately brought to the notice of this Society. From Professor Flechia, who has greatly contributed to the foundation and maintenance of Professor Ascoli's *Archivio*, a new and very important work is just announced, entitled "Grammatica storica della lingua e dei dialetti italiani."

printed in a volume of *Saggi critici* (Naples, Morano, 1878), where, among a preponderating number of literary labours, are found several, either new or republished, on philological topics. I will mention one which is entitled 'Lingua e dialetto,' and under the same title also an article by U. A. Canello in the first volume of the 'Giornale di Filologia romanza' (Rome, Loescher, 1878), in which the discontinued 'Rivista di Filologia romanza' rises to a new life. The *Giornale* is directed, as the *Rivista* was formerly, by Professor E. Monaci, whose name is a sufficient guarantee that the new periodical will be fruitful in excellent results for the progress of science.

"An attempt at a grammar based on scientific data has been made for the use of the Italian schools of Austria by Professor F. de Mattio. To the *Syntax*, published as early as 1872, has been added the *Phonology* in 1875, and to this the *Morphology* in 1876; and lastly, in 1878, a second edition, in great part re-written, of a work 'Sull' Origine e Formazione della Lingua Italiana' (Innsbrück, Wagner). The aims are excellent, and the explanations clear; but the work leaves something to be desired in respect to precision and completeness.

"Canello, whom I just now mentioned, has given us in the *Zeitschrift für roman. Philol.* of Gröber (i. 510), a new chapter of his study on the 'Vocalismo tonico italiano,' which has been already mentioned in a previous report.[1] It treats of the *e* long and short. Some observations on this topic have been made by D'Ovidio in the *Giornale di Filologia romanza*.[2]

"As I wish to reserve the dialects for hereafter, I pass on to the subject of morphology. The lucid dissertation published a few years ago by D'Ovidio, 'Sull' origine dell' unica forma flessionale del nome italiano,' has given rise to a copious *Ricordo bibliografico*, by Ascoli (*Archivio*, ii. 416—438), which is in fact a new treatise on this very important

[1] Address for 1875, p. 121.
[2] I. 69—83 "Di uno Studio del Professore U. A. Canello intorno al Vocalismo tonico italiano.'

subject; to mention its special object and result would here be perhaps superfluous.[1]

"To this paper has been added one more recent, which is also by Ascoli, 'Altri ablativi d'imparisillabi neutri' (*Archivio*, iv. 398). And while we are still on the subject of Morphology, we must not forget, though brief, the sagacious observations of Caix, 'Sul pronome italiano' (*Giornale di Filol. rom.* i. 43-47).

"Etymology has been enriched by the continuation of the 'Postille etimologiche' of that illustrious master of Italian dialectology and incomparable expositor Flechia (*Arch.* ii. 313—384, iii. 121—176). This work, although originating in the critical examination of a *Modenese Glossary*, has an import extending far beyond the limits of an investigation of a special dialect. Flechia has also written 'Di alcuni criteri per l'originazione dei cognomi italiani,' in the *Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 3, vol. 2 (Rome, 1878),—a very pithy note, which is announced to us as a kind of programme to a very copious work on this subject, which will appear in the *Archivio glottologico*. We owe to Caix a beautiful little volume of 'Studj d'etimologia italiana e romanza' (Florence, Sansoni, 1878, pp. 213, xxxv), which comprises an important contribution of corrections and additions to the *Etymological Vocabulary* of Diez. I will end by mentioning a thick volume by Bianco Bianchi, 'Storia della preposizione *A* e de' suoi composti nella lingua italiana' (Florence, office of the *Gazzetta d' Italia*, 1877, pp. 452 and viii. in large octavo). This work is open to many criticisms, especially in the etymological part,[2] but forms a contribution of great value to the study of Syntax; and is also a very acceptable sign of the diffusion gradually attained by scientific information and methods even beyond the always limited circle of specialists.

"Another indication of the same kind is the fine study

[1] See Newman's paper quoted at about p. 196, and Merzdorf in Ascoli's "Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft" (authorized translation of R. Merzdorf, completed by B. Mangold), p. 52.

[2] See particularly a review of Flechia in the *Archivio glottologico*, iv. 368.

by the distinguished ethnologist, B. Malfatti, on the 'Idiomi parlati anticamente nel Trentino' (*Giorn. de F. r.* i. 118—189), with which I mean to begin my review of the literature of the single dialects. Malfatti gives us a copious and forcible refutation of the affirmations of Schmeller in a memoir entitled 'Deutsche und Romanen in Süd-Tirol und Venetien' (in the *Mittheilungen of Petermann*, 1877). Here Language comes into the field as a science subsidiary to ethnology and history. But we see this science alone and in all its severity in the two memoirs in which G. Morosi and Fr. d'Ovidio have illustrated, one the *Vocalismo leccese*, and the other the *Fonetica del dialetto di Campobasso*. To say that these two works have appeared in the *Archivio glottologico* (iv. 117—144, 145—184) renders superfluous every word of praise for the rigour of the method and the completeness of the handling.

"In the form of annotations to the 'Cronica degl' Imperatori romani,' published by A. Ceruti (*Arch.* iii. 177—243), and to the copious collection of 'Testi inediti friulani,' of V. Joppi (iv. 145—184, 245—342), Ascoli has lately illustrated the Venetian dialect (iii. 244—284), and the true and proper Friulian together with the Tergestine (Trieste) variety (iv. 342—367). The dialectology of Venice has also been enriched, through his diligence, with a paper on the *participle in esto* (*ibid*, 393—398). We are transported to the central region of Italy by a *ricordo bibliografico* occasioned by two Aretine publications (ii. 443—453). And these dissertations of Ascoli are worthily accompanied by a note of Flechia's 'Intorno ad una peculiarità di flessione verbale in alcuni dialetti lombardi' (*Atti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 2, s. 3, 1876).

"Together with the scientific literature of the dialects, the materials for their study have been much enlarged. I have already mentioned some texts incidentally, and here, notwithstanding that I have to go back several years, I cannot but recall, with words of lively gratitude for the indefatigable compiler, the monumental volume in which an impassioned bibliophil, John Papanti, has given us, translated into full

700 dialectal varieties of Italian, a short story of Boccaccio's ('I parlari italiani in Certaldo alla festa del V centenario, di Giov. Boccaccio,' Livorno, Vigo, pp. 734 and xiv). In this collection we ramble over the whole of Italy, visiting every corner of it. We have good materials for the dialectology of a single province in the 'Parlari del Novarese e della Lomellina' (Novara, 1878), by A. Rusconi, a book in which we willingly pardon the many blemishes of the introduction. From a province we turn to a single city. The 'Rime di Niccolò Campani detto Lo Strascino' (Siena, Gati, 1878), edited by C. Mazzi, and the glossary with which the editor has furnished it, deserve to be considered as a valuable contribution to the study of the Sienese dialect.

"To proceed to the South of Italy, I will mention the *Cato* in verse, printed by A. Miola in the *Propugnatore* (vol. xi. par. 2, 320—345). But it is not of course my intention to mention everything here. Nevertheless, reducing much matter to a few words, I will observe that the greatest obligations, as regards materials, are due to our popular songs and tales.[1] Even as regards popular tales the good custom has been established of giving them in the vernacular of the narrators. And in this way the compilers themselves have been forced to become dialectologers. Such, and of a good sort, are Pitré with his 'Grammatica del dialetto e delle parlate siciliane,' which accompanies his very rich collection of 'Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani' (Palermo, 1875), four vols.; and Avolio, in the collection 'Canti popolari di Noto' (Noto, 1878). A dialectological introduction is also prefixed, by A. Ive, to his 'Canti popolari istriani raccolti in Rovigno' (Torino, Löscher, 1878). But it would be too much to ask me to mention all the collections of popular songs and tales which have appeared during

[1] In this connexion I may be allowed to mention the fine work of Professor A. D'Amond, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, Vigo, 1878, and another, which is open to criticism from various points of view, but certainly not destitute of valuable elements, by E. Rubieri (*Storia della Poesia popolare italiana*, Florence, Barbèra, 1877). To give a more exact idea of them, these two works might with advantage exchange their titles.

the last few years. This, at any rate, should be the subject of a special report.

"As to lexicography I will begin with the 'Bibliografia di vocabolari ne' dialetti italiani' (Bologna, Romagnoli, 1876), compiled by A. Bacchi della Lega. A second edition, much augmented and almost re-written, has appeared of the 'Dizionario Genovese' of Casaccia (Genoa, Schenoni). It is but slow progress that is made by the 'Vocabolario dell' uso fiorentino' of Giorgini and of Broglio, as well as by the new edition of the 'Vocabolario della Crusca.' But, in respect to the 'Crusca,' I must not omit a significant and very promising fact, namely, that the illustrious academicians have taken their places among the subscribers to the Diez Foundation. Thus the old philology lends a hand to the new, and recognizes in a manner the necessity of proceeding henceforth abreast of it."

The Languages of the Caucasus.

Professor Schiefner of St. Petersburg, the first authority on the obscure and difficult languages of the Caucasus, the affinities of most of which are so little known that they are included by Lepsius in his provisional lumber-room of "Isolated Languages," has himself contributed the following account of their geographical distribution, the philological work done upon them, and the remarkable peculiarities of structure which they present.

"The languages of the Caucasus have only partially been made the subject of scientific treatment. If we pass over the mere lists of words in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*, and the specimens in his *Kaukasische Sprachen*, the first step to a really thorough investigation was made by the Academician Sjögren, who, as the result of his own personal researches among the Ossetes, published at St. Petersburg, in 1844, his '*Ossetische Sprachlehre*, with a short Ossetic-German and German-Ossetic Vocabulary' (pp. xlix. and 543, 4to.), and subsequently, in 1847, in the *Mémoires* (series vi. vol. vii. pp.

571–652), his '*Ossetische Studien*, with special reference to the Indo-European Languages'—first part, the Vowels. In 1845 there appeared in the *Transactions of the Berlin Academy* a treatise by Dr. George Rosen on the Ossetic Language (pp. 361–404). After a long interval, Schiefner had occasion to open up new sources for investigation, by the publication of Ossetic texts, viz. *Ossetic Proverbs*, Bulletin, anno v. pp. 435–453 (1862); *Supplementary Observations on the Ossetic Proverbs*, Bulletin, anno v. pp. 492–495 (1862); *Ossetic Texts*, Bulletin, anno vi. pp. 446–473 (1863); *Two Ossetian Animal Legends*, anno viii. pp. 35–43 (1864); *Ossetian Tales and Stories*, Bulletin, anno xii. pp. 180–211 (1867). P. Lerch wrote also in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy (vol. viii. pp. 13–50) on the Plural-suffix in Ossetic (1864). Simultaneously with these, Friedrich Müller was busy with Ossetic in Vienna; in the Proceedings of the Academy of that city he published his researches *On the Place of the Ossetic in the Iranian Group of Languages* (vol. xxxvi. (1861) p. 3); *Contributions to Ossetian Phonology* (vol. xli. (1863), p. 148); *The fundamental principles of the Ossetic Conjugation, treated from the side of Comparative Philology* (vol. xlv. (1864), p. 524). The most recent essay is that of *C. Salemann*, in St. Petersburg, *A Study upon the Ossetic Conjugation*, Part I, in A. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, vol. viii. pt. i. pp. 48–90 (1874).

"From materials available in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences, Schiefner succeeded, with the help of a native, Georg Ziskarow, in producing an exhaustive work upon the Tush language; this appeared in 1856, in the Mémoires of the St. Petersburg Academy, vol. ix. as a treatise upon the Tush Language (pp. 160, 4to.). Mainly through this work, Major-General Baron Peter Uslar, who had been entrusted by the Russian Government with the task of preparing an ethnographic description of the Caucasus, was urged on to similar investigations. He turned his attention to the Tshetshensian, a language which stands in the closest connexion with the Tush. This language has its chief extension in the basin of the river Sundsha, in the region of

the tributaries which fall into it from the right, but prevails also to the north of the river as far as the Terek; on the east it extends to the rivers Yaryk-su and Ak-tasch, as far as their effluence into the Kumukian plain; on the west to the river Kambileyevka, an affluent of the Terek, and even as far as the Terek. The number of the Tshetshenses amounted in the year 1868 to 170,000 souls. Uslar's work treated especially of the dialect of the plain, and was lithographed by himself in 1862. This enabled Schiefner, in 1863, in his *Tshetshensian Studies* (Mémoires of the Academy of Sciences, series vii. anno vii. No. 5—pp. viii. and 72), to show the relationship of the language to the cognate Tush, and the greater antiquity of the latter.

"Upon the basis of the materials collected by Adolf Berger and others, and in part by the help of individuals to be met with in the Caucasian Battalion at St. Petersburg, Schiefner attempted in his 'Essay upon the Awar,' 1862 (Mémoires, series vii. vol. v. No. 8, pp. 54), to fathom the peculiarities of the Awar tongue. This language is spoken in the heart of Daghestan, over a tract extending 160 versts from north to south, from Tshir Yurt to Novîye Zakataly, by 70 versts in breadth, in the district of Gunib in Central, and the Awar district in Western, Daghestan. In the year 1868 the population comprised 96,000 souls. The essay of Schiefner was, however, soon superseded by the considerably more comprehensive and more copious work of Baron Uslar: 'On the Northern Dialect of the Awar, viz. that of Chunsag' (lithographed by the author in Russian). It was not till 1872 that Schiefner furnished a comprehensive account of these languages (Mémoires, series vii. anno xviii. No. 6, pp. viii. and 180), in which he compared the Awar grammatically as well as lexicographically with the other languages of the Caucasus.

"The next work of Baron Uslar related to the language of the *Kasikumuks*, or, as they call themselves, *Lak*. The latter name was also preferred by Baron Uslar, who entitled his work 'A Sketch of the Lak Language.' This tribe chiefly inhabits the Kasikumuk district in Central Daghestan;

their numbers amount to about 33,000 souls. Schiefner's full account of this work appeared in 1866 (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. x. No. 12, pp. viii. and 136).

"Connected with this was a communication of Baron Uslar, in the Bulletin of the St. Petersburg Academy (vol. vii. No. 2, pp. 99), referring to the Artshi language, which, although it is spoken only in one village, 30 versts south-west of the Kasikumuk territory, and passes as something quite peculiar and isolated, nevertheless stands closely related to the languages of Daghestan.

"Baron Uslar next turned his attention to the languages which are spoken to the east of the highlands of Daghestan —the district which had hitherto been exclusively investigated—and first of all to the Darginian dialects, and those of the mountains Kaskak. The population of this territory amounts to some 90,000 souls, extending north as far as the Aul Kadar, which is situated close to the Awar speech-frontier, and south to the village of Tshirach, near the S.E. frontier of the Kasikumuk domain. Broadly speaking, there are three main dialects,—Akusha, Tshaidak, and Wurkun; of the former, the Akusha proper and Käba are the most widely spoken: the latter is also, after the largest village, called the *Huruk* speech, on account of which Baron Uslar designated it in his work the *Hürkilinian*, but Schiefner in his treatise (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. xvii. No. 8; pp. iv. and 200) in 1871, in reference to the fact that the single individual is called Hürkan, has distinguished it as *Hürkanian*.

"Finally, Baron Uslar dealt also with the Kurinian language, which is spoken in the most southern part of Daghestan, on both sides of the river Samur as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea. The total number of the Kurins amounts to about 80,000. Schiefner's report upon Uslar's work (also lithographed by himself) appeared in June, 1873, in the *Mémoires*, series vii. (vol. xx. No. 2—pp. iv. and 256). The work in which Baron Uslar was engaged, when death prematurely cut him off, on the 28th of June, 1875, is still unprinted. It is his essay on the Tabasseranian language.

"The work on the Kurinian which was the last published, stands on the other hand also in a certain relation to Schiefner's Essay on the language of the Udes (Uden), which had appeared in the *Mémoires* as early as 1863 (series vii. vol. vi. No. 8, pp. 110). This remnant of a people has maintained its existence only in two villages (Wartashen and Nish) of the district of Nucha in Armenia, therefore quite outside the boundary of Daghestan. Both languages have been exposed to the strongest influence of the Azerbijanic dialect of the Tartar; the Tartar element has made its influence most strongly felt on the Udish, but is equally powerful as regards the Kurinian, which appears already to have lost a great part of its Caucasian peculiarities.

"If we turn now to the languages of the Western Caucasian lands, we must give prominence to the Abchasian as the object of the investigations of Baron Uslar. Of his lithographed work Schiefner furnished a report in the year 1863 (*Mémoires*, series vii. vol. vi. No. 12, pp. viii. and 61). Before him George Rosen had turned his attention to the same language, from whom a treatise upon the Mingrelian, Suanian, and Abchasian appeared in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1845 (pp. 405–444).

"From George Rosen there appeared also, as far back as 1843, a treatise upon the speech of the Lazes in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy (pp. 1–38).

"On the Tsherkessian field there are only two works to name, the Tsherkessian Dictionary compiled by L'Huilier in the Russian language, with a short Grammar (Odessa, 1846), of which work Sjögren furnished a report in 1846 in the *Bulletin Historico-Philologique*, vol. iv. pp. 165–176, and Loewe's Dictionary English-Circassian-Turkish, and Circassian-English-Turkish, London, 1854.

"After this short survey of the more recent investigations in Caucasian philology, omitting the literary languages, we may ask what peculiarities of these languages have been brought to light by the inquiries above named.

"In our survey we have begun with an Iranian language,

the Ossetic. In addition to many other peculiarities, we would call attention particularly to the fact that here the liquids, *r* especially, do not follow the mutes but precede them. The Ossetic words *artha* and *furth* correspond to the Sanskrit *traya* and *putra*. But these peculiarities are found likewise in the Tshetshensian and Awar: thus the Tshetshensian has *korgun* 'deep,' and *merzin* 'sweet,' as compared to the Tush *khokru* and *maçri;* the Awar *gabur* 'neck,' and *ebel* 'mother,' have in the plural *garbul* and *ulbul*. Another peculiarity which the Awar and Kasikumuk share with the Ossetian, is this, that *m* can never appear finally, but *n* appears instead; only a few foreign words constitute an exception. So in the Kasikumuk final *b* is similarly inadmissible, and must pass into *u*.

"The Tush, like the Mongolian, does not admit of initial *r*; in the Udish *r* occurs initially only in a few foreign words.

"The great frequency of gutturals and sibilants is remarkable in the Caucasian languages; the former number from ten to fifteen in the languages investigated by Baron Uslar, and the number of the various sibilants is no less considerable. Besides these, mention ought to be made of the mixed sounds compounded with *l*, which approximate to the *clicks*. Of these the Tush has only one, *'l*, while the Awar, according to the observation of Uslar, presents four of them. In the Abchasian the same inquirer has pointed out gutturals and sibilants ending in a parasitic *w*, and dentals with parasitic labials, as t^p, d^b.

"As we are accustomed in various languages to distinguish words by *gender*, so in the Caucasian languages there are various analogous categories, depending firstly upon the fact whether the individual words signify beings with or without reason; and secondly, among the former, whether they indicate male or female, or such as have sex not yet developed or unrecognizable. In expressing these categories, the letters *w* (*u*), *y* (*i*), *b*, *d* (*r*) are employed, and the modification partly exhibited initially. Thus in Tush we have *stag wa* 'homo est,' *bstuino ya* 'mulier est,' *do ba*

'equus est,' *bader da* 'infans est;' so also the adjectives *woxo* 'magnus (vir),' *yoxo* 'magna (femina),' *boxo* 'magnus (equus),' *doxo* 'magnus (infans)'; further the nouns *waxol*, *yaxol*, *baxol*, *daxol*, 'magnitudo (viri, mulieris, equi, infantis,' respectively); in the Awar, *wagi* 'hunger (of a man),' *yagi* 'hunger (of a woman),' *bagi* 'hunger (of a beast),' *ragi* 'hunger (of several);' in the Hürkanian, *wãḥ* 'face (of a man), *dãḥ* 'face (of a woman),' *bãḥ* 'face (of cattle,' etc.). The same change is also found in the Locative forms, especially in Awar; e.g. *rogou* 'domi' 'at home' (he), *rogoi* 'at home' (she), *rogob* 'at home' (cat, dog); plural, *rogor* 'at home' (they), *rogowe* 'domum' home (he), *rogoye* 'home' (she), *rogobe* 'home' (horse, cow, etc.), *rogore* 'home' (they).

"These languages have no diminutives.

"In Tush and Tshetshensian, the Nominative case is not the simple stem, but mostly an abbreviation of it; e.g. in Tush, *çar* 'fire,' nom. *çe*; *phar* 'dog,' nom. *phu*; or a mutation of the stem-vowel, as *matt* 'young,' nom. *mott*; *nag* 'way,' nom. *nig*. Numerous as are the cases, these languages possess no Accusative; they dispense with it. The terminations for the plural are very numerous; in Tush, Tshetshensian, and Kasikumuk, double plural-suffixes occur.

"In the numerals, the Ossetic, Tush, Tshetshensian, Awar, Kürinian, and Udish, follow the vigesimal system, with which the Kasikumuk and Hürkanian do not agree.

"The personal pronoun in Tush, Tshetshensian, Awar, has, in the first person plural, two forms, one including, the other excluding the person addressed. The relative pronoun is wanting in most of the languages; only in Tush and Udish, it coincides in form with the interrogative.

"In the verb, the stem undergoes a peculiar strengthening when the action or occurrence has reference to a multitude. This is especially the case in Tush and Tshetshensian; thus beside the simple verbs '*toxar* 'to beat,' '*tasar* 'to fell,' *xasar* 'to throw,' there exist the verbs of multitude '*tebxar*, '*tebsar*, and *xebsar*. Here may be mentioned a peculiarity of

the Hürkanian; nouns expressive of a collective idea—even though they have a special plural—take with their singular number a plural attribute and predicate, e.g. *vidziti šin* 'sweet water' *dulces aqua* (sing. *vidzi* 'sweet'), *šin lir* ('the water *are*,' *aqua sunt* (sing. *liv-* 'is'), *sagati mura* 'fresh hay,' *recentia fenum* (*saga*, 'fresh,' 'new,' and *-ti*, plural affix).

"But the great characteristic of the verbs in these languages is the exuberance of tense and mood forms, expressing at once the beginning, continued, contemplated, and required action. The Awar presents a pluperfect; the Hürkanian has *two*. Among the preterite forms of the Awar is one restricted to actions and occurrences of which the speaker has not himself been a witness. Similarly there is in Kasikumuk an Aorist used of events which the speaker has not himself seen, but has learned by hearsay, especially of things which he has experienced in his earliest youth, and knows only by the reports of others. In Kurinian, one of the perfects expresses that which arises expectedly in connexion with a preceding event; the other that which is unexpected.

"Among the peculiarities of Syntax, one of the most striking is that in these languages the dative is used with certain verbs with which we are accustomed to use the accusative, especially with verbs denoting sensuous impressions (as *see*, *hear*, etc.), knowledge, love, obligation, power, wish, and in Udish also verbs of fear and shame. The want of an accusative (already mentioned) is also supplied by a construction in which the acting subject of a transitive verb is put in the instructive or instrumental. In Tush, moreover, the pronoun of the first and second persons, but not of the third, stand also before other verbs in the same case; e.g. *as lei* 'I speak,' *aḥ lei* 'thou speakest,' but *o lei* 'he speaks;' but if the idea of personal action is excluded, the subject is in the nominative case, as *so wože* 'I fell' (accidentally), but *as wože* 'I fell' (not without some blame or intentional action).

"The foregoing remarks have had special reference to the languages of Eastern Caucasia. The peculiarities of the

Western languages are of a different nature; but of these only the Abchasian has become partially known through the labours of Baron Uslar. In this language the most interesting feature is the remarkable prefixture of the personal pronouns. For example, the word *ab* 'father,' makes *sab* 'my father,' *uab* 'thy father' (masculine), *bab* 'thy father' (fem.), *yab* 'his father,' *lab* 'her father,' *hab* 'our father,' *ṣab* 'your father,' *rab* 'their father.' In the same contracted form the personal pronoun is prefixed to the verb.[1] Most noteworthy are the verbal forms which take the place of the Interrogative pronoun; thus from the substantive verb *qa*, we have *iqouda*, 'who is?' *iqadar* 'who was?' *iqarnda* 'who is not?' *iqarndar* 'who was not?' *iqouzi* 'what is?' *iqazi* 'what was?' *iqamzi* 'what is not?' *iqamyz* 'what was not?'

"As the Tsherkessian has not yet been treated grammatically in accordance with the requirements of philology, we may here only mention that in this language also prefixes play an important part, and that the interrogative particle appears likewise as an infix.

"The Georgian, long ago raised to the dignity of a written language, possessing a rich literature, which has also been treated grammatically by Brosset, Tschubinoff, and others, I only name in conclusion, for the sake of mentioning some forms analogous to the Abchasian, viz. *uiçer* 'I write for myself,' *wuçer* 'I write for him,' *miçer* 'thou writest for me,' *mçer* 'thou writest to me,' *miçerebi* 'thou writest me.'

"In conclusion, I do not consider it superfluous to note that Frederick Müller, even in his second edition of the *Algemeine Ethnographie* (Part 1, Vienna, 1878, p. 26), has not quite correctly classified the Caucasian languages as,—

"*a. Lesghian*, Awar, Akusha, Kasikumuk, Kürinian, Kubetshi.[2]

[1] In the prefixed *a* of the Abchasian, we have clearly a demonstrative pronoun which has sunk down into an article; compare *aab* 'the father,' with *abyk* 'a father,' *anapy* 'the dog,' with *napyk* 'a dog.'

[2] Compare B. Dorn: "The present Kubätschi" in the bulletins of the St. Petersburg Academy, vol. xviii. p. 321-326 (1872), where a short vocabulary is also given.

"*b*. Tsherkessian, Abchasian.

"*c*. Kistish (Tush), Tshetshensian, *Udish*.

"*d*. Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, Suanian.

"Here, in the first place, *Lesghian* must be struck out, since it denotes no particular tribe or people; secondly, *Udish* has its affinities rather with Kürinian; while Kubetshi stands in more intimate relationship to Hürkanian, and ought, therefore, to follow after Akusha; I should also prefer to place Tsherkessian and Abchasian not in the second place *b*, but to put it as *d* in the fourth place."

Finnish and Lappish and their Mutual Relationship.

We are indebted to Doctor Otto Donner, Professor of the University of Helsingfors, in Finland, for these remarks on the Finn and Lapp languages; they have been translated from the German original. Dr. Donner is the author of the "Vergleichendes Wörterbuch des finnischugrischen Sprachen," vol. i. ii. 1874-76, a work of the highest authority: he has also published translations from Sanskrit into the Swedish and Finn languages, and several grammatical works, as well as a collection of Lapp ballads.

"Amongst the Finno-Ugrian languages which form one branch of the comprehensive Altaïc family, one group is marked off from the rest by several peculiar traits. This Finnic group comprises the following idioms: Mordvin and Tsheremiss, Lapp, Livonian, Vêpse, Esthonian, Karelian, Vote, and Finnish. They separated themselves from their single common stock in about the same order in which they are here enumerated, first of all the Mordvin-Tsheremiss, which alone remained behind in a southern region while the others wandered a considerable distance towards the north-west.

"The principal and most recent sources for the study of these languages are the following:—

"*Mordvin*.—For the Moksha dialect a grammar by A. Ahlqvist, and for the Ersa dialect one by F. J. Wiede-

mann; both pretty comprehensive, and printed in the German language, at St. Petersburg, 1861 and 1865. The word-lists which they contain were, together with those brought home by A. Reguly, edited by J. Budenz, and published, with grammatical obsevations, in the Hungarian *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Philological Communications), vol. v., with Hungarian translation.

"*Tsheremiss.*—M. A. Castrén published, in 1845, Elementa Grammatices Tscheremissæ, and Wiedemann a Versuch einer Grammatik der Tscheremmiss. Sprache, Revel, 1847. J. Budenz published at Pest, 1866, a vocabularium Čeremissicum utriusque dialecti.

"*Lapp.*—Besides the earlier and defective grammars of Rask (1832) and Stockfleth (1838), the most trustworthy representation of this language is the grammar of J. A. Friis, Professor in Christiania for the Norwegian-Lapp dialect, with several observations on the others, printed in the Norwegian language, 1856. E. Lönnrot and A. Andelin have described the Enare dialect in Finland (Acta Societ. Scient. Fennicæ, T. iv. v. vi). Besides the Lexicon Lapponicum, by Lindahl and Öhrling, for the Swedish-Lapp, which was published in 1780, but is not satisfactory for the relations of sounds, N. V. Stockfleth's Norsk-lappisk ordbog, Christiania, 1852, still affords the best lexical help for the Lapp language. It has made use both of Rask's definitions of the sounds, and the results of Castrén's thorough essay on the influence of the accent in the language of Lapland (Memoires de l'Académie des Sciences, t. vi. St. Petersburg, 1843). At present Professor Friis is engaged in the composition of a complete Norwegian-Lapp dictionary, which will, as far as possible, take all the dialects into consideration. The Russian-Lapp, on the peninsula of Kola, will soon be treated grammatically and lexically by Dr. Genetz.

"*Livonian.*—After the Finnish savant J. A. Sjögren had, in the years 1846 and 1852, passed some considerable time among the Livonians, in Courland and Livonia, and made philological observations, these were continued after his

death by Wiedemann, and published in 1861. They contain a complete Livonian grammar, together with specimens of the language, as well as a Livonian-German and German-Livonian dictionary, a very full and carefully wrought work.

"The language of the *Vêpses*, or *Northern Tchudes*, has been described by E. Lönnrot (Om det Nord-tschudiska språket. Helsingfors, 1853), by A. Ahlqvist (Anteckningar i Nordtschudiskan. Acta. Soc. Scient. Fenn. vi.), and A. Genetz (Vepsän pohjoiset etujoukot Kieletär, 1872–3). The language of the *Votes* has only been treated by Ahlqvist (Votisk grammatik jemte språkprof ad ordförteckning, Acta. Soc. Fennicæ, t. v.); and for the Karelian there exists only a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, published by Wiedemann, 1864, and Ahlqvist, 1865, from an older text.

"*Esthonian.*—The Esthonian language has been long worked at by native investigators in an abundance of special essays, especially by Dr. F. R. Fahlmann, more recently from the point of view of comparative grammar by Dr. M. Weske. For a long time the grammar by E. Ahrens of the dialect of Reval (2nd edition, Reval, 1853) was the only one that could be used; J. Krohn altered completely the phonology, so as to bring it into agreement with the views of Finnish grammarians (Wiron kielioppi Suomalaisille = Esthonian Grammar for Finns, Helsingfors, 1872). In fulness and accuracy all these are surpassed by the more recent work of Wiedemann's (Grammatik der Ehstnischen sprache, zunächst wie sie in mittelehstland gesprochen wird, St. Petersburg, 1875, pp. xviii. and 664). This and the Ehstnisch-Deutsches wörterbuch, St. Petersburg, 1869, by the same author, form at present the two indispensable guides to the knowledge of the Esthonian language. Commissioned by the Academy of St. Petersburg, Wiedemann traversed Esthonia in various directions for several years, making collections. He has treated his very comprehensive materials according to strict phonetic principles.

"*Finn.*—As in Esthonian, so also in Finn, the laws of the language during the later decades of this century have

been investigated with increasing care, and set forth in special treatises and grammars. Of the latter the best are the grammars of R. v. Becker (1824), G. Renvall (1840), F. Collan (1847), and G. E. Eurén (1847). The principles of treatment which Eurén established after the researches of many others in accord with the views of comparative grammar in other departments, have remained the same in later works. Although the investigation of the various dialects has already considerably increased the mass of materials, they have not yet been put together. A. Ahlqvist has made a beginning in his work, Suomen kielen rakennus (Structure of the Finnish language), I. Helsingfors, 1877, in which he treats of the nominal-suffix and of declension as well as the Finnic metre. Of dictionaries, beside J. Renvall's Lexicon linguæ Finnicæ, Aboæ, 1826, which, through the German and Latin translations, is still the one most generally useful for foreigners—are, G. E. Eurén's Finnish-Swedish (1860), F. Ahlman's Finnish-Swedish and Swedish-Finnish (1877). Since 1866, however, a complete Finnish-Swedish dictionary is being published by E. Lönnrot, who works up into a whole the collections of the Finnish Society of Literature, to which he himself has been the principal contributor. Of this great linguistic treasure, which will comprehend more than a hundred thousand words, twelve parts have been published, reaching as far as the letter *u*. A Latin-Finnish dictionary, by F. W. Rothsten, appeared 1864; a German-Finnish, by B. F. Godenhjelm, 1873; a French-Finnish, by A. Meurman, 1877; in preparation are a Finnish-German and an English-Finnish.

"We here leave aside Mordvin-Tsheremissian as an account of its peculiarities would lead us too far. Here only the most important points of accord with the other languages can be pointed out. The Mordvin declension has, in common with the Finn and Lapp, the so-called 'inner' local cases, that is to say, an inessive in *sa*, and elative in *sta*, an illative in *s* (no longer in Lapp), and a predicative in *ks*. Of the Finnish 'outer' local cases in *lla*, *lta*, *lle*, we find traces in Lapp as well as in Mordvin, only in

adverbs and prepositions, which were originally nominal forms. The Mordvin has further, in common with the Finn, the same characteristic of the plural, employs the same reflexive pronoun and the same numerals up to ten as the Finn-Lapp, while, for example, the Permic languages and the Hungarian have the same roots in changed forms only up to seven. On the other hand, the Mordvin, the Livonian, and the Lapp, use different personal terminations for the present and the preterit, whereas the Finn uses everywhere the same terminations. The Finno-Esth-Vêpse has a potential in *ne*, which is not found in the three first-named members, while an optative in *ča*, unknown in Finn, and a conjunctive in *le*, are common in Lappo-Mordvin; the last-named, however, is found also in the Suojärvi dialect in East Finland. The infinitive in Mordvin and Esthonian ends in *ma*, a formation which, for the matter of that, is used in several cases as a supine in Finn and Lapp.

"These and other coincidences—and similar ones are also to be found in the vocabulary—show the Mordvin-Tsheremiss to be a member of the Finnic group in the narrower sense of the word. On the other side we find important differences in the formation of the verbs, and in the retention of the objective conjugation peculiar to the Ugrian languages. All this points to the conclusion, that the Mordvin and the Tsheremiss separated themselves from the common group earlier than the others. In the further ramification of this group, the Lapp without doubt followed next, as it accords more closely with them than do the rest. With the exception of these points of accord, and a few peculiarities found in the Lapp dialects, the common development of the Finno-Lapp is of so essential and so obvious a character, that every one who is acquainted with them must place them in the closest connexion with one another.

"As far back as two hundred years ago Wexionius (Epitome descriptionis Sueciæ, Gothiæ, Fenningiæ; Aboæ, 1650) sought, by grammatical comparisons, to show the near

relationship of the last-named languages. He was followed by Scheffer (Lapponia, Francofurti, 1673), Ol. Rudbeck, Ganander, Högström, Leem, Porthan, and others. The Hungarian savant Sajnovics (Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse, Hafniæ, 1770), and Gyarmathi (Affinitas linguæ Hungaricæ cum linguis Fennicæ originis grammatice demonstrata, Gottingæ, 1799), sought more particularly to prove the relationship of the Lappo-Finn with distant languages; as did also the Danish investigator Rask (Om den Finniske sprogklasse, 1820). It was only recently that people have attempted to define more narrowly the mutual relations of Finn and Lapp. Castrén (De affinitate declinationum in lingua Fennica, Esthonica et Lapponica, Helsingforsiæ, 1839) proved that not only the declension in several cases, but also the weakening of different consonants (Accentins inflytande i Lappskan-Suomi, 1844) were originally identical in the two languages. Then followed Lönnrot's comparative paradigms of the nominal and verbal inflexions in the Finmark and Enare-Lapp dialects, in Finn, Esthonian and Vêpse (Acta Societ. Scient. Fennicæ, tom. iv). In his account of the nominal suffixes of the Finn (Suomen kielen rakennus, Helsingfors, 1877), Ahlqvist cites the corresponding forms from the other West Finnish languages, whereby he threw light upon this side also of the formation of language. Hitherto it had been considered by the philologists as a settled point that of all the Finn-Ugrian languages—deduction being made of the nearest dialects—the Lapp is nearest akin to the Finn, and this theory appeared in all classifications of the same. Last autumn, however, the prominent Hungarian savant, J. Budenz, published a treatise 'On the ramification of the Ugrian languages,' in which he divides those two idioms into two groups, North Ugrian and South Ugrian, the last including only Finn, Karelian, Vêpse, Vote, Esthonian, Livonian, and Mordvin-Tsheremiss. He separated the Lapp language from its previous connexion, and assigned it to the other group, chiefly, as it seems to me, on the ground that the Lapp, like the

other languages of this group, possesses two parallel series of words beginning with the nasal *n*, and *ň* (palatal-nasal), which are found only exceptionally in the South Ugrian languages as he calls them. He explains the numerous close lexical and grammatical coincidences of the Lapp with the Finn, as having been borrowed during the long time in which the Lapps and the Finns have lived in contact with one another.

"This is not the place to discuss the new principles thus set up by Budenz; I have done so in an examination of 'The mutual relationship of the Finno-Ugrian languages,' which will be printed in the next volume xi. of the Acta Societatis scientiarum Fennicæ. I there adhere to the older theory, and here will only shortly mention the essential points of agreement which, in my opinion, prove their internal relationship. I therefore leave on one side the features, to be found more or less in the other cognates, whereby the Finno-Ugrian class of languages is especially distinguished from all others.

"Compared with the Finn, the Lapp appears at the first glance in many instances something strange, especially as regards the vocabulary, which contains a number of peculiar forms, that are sometimes to be found in the other cognates, but often occur in the Lapp alone. This is explained by the circumstance that the Lapps have always remained nomads, whilst the Finns have practised agriculture for at least a millennium and a half. The looser social conditions of the nomad life, which, moreover, does not permit the development of a higher education, has an isolating influence as regards language as well as in other points. Consequently the various dialects of Lapp stand much further apart from one another than do those of the Finn in the narrower sense of the word, and this especially holds good of the vocabulary; very ordinary ideas are often expressed by totally different words in Norwegian-Lapp and Swedish-Lapp. In this state of things the formal and lexical coincidences gain in importance. The principal are as follows:

"In the Norwegian-Lapp, as well as in the northern dialect of Swedish-Lapp, in Finn and Esthonian, there prevails a peculiar phonetic law, according to which the tenues *k*, *t*, *p*, in the stem-syllable pass into the medials *g*, *d*, *v* (or *b*), if the stem-syllable is closed by the addition of a consonant, and the originally doubled tenues are simplified; thus: Finn. *akka* 'woman,' elative *akasta;* Lapp. *jokka* 'river,' stem *joka*, elative *jogast;* Finn. stem *käte*, genitive *käden*= Norweg.-Lapp. *gietta*, genitive *gieda(n)*; Swed.-Lapp. *käta*, genitive *kädan*. This law has undergone later modifications in the different languages, but we can hardly suppose that any language should have taken so peculiar a sound-change from another. Even on the supposition that this phenomenon originally characterized the Finno-Ugrian parent language, it is still the two above-named languages which, in contrast to the rest, agree in faithfully preserving it, a circumstance which, taken together with other phenomena of a like character, point to a special historical development.

"The second phonetic agreement between Lapp and Finn (which is also found in Livonian) is the gradation of the vowel of the root, corresponding to the gunation in the Indo-European languages. The simple *a*, *o*, *u* (or rather *ä*, *ö*, *ü*), are changed into *uo*, dialectically *uö*, *ue*, *oa* (or *üö*), and *i* in *ie*, thus:

Finn. *kala* fish=Norweg.-Lapp. *guolle;* Sw.-Lapp. *kuele*
,, *sormi* finger= ,, ,, *suorm;* Utsj. ,, *suörbma*
,, *tote* true= ,, ,, *duot;* Sw.-Lapp. *tuotta*
,, *suole* entrail; Liv. *suol'*=Norweg.-Lapp. *čoalle;* Sw.-Lapp. *čolle;* Enar. *čoale;* Ersa.-Mord. *s'ula*
,, *tietää* to know; Liv. *tiedö*=Norweg.-Lapp. *diettet;* Sw.-Lapp. *tētet;* Syrynä. *töda*.

"This peculiarity is often found in Ostyak-Vogul.

"Among the suffixes for forming nouns are several common to the Lapp and Finn, while they occur only partially in Mordvin. Such are:

N. Lapp. *vuotta*, Sw. Lapp. *vut*=Finn. *ute*, *ūte*, for abstract nouns;

N. and Sw. Lapp.		*o*, *u*=Finn. *o*, *ŏ*, and *u*, *ŭ*, for nouns of action;
,,	,,	*os*, *us*=Vêps. *ose*, *use*, Esth. *use*, Finn. *okse*, *ukse*, for nouns of action;
,,	,,	*les*=Finn. *lias*, adjectival suffixes;
,,	,,	*laš*=Finn. *laise* and *llise*, both usual for adjectives;
,,	,,	*mättom*=Finn. *mattoma*, for nomina caritiva;
,,	,,	*an* = Finn. *ime*, Mord. *ma*, for nom. instrumenti;
,,	,,	*ja*, *e*, *i*, =Finn. *ja*, Mord. *i*, for nom. agentis.
,,	,,	*muš*=Finn. *mukse*, for verbal substantives.

"More than twenty similar suffixes can be brought forward.

"Besides the ordinary accusative, the Finnish languages on the Baltic have a partitive, which is used to denote a partial or indefinite object. In the two principal dialects of Lapp, Norwegian, and Swedish, the present accusative plural agrees in form with the Finn partitive plural: Lapp. *id*, *it*=Finn. *ita;* but in the singular only one form is used, which agrees with the Finn case for the whole object. Formerly, however, the Lapp, too, had both cases, as is proved by an old book of prayers of the year 1669, and that, too, in the most perfect formal agreement with the Finn; Lapp partitive sing. *d*=Vêps. Esth. *d*, Finn. *ta*; while for the total objective case is in Lapp the termination *m*=Tsherem. *m*, Finn. *n*, for older *m*. In the more distant languages we find no trace of this double formation, which is certainly to be reckoned one of the most peculiar forms of a language, and thus binds the Lapp to the Finn as closely as possible.

"The conjugation has, in Lapp, two characteristics for moods that are not used in Finn; on the other hand, three others (potential in *ksi*, imperative-operative in *ka* and *ko*, infinitive in *ta*) which belong exclusively to Lapp and Finn-Esth-Livonian. The formation, however, of the negative conjugation agrees with the Finn with peculiar closeness, so that in this respect even the Livonian and Esthonian

are more remote. As is well known in the Permian, the Mordvin-Tsheremiss, and the Finn languages, the negation of a sentence takes place in such a manner that the personal terminations are attached to the negative word, and the verbal root is left without termination. The Livonians and the Esthonians have, however, already obscured this rule, so that the former now distinguish only two forms (*äb*, *äd*), while the Esthonians have only one (*ei*). On the other hand, the Lapp forms of the negative verbs: (1) *im*, (2) *ik*, (3) *i;* plural (1) *äp*, (2) *ättet*, (3) *äi:* follow with fidelity the Finn sing. *en*, *et*, *ei;* plural *emme*, *ette*, *eivät*. We must not here be too much surprised at the fact that the Lapp is the only Finno-Ugrian language in Europe which has retained the dual in the personal pronouns, and consequently in the verbal inflexions also. This agrees with the general antique stamp which the Lapp has, in many respects, better preserved than its cognates. We must go beyond the Ural to find like features in the Ostyak-Vogul languages.

"The personal pronoun itself has in like manner stopped at the same older stage, as in Mordvin and Syryänian-Votyak. From the ground-form—Ostyak *ma*, Samoyed *man* (I)—has been developed the Mordvin, Lapp, Syryäni *mon*, while the Baltic Finns say *minä*. In the reflexive pronoun, the relative and others, the Lapp again approaches the Finn more closely, and in the particles, postpositions, and adverbs, formed from the cases of pronouns and nouns, it shows an agreement amounting to dialectal identity.

"The numerals agree, it is true, with those of the Finn, but in this it is followed by the Mordvin-Tsheremiss, whilst on the other hand the Ostyak-Vogul-Magyar and the Syryäni-Votyak diverge from one another as two separate groups in their names for eight and nine. For ten the Syryän-Votyak languages and the Magyar have borrowed from the Indo-Germans the expression *das*, *tiz*; the Lapp uses the same word as the Vogul, in this point differing from the Finnish.

"The whole vocabulary of the Lapp dialects is not yet completely compared with the Finn. Single collections

seem to lead to the conclusion that at least one-half of the words is connected with roots still used in Finn. A respectable proportion of these words belong only to the Lapp-Finn.

"From what has been said about the specific peculiarities of the Finno-Lapp, their great importance as proving the close relationship of the two languages is sufficiently plain. I say languages, for we must not conclude from their similarity the kinship of the respective peoples. As is well known, the Finns physically differ very considerably from the Lapps, and it does not yet seem to have been made quite clear whether we should suppose a physical degeneration of the latter owing to their mode of life, full of toil and privations,—or are to suppose a mixture of various stocks to have taken place. In the present stage of Finno-Ugrian research we cannot decide this question on linguistic grounds. The heterogeneous elements which are found in Lapp are connected partly with the Ostyak-Vogul, partly with the Samoyed, and must therefore be considered, to some extent, as derived from the Finno-Ugrian parent-language, to some extent from the more remote period of the Altaïc linguistic unity. But whether these peculiarities were a common inheritance of the as yet undivided West Finnish tribe, or whether stocks more remote, linguistically speaking, from the Finn have been taken up into the same, must be determined at some future time. So much is, in my opinion, certain, that Finns, Vêpses, Esthonians, Livonians, and Lapps dwelt together as a united people in inner Russia for a considerable length of time. The Mordvins and Tsheremissians had separated themselves earlier as a branch from the common stock. In this period, about the first century of our era, a number of loan-words were taken up from the neighbouring Germanic languages, which are to be found in common both in Lapp and in Finn."

Mr. R. N. Cust on Korean.

"In the Annual Reports of previous years notice has been taken of the languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, Indian Archipelago, Japan, China, and Polynesia. With a view of exhausting the 'Extreme Orient,' I have thrown together all that is published of the language of the Korean Peninsula, that unknown and debateable land, which lies, as it were, betwixt China and Japan, connected with both, but on bad terms with, and independent of, both. I have been fortunately placed in communication with Mr. W. G. Aston, the distinguished Japanese scholar, who published last year in the *Japan Mail* the best account hitherto available of the Korean language. I have also consulted the writings of M. Léon de Rosny of Paris, and looked to the right and left for any other source of original information. The subject was lightly touched upon by Professor Vassilief at the Oriental Congress of St. Petersburgh, 1876.

"Mr. Aston supplies the following Bibliography:—

"1. 'Sankoku Tsuran Tosetsu,' translated by Klaproth, 1832.

"2. 'Thousand-Character Classic,' with Korean version. Siebold, 1833.

"3. 'Comparative Vocabulary of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese.' Medhurst, 1835.

"4. 'Chinese-Korean Vocabulary,' with German version. Siebold, 1838.

"5. 'Histoire de l'Eglise de Koree.' Dallet, 1874.

"6. 'Korean Primer.' Ross, Newchwang, 1877.

"To which I may add,—

"7. 'Articles in the Journal of Société Asiatique,' M. Léon de Rosny, 6th series, vol. iii. and vol. viii.

"8. 'Russo-Korean Vocabulary.' Pontzillo.

"9. 'Chinese-Corean and Corean-French Vocabulary.' Callery.

"10. 'Vocabulary Japanese-Aino-Corean.' Metchnikoff, 1877.

"It is remarkable, that the Koreans have a real alphabet called 'onmun,' with fourteen consonants and eleven vowels, written, either in an ordinary or cursive form, from the top to the bottom of the page, syllable by syllable. It had been stated by Rémusat, that the Korean alphabet was identical with the New-chih and Kitan characters of the Chinese; but Mr. Wylie is of opinion that this is not correct. We have yet to learn how the Koreans acquired their alphabet, whether from the Tibetan or Mongolian, or from other sources. The vocabulary, like that of the Japanese and Annamite, is heavily laden with Chinese loan-words, but these words undergo a considerable change of pronunciation, and form, and have to submit to the grammatical processes of the Agglutinative method, for to that order the language belongs. The higher classes use the Chinese language for writing and social intercourse: all laws, and books of science, are written in that language, but the pronunciation is so different, that it is unintelligible to residents of China proper.

"After eliminating Chinese loan-words, the Korean language is found to be totally distinct from Chinese. As a nation, they have kept themselves very much apart, and have held communication with the Chinese and Japanese alone. There may have been at some period an extensive native literature, but it is now represented by a few poems, romances, and nursery tales, and in later days by a number of works composed by Christian missionaries, who have here, as elsewhere, encouraged vernacular literature.

"Klaproth is the first scholar, whose contributions to the knowledge of this language are worthy of notice. A still more substantial addition was made by Siebold. He published first a vocabulary picked up from Koreans shipwrecked at Nagasaki in Japan; then the work cited in the commencement of this notice, and, in 1838, the Luiko, a Chinese work, giving the Korean words at the side of the Chinese characters, without any attempt at grammatical construction. Medhurst published his dictionary in 1835, chiefly for the use of Korean students of Japanese, and arranged according to the

usual system of classes, or categories, and giving, 1st, the Chinese character; 2nd, the Japanese sound of the Chinese character expressed in Korean letters; 3rd, the Korean word followed by the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese character, and, lastly, the Japanese word, all expressed in the Korean alphabetical character. An English version is added, and, as it contains about four thousand words, it is a most useful work. The Roman Catholic Missionaries had prepared a grammar and dictionary, but it perished, while in manuscript, in a fire, and they were expelled in 1866 from the kingdom. M. Dallet, in 1874, in the introduction to his history of this Mission, published a short but valuable Grammatical Sketch, compiled from materials furnished by the Missionaries, and this is the only Korean Grammar extant, and, as far as it goes, is excellent, and is indispensable to any student of Korean. The Rev. Mr. Ross, of the American Presbyterian Mission, has since published a small volume of Dialogues on ordinary subjects, which is valuable, as being the only publication which gives grammatically constructed sentences. Nothing had previously existed, except a bald vocabulary, and Grammatical Notes. Mr. Ross has therefore extended the means of learning Korean very considerably, as the interior structure of the language is, for the first time, revealed by him.

"Mr. Ross's system of transliteration is approved by Mr. Aston, with one exception. He gives *g* and *k* as the values of the two gutturals, *d* and *t* of the dentals, and *b* and *p* of the labials, but other scholars maintain, that there are no such Korean sounds as *g*, *d* and *b*, and they substitute *k*, *kh*; *t*, *th*; *p*, *ph*. A proof of the correctness of the latter view is that, when the Koreans write words of other languages, in which the letters *g*, *d*, *b*, occur, they have recourse to signs, never used for any Korean word, such as a combination of *m* and *p* for *b*.

"The Manuals, compiled by the Japanese College of Interpreters at Fusankai, present many advantages, but unluckily they have never been printed; they contain phrases, dialogues, and sentences, illustrating the words of a Chinese

Categorical Dictionary. The relationship of Japanese to Korean is so close, that the Japanese interlinear translation corresponds, not only word for word, but particle for particle, with the Korean original, which is rendered more striking by the circumstance, that the order of construction of the two languages is almost precisely identical, and the Japanese version thus discloses the minutest details of the structure of the Korean. Mr. Mayers' untimely death has destroyed all hope of the publication of his intended Korean Grammar, and the materials left by him are in too unfinished a state to be utilized by others.

"Mr. Aston remarks, that the Korean language unmistakeably belongs to the Agglutinative order, but it is not obvious to which of the families that adopt that method, it belongs, for later investigations have brought to light the existence of several, and the use of the term Turanian must be abandoned. In its grammatical construction it exhibits a strong resemblance to Japanese. There are also points of phonetic resemblance, such as the refusal of the Korean to allow the letters *l* or *r* to stand at the beginning of a word, and the use of honorific auxiliary verbs and particles. Points of difference are also noted by Mr. Aston. In Korean the vowel of one syllable exercises a modifying influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable to an extent unknown in Japanese. Indeed, the vowels are a great difficulty to the student, as they are not only freely modified for grammatical reasons, but even the same word is not unfrequently spelt indiscriminately with different vowels. It is true, that the Korean alphabet is in itself much more simple and consistent than the Japanese syllabary, but the spelling is in a state of confusion, which is a sad contrast to the regularity of Japanese, and forms a very serious obstacle to progress in the language. The rule, that every syllable must end in a vowel, is not observed in Korean.

"Resemblances between Korean and Japanese words are by no means unfrequent, but no complete survey has as yet been made of the vocabulary of the former language. In some cases a regular law of letter-change seems traceable.

Mr. Aston supplies the following among other instances. That the Korean final *r* or *l* corresponds to the Japanese *ts* or *ds* is confirmed by finding, that this is indubitably the case in words taken from the Chinese. The Japanese *k* or *f* corresponds to the Korean *p*. The most convincing resemblances are those, which occur between pronouns, particles, and grammatical terminations in the two languages. With the means of grammatical analysis of Korean at present available, it is difficult to institute satisfactory comparisons of these elements of the two languages, and nothing can be done until we have a scientific grammar, which the lamented death of Mr. Mayers has now deferred *sine die*.

"The noun is described as having nine cases, and there are no adjectives properly so called, their functions being supplied by the noun and verb. The verb has a simple affirmative form, a conditional, an interrogatory, an honorific, a causative, and several others, but it marks no distinction of number or person.

"This is one of the languages upon which further light must be thrown by the next generation of scholars. The time may come, when there will be a Comparative Grammar of the Agglutinative Languages of the Extreme Orient. We commend the subject to Mr. Aston."

In closing, it is hardly necessary for me to point out how greatly we are obliged to the distinguished scholars who have supplied the foregoing Reports for this Address, and thereby acquainted us with the results of their work in branches of philology which would not otherwise come directly under our notice. In Great Britain, the inducements and original resources are alike wanting to encourage any one to devote himself to the study of such languages as Finnish, or the various idioms of the Caucasus. All the more is it important that we should, from time to time, be brought face to face with their linguistic phenomena, to help us to rise beyond what is, after all, the one-sided character of Aryan speech-formation, and to realize how multiform and

varied are the modes by which human thought finds verbal utterance. I was especially struck, in reading the account of the Caucasian languages, with the statement that in some of these the accusative case has no existence, and that they dispense without difficulty with what, to the Aryan conception of speech, seems an essential of thought. Yet, a little reflection enables us to see that the distinction of subject and object is only *one* of the ways in which the passing of an action from the originator to the receiver may be expressed. What is essential is, that, in some way, the three things shall be named, viz.:

Name of Source or originator,	Name of Destination or receiver,	Name of the Action;

and that by some means, whether by the use of relational words ("particles") separate or combined, by a formal "agreement," that is, *mutual reference*, between the action named and one of the other names, or by a conventional order of the three, we are given to understand which *is* the source and which the destination. In such a sentence as *the men push the stone*, the only things essential are that we name *the men*, *the stone*, and *the pushing*, and indicate by *some* means the

Source,	*Destination*,	*Action exerted*,
The men;	The stone;	Pushing.

The fullest way of doing this would be to put the source or originator in the materially-originative or "Instrumental" case, and the receiver in the "Accusative" or case of destination, thus:

	From men,	stone-*ward*,	a pushing!
or	Stone-*ward*	*from* men	a pushing!
or	A pushing	stone-*ward*	*from* men!

or in any other order whatever, the relative position being absolutely immaterial. But it is evident that it is not necessary that both the source and destination should be formally shown; if this be done with either, the character of the other will be known by inference. It is evident also that the *pushing* is predicated or asserted as much of the

stone as of the *men*, it is an asserted or dynamic attribute of the *action* of the one, of the *state* of the other. It may thus be referred to and made to "agree" with either. In the Aryan languages it is viewed in the former relation, and the action-name or verb, viewed as an attribute or characteristic of its source or originator, has had its ownership marked by the appending to it of the corresponding pronoun. This agreement now serving to indicate the source of the action, the "particle" which originally marked this ceases to be of any practical moment, and may either be dropped altogether, or survive as a mere inflexion of the subject, so that we have left in later stages of language

Homines	saxu-*m*	urge-*nt*
Men	stone-*ward*	a-pushing- -*they*,

the order being still of no importance. It is a later application of economy of effort to dismiss the formal signs entirely, and indicate, by order alone, the relation between the three ideas, as in the English

(the) Men push (the) stone,

where we have neither formal expression of the destination (*-ward*), nor formal agreement of verb and subject. The order is of course quite conventional; it might as well have been as in the French pronouns,

Men stone push,

or, as in Hebrew,

Push men stone,

provided that habit had familiarized us with what the order *signified*. It is however perhaps natural, that, in thus reducing the sentence to the bare *names* of the three things concerned, the *men*, the *stone*, the *push*, these should be named in the order in which they are logically connected, as *source, action, destination; men push stone.*

This is the ordinary mode of expressing such an idea in the Aryan languages; as is still the case with many languages of the earth, they had originally no other. But by various paths, all of them attained at length to another mode of expressing the idea, whereby the action is viewed as a property

of its destination or receiver, and accordingly shows this by "agreement" with it. Thus the hypothetical primitive form

	From men	stone-*ward*	a pushing,
or	Stone-*ward*	from *men*	a pushing,

becomes by dropping the sign of destination, or what is the same, ceasing to view it as such,[1] and by "agreement" of the verb with it,

	Saxu-*m*,	*ab* homin*i* *bus*,	urge-*t*-ur
	Stone	*by*-men,	a-pushing- -*it!*
or	A-pushing- -*it*,	stone,	*by*-men!

or, as we say in English,

The stone (is) a-pushing by the men,

or, with a modified form of the verb to distinguish conveniently its *aspect* as an attribute of state, from that of an attribute of action,

The stone is push*ed* by the men.

It is evident that this expresses the thought just as faithfully and completely as

The men are pushing the stone,

and that, instead of being the less common and subsidiary, it might have been the ordinary, or only, way of expressing it. In English we find it practically very convenient to use this form when we either cannot, do not want, or are not wanted, to name the subject of the action, as

French is spoken here,

instead of

Somebody speaks French here;

or when we want to emphasize the object by way of distinction, as

The other "Holy Family" was painted by Raphael,

instead of

Raphael painted the other "Holy Family."

[1] The use of the Accusative for the Nominative, originally wanting in neuter nouns, is probably connected with the appearance of the passive voice in the verb. The Neuter was no doubt originally restricted to the names of those inert objects, which seemed to have no power of originating action, and which could only be thought and spoken of as its recipients or destination, so that their names would occur only in the object case.

In these examples we have a distinctly "passive" form of the verb; that this was quite unnecessary is seen by such occasional phrases as

	Servus	vapulat	a domino
or	Warwick	fell	by the sword.

There might have been verbs expressing by their simple ("active") form, the reception of every action as well as that of *beating*, the suffering of every action as well as that of *slaying*.

We need not therefore wonder if languages exist which take this passive or rather neuter construction of the sentence as their ordinary or only one. Such languages clearly can need no accusative case; the source of the action will appear, in an intransitive act, in the nominative; in a transitive act the recipient or destination will be in the nominative, and the source or originator in the instrumental. That this relation of the instrumental to the nominative as a kind of secondary subject was apparent to the Indian grammarians is, I think, apparent from the order of the cases, *Nominative*, *Accusative*, *Instrumental*, *Dative*, as if they had said primary subject, primary object, secondary subject, secondary object, before passing on to the more adverbial and adjectival cases.

Such is a specimen of the ideas which rise in the mind from the glimpses into these out-lying fields of philological research afforded us by these reports; there are many other points on which one might similarly moralize, but I feel that I ought rather to apologize for yielding to the temptation of bringing them before you at this point of my Address, when my real duty was to thank you at once for the honour which you did me a year ago in electing me to be your President, and the kindness and forbearance which you have uniformly extended to me in my endeavours to discharge the duties of the office.

Specimen of the Dictionary.

(As the preceding Address deals so largely with the Dictionary, it seems only fair to show how the Dictionary deals with "Address," of which the following is the proposed treatment, so far as the materials in hand allow. To suit these pages, the columns have had to be reduced about one-third in width.)

In the etymology (ad.) = *adoption of*; (f.) = *formed on* or *from*; (:-) = *regular later form of*.

ADDRESS (a-dres') *v.* also 4-5 Adress(e) [ad. (14th c.) Fr. *adress-er*, older *adrescer*, *adrecer*, *adrecier* = mettre à droit; f. *à* to + *dresser*, O. Fr. *drecier* :- late pop. Lat. *drictiare* :- *directiare*; f. *drictum*, *dirictum* :- *directum*, right, straight, direct; see Dress. For change of *a-* to *ad-* in 15th c. Fr. (where it was subseq. abandoned), and in Eng. (where retained), see Ad- 2.]

Prim. sig. to straighten: — I. to make anything straight; then, to put things 'straight' or right; to put in order; to order, prepare; to array, clothe. II. to make straight the *course* of anything, to direct, to dispatch; to direct a letter, direct one's speech or oneself to, speak to. III. to direct oneself with preparation to a task, to apply oneself.

I. To make (a thing) straight or right. Mostly *Obs.*

1. *trans.* To straighten up, to erect; to raise, to set up. *refl.* To raise oneself, to stand erect, *lit.* and *fig.* *Obs.*

c. 1375. Barbour, *Bruce*, vi. 173, How he sa hardyly Addressyt hym againe thaim all. 1483. Caxton, *Golden Legende*, fo. lxxxvii. col. 2, The first day that he was wasshen and bayned he addressid hym right up in the bassyn. 1620. Shelton, *Don Quixote*, III. i. I. 116, He arose, remaining bended in the midst of the way, like unto a Turkish Bow, without being able to address himself.

2. To put (things) "straight," or "to rights," to set in order: to order, arrange, or array (a body of troops, etc.). *Obs.*, but cf. Dress.

1375. Barbour, *Bruce*, xiv. 265, His men adressit he thame agane. 1523. Lord Berners, *Froissart*, I. ii. 2, [He] achyued many perilous aventures, and dyuers great batelles addressed. 1601. Holland, *Pliny*, I. 445, Put to their shifts, and forced for to addresse themselues, and range a nauall battell in order.

2a. To right what is wrong; to redress (wrongs), reform (abuses). *Obs.*

1525. Lord Berners, *Froissart*, II. lxxx. [lxxvi.] 238, I say not this to you, bycause ye sholde addresse my wrongs . . . by hym ye maye be addressed of all your complayntes.

3. *trans.* To order or arrange for any purpose: to prepare, make ready. *Refl.* To prepare oneself. (Const. *obj.* simply, or with *to*, *unto*, *for*.) *Obs.*, but see III. *infra*.

1393. Gower, *Conf.* v. 5021, This lord of Rome it name [*i.e.* took] And therupon him hath adressed. 1485. Caxton, *Paris and V.*, 40, Eche departed fro other for tadresse suche thynges as to them shold be necessarye. 1598. Chapman, *Iliad*, v. 730, And Hebe, she proceeds T' address her chariot. 1633. Hall, *Hard Texts*, 315, Those of Media addressed their Target for a present defence. 1684. Bunyan, *Pilg. Prog.* II. 201, He addressed himself to go over the River.

3a. (*with refl. pron. suppressed*). To prepare. *Obs.*

1513. Gn. Douglas, *Æn.* VI. iv. 2, Sibillais commandment Enee addressis performe incontinent. *c.* 1607. Shaks. *Tr. and Cr.* IV. iv. 148, Let vs addresse to tend on Hectors heeles.

4. *Esp.* To prepare or make ready with the *proper attire;* to accoutre, array, apparel, or attire, for any special purpose or occasion; *in later usage, simply* to clothe. (Constr. to address *a person in;* also of *clothes* addressing *a person*.) *Obs.* but see the contracted form Dress.

1393. Gower, *Conf.* i. 1722, As he her couthe best adresse In ragges, as she was to-tore. *c.* 1425. Wyntoun's *Cronykyl*, vi. ii. 38, Thaire ryng, thaire sceptyre, and thare crownys ar devotly blest Or thai in-to thaim be addrest. 1513. Gn. Douglas, *Æn.* IV. iv. 40, [He] wmquhile thaim gan balmyng and anoint, And into gold addres, at full gude poynt. 1567-9. Jewell, *Defense of the Apology*, 349, Tecla sometime addressed her selfe in Mans apparell. 1628. Hall, *Cont.* Lib. xxi. 80, That soule which should be addressed, a fit Bride for thine holy and glorious majestie. 1678. Fr. Quarles, *Arg. and Parth.* 63, A Pilgrims weed her liveless limbs addrest from head to foot.

4a. To put on (a garment), to don. (Also with *on*.) *Obs.* or *Arch.*

1513. Gn. Douglas, *Æn.* XI. x. 2, Turnus hym self, als fers as ony gleid, full bissely addressyt on his weid. 1835. Browning, *Paracelsus*, iii. 81, I have addressed a frock of heavy mail.

II. To direct.

1. To make straight the course or aim of (anything); to direct; to aim (a missile). *Obs.* except as a techn. phrase in *Golf*, "to address the ball."

1483. CAXTON, *Golden Legende*, cciv. 3, My crosse shall shewe my hede to therth and addresse my feet to heuen. 1520-41. Sir T. WYATT, *Poet Wks.* 197, Sinners I shall into thy ways address. 1601. SHAKS. *Twelfth N.* I. iv. 15, Therefore, good youth, address thy gait unto her. 1676. HOBBES, *Ho.* 159, Paris . . . To him an arrow unperceiv'd addrest. 1667. MILTON, *P. L.* ix. 496, So spake the enemy of mankind and towards Eve addressed his way. 1867. *Cornh. Mag. April*, 494, The moment [a golfer] begins to "address" his ball, as it is called, he expects that as a matter of course, everybody near him will become dumb and motionless.

2. To direct (any one) to go (*to* a person or place), to send, dispatch; to refer, introduce. *Obs.*

1477. CAXTON, *Jason*, lf. xi, I pray yow if ye knowe any in this contre that hit may plese yow to adresse me to them. 1577-87. HOLINSH. *Sc. Chron.* II. 19, King Edward addressed his orators into Scotland. 1660. EVELYN, *Mem.* I. 355 (ed. 1857), I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt. 1724-34. BURNET, *Own Times*, I. 285 (ed. 1823), He was addressed first to the Earl of Clarendon.

2a. *refl.* To direct one's course, to make one's way; to betake oneself. *Obs.* (See III.)

1477. CAXTON, *Jason*, lf. xxx, He addressid him on that parte where he sawe the banyer royall. 1576. W. LAMBARDE, *Peramb. Kent*, 137, (ed. 1826,) Into Italie whether warde he addressed himself with all speede. 1647. FULLER, *Hy. War*, II. iii. 46, Such pilgrims as were disposed to return addressed themselves for their country.

3. To send as a written message (*to* some one); to write (anything) expressly that it may reach and be read by some one; to destine, inscribe, dedicate. *To address a letter* to one, to write and send it; in modern usage also, *techn.*, to write on the outside the name and residence of the person to whom it is addressed.

1636. HEALEY, *Epictetus*, Ep. Dedic., [He] ever wisht if these ensuing were published, they might onely bee addressed unto your Lordship. 1651. HOBBES, *Leviathan*, Pt. II. xxiii. 126, For the Advice is addressed to the Soveraign only, etc. 1772. *Junius*, lxviii. 355, This letter is addressed not so much to you, as to the public. 1857. PRESCOTT, *Philip II.*, I. ii. 19, Previous to his embarkation Charles addressed a letter to his son.

4. To direct spoken words *to* any one; (*orig.* implying that he was at some distance, and that they had to be sent with special force; afterwards merely that they are meant expressly *for* him).

a. *trans.* To address *prayers, vows, a speech, words* (*to* a person).

1491. CAXTON, *Art and Craft*, 17, The oraysons and prayers whiche [thei] adressen vnto our lorde. 1684. DRYDEN, *Threnodia Augus.* 2, His usual morning vows had just address'd. 1718. POPE, *Iliad*, v. 38, When by the blood-stain'd hand Minerva press'd The God of battles, and this speech address'd. 1849. MACAULAY, *Hist. Eng.* I. 623, Her husband received her very coldly, and addressed almost all his discourse to Clarendon. 1858. O. W. HOLMES, *Autocrat*, xi. 109, I never addressed one word of love to the schoolmistress.

4b. *refl.* To address *oneself, i.e.* in speech (*to* a person).

1665. JN. SPENCER, *Vulgar Proph.*, 53, God addrest him to men in more natural and familliar ways. 1855. MAURICE, *Proph. and Kings*, xvii. 293, To all these different tendencies of the people's mind, Isaiah addresses himself. 1858. DE QUINCEY, *Whiggism*, Wks. VI. 41, To consider the Doctor as addressing himself exclusively to the lady of the house.

4c. *intr.* (by *omission of obj. or refl. pron.*). To address *to* a person (also *techn.* = to present a formal address). *Obs.*

1724. BURNET, *Own Times*, II. 32, Yet they addressed to him against it. 1765. A. TUCKER, *L. of N.* II. 686, If either he had addressed to the studious, or I been to write for the better sort.

4d. *trans.* (by omission of *to*). To address a person.

1718. POPE, *Iliad*, v. 518, And, calling Venus, thus address'd his child. 1782. PRIESTLEY, *Matter and Spirit*, I. pref. xii, In printed publications we, in fact, address all the world. 1859. DE QUINCEY, *Cæsars*, Wks. x. 112, The custom was that the candidate should address every voter by his name. 1872. J. YEATS, *Tech. His. Comm.* 430, By adjusting circumstances without, and by addressing the affections within.

III. (A special development of **I. 3.** influenced by **II. 2a.**)

1. *Reflex.* To prepare and direct oneself (*to* a work); to turn oneself with preparation (*to*); to apply oneself, to turn one's skill or energies *to*.

c. 1515. SKELTON, *Agaynst the Scottes*, 89, And now to begyn I will me adres, To you rehersyng the somme of my proces. 1633. HALL, *Hard Texts*, 348, The captive Jewes . . . shall soon addresse themselves to their returne. 1661. *History of Parismus*, I, 31, Parismus and the rest of the company addressed themselves to that pastime. 1816. J. WILSON, *City of the Plague*, I. iv. 30, We may address ourselves to revelry. 1849. MACAULAY, *Hist. Eng.* II. 67, These men addressed themselves to the task of subverting the treasurer's power.

2. *Intr.* (By suppression of refl. pron.) To turn the attention, to apply (*to*). *Obs.*

1710. PALMER, *M. E. on Prov.* 106, It loses the relish of all, by addressing to too many.

Address (a-dres') *n.* [Partly E.a. French *adresse*, f. vb. *adresser;* partly subst. use of Eng. vb. ADDRESS q.v.]

1. Preparation. *Obs.*

1633. HALL, *Hard Texts*, N. T. 408, I beheld a present representation of addresse unto a terrible judgement. 1665-9. R. BOYLE, *Refl.* Ded. Lett., Your Importunity ingaged me (though not to the address) yet to the Publication of these Papers.

2. Array, attire; dress. *Obs.*

1592. WM. WYRLEY, *Vse of Armorie*, 100, 5, *Lord Chandos*, Foorth I proceed in order clad, In weldie armes right fair addresse.

3. General preparedness or readiness for any event: directness of action; skill, dexterity, adroitness.

1622. BACON, LORD, *Julius Cæsar*, Wks. (Bohn) 499, His ready address to extricate himself both in action and discourse; for no man ever resolved quicker, or spoke clearer. 1644. EVELYN, *Mem.* I. 94, Being built exceedingly reclining, by a rare address of the architect. 1778. MISS BURNEY, *Evelina*, I. 169, The prisoner had had the address to escape. 1829. SCOTT, *Antiquary*, xxx. 208, Miss Griselda . . . had not address enough to follow the lead. 1857. PRESCOTT, *Philip II.*, I. vi. 93, The French commander had the address to obtain instructions to the same effect from his own court.

4. Manner of speaking to another, bearing in conversation.

1716-8. LADY M. W. MONTAGUE, *Letters*, I. xx. 61, A princess of great address and good breeding. 1791. LORD AUCKLAND, in Corresp. II. 396 (ed. 1861), Her address and manner are good (alluding to the Duchess of York). 1849. MACAULAY *Hist. Eng.* I. 12, Those nobles (the Norman) were distinguished by their graceful bearing and insinuating address.

5. The act of addressing or betaking oneself to any one; recourse, application, approach for any object.

1661. BP. BRAMHALL, *Just Vind.* iii. 35, To make his first addresse for justice to a secular Magistrate. 1673. *True Notion of the Worship of God*, 4, Those that make their addresses to him through Christ, must know and believe the sum of the Gospel.

6. *Esp.* Dutiful or courteous approach to any one, courtship to a sovereign (*obs.*) or a lady. Now always in the plural, as in *to pay his addresses* to a lady.

1539. STRYPE, *M. R.* I. 544, The king looked for address: and was well pleased when he had it from such as had a repute for learning. 1665-9. BOYLE, *Refl.* IV. xix. 284, And procuring her to be haunted by some . . and to make an address which aims but at the Portion, not the Person. 1749. RICHARDSON, *Clarissa*, iii. II. 11, She did not dislike his address, only the manner of it. 1775. FIELDING, *Tom Jones*, III. 93, To make sham addresses to the older lady. 1854. THACKERAY, *Newcomes*, I. 17, The black footman persecuted her with his addresses.

7. A discourse specially directed to any one, either written or spoken; as the dedication of a book; a message of congratulation, respect, thanks, petition, etc.; and in modern usage a set discourse, a speech addressed to, or appealing to an audience.

1705. J. ADDISON, *Remarks on Italy*, [I] can have no other Design in this Address than to declare that I am your lordship's most obliged ——. 1751. CHAMBERS, *Cycl.* s.v. Address, a discourse presented to the king, in the name of a considerable body of his people. 1759. ROBERTSON, *Hist. Scotl.* I. ii. 154, They joined, with this view, in an address to the regent. 1857. PRESCOTT, *Philip II.*, I. ii. 28, The magistrates of the cities through which he passed welcomed him with complimentary addresses. 1872. A. J. ELLIS, in *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1873, 1, To make our Anniversary conform to those of other learned Societies, by delivering an annual address.

8. The direction or superscription of a letter, etc.; the name of the person and place to which it is addressed or directed; the name of the place to which any one's letters are directed.

1712. BUDGELL, *Spectator*, No. 277, 6, Having learnt the Milliner's *Addresse*, I went directly to her house. 1848. *Vestiges of Creation*, 312 (3rd ed.), The number of letters put in without addresses is year by year the same. 1863. THACKERAY, *Pendennis*, lxii. 606, His address was to his brother's house in Suffolk.

ERRATA.

P. 6, l. 9, *for* seventh *read* eighth; do. l. 20, *for* eighth *read* ninth. P. 17, note 1, *for* 1601 *read* 1611.

ON "HERE" AND "THERE" IN CHAUCER.

BY

R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ., D. LIT.

For an outline of the argument, see the recapitulatic
the last two pages of the paper.

ON *HERE* AND *THERE* IN CHAUCER,

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KEY TO PALÆOTYPE.

The double vowel indicates the same sound as the single, but longer.
aa, as in *fa*ther
ai, as in Italian
ʌ, as in w*a*ll, r*aw*
u, as in mentio*n*, re*a*l
æ, as in h*a*t, p*a*n
e, as in m*e*t, p*e*n
ee, as in th*e*re, d*a*re
ei, as in Italian
ee, as in th*ey*, d*ay*, w*eigh*, t*a*me
ə, as in b*u*t, r*u*n
əi, as in m*i*ne, dr*i*ve
əu, as in h*ou*se, t*ow*n
ii, as in s*ee*, s*ea*, mach*i*ne
i, as in p*i*n, r*i*ver
ɔi, as in b*oy*, n*oi*se
o, as in *o*mit, h*o*tel
oo, as in n*o*te, h*o*me
dh, as in *th*ey, *th*en
H, the common aspirate
J, the semivowel *y*, as in *y*et, *y*oung
zh, as in pleas*u*re, az*u*re
ɹ, as in fath*er*, m*ur*m*ur*
A dot in the middle or at the end of a word indicates that the accent rests on the syllable immediately preceding, as (Hotel·), (HəidrʌI·iks), (pæt·ronəiz)

I WISH in the following pages to reconstruct and somewhat expand a part of the argument which I presented to the Philological Society in a paper read in June 1870, and subsequently enlarged into a thin octavo published independently of the Society.[1]

The first point to be established is that it is a grave mistake to supppose all words written with *-ere* in Chaucer to have sounded that termination alike. Such words are in fact divisible into two classes. The rhymes of Chaucer and all our other early poets leave no doubt as to this;

[1] In the frequent instances where this book is referred to in the course of the present paper, it is cited briefly as *E. E. P.* The full title is "On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Chaucer, in opposition to the views maintained by Mr A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., in his work 'On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer.' By Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., &c. London: Asher and Co., Bedford Street, Covent Garden, 1874."

but I propose to give the facts in detail, and somewhat more fully than is already done in my book. There I gave the results obtained from 659 rhymes in the Canterbury Tales: here I give those obtained from the whole of Chaucer, having used the Six-Text edition, supplemented by Bell's Chaucer. I confine my attention in this paper to the termination *-ere*, because the evidence is more abundant than for *-ete*, *-ede*, *-eme*, *-eke*, &c., though words with these endings also clearly divide themselves into two classes, as I have shown in my book, §§ 95—99.

Having now gone through the whole of Chaucer's Poems, I find a total of 1246 rhymes of words ending in *-ere* or *-er* or *-eere* or *-eer*. (The final *e*, I may say once for all, I have not taken into account. I have had quite work enough on hand without it.[1]) These 1246 rhymes are formed by words which we shall find falling into two classes, these classes with but few exceptions rhyming only among themselves.

In the first class the following are the words that recur most frequently, and therefore afford the most abundant evidence. With each one I give the number of times it occurs rhyming, and the number of exceptional cases in which it rhymes with the other class. *Here* adv. (179—5[2]), *here* vb. (196—8), *dere* adj. (251—3), *deer* subst. (8—0), *manere*, *matere*, and other nouns[3] from French feminines now spelt with *-ière* (492—12), *bacheler*, *bokeler*, and other nouns[4] from French masculines in *-ier* (243—6),

[1] In like manner my reckoning has included words having the same verbal ending, as *crepeth*, *slepeth*, or the same plural form, as *eeres*, *heeres*.

[2] That is to say, there are in all 179 of Chaucer's rhymes in which the adverb *here* rhymes with some other word: in 174 of these it rhymes with some other word of what I have provisionally called the first class, while in only 5 does it rhyme with a word of the other class.

[3] Banere, chambrere, ryvere, &c.

[4] Archer, bracer, botiller, &c. A complete list of these French words in *-ere* and *-er* is given below. See also Table of Rhymes. They should all according to my view be pronounced like *career*, *engineer*, &c., in modern English.

neer (37—0), *fere* = companion and *ifere* (72—4), *appeere* (21—0), *peer* and *compeer* (21—0), *frere* (39—1), *spere* = sphere and *emispere* (13—0), *lere* = learn (47—2), &c.

The second class consists of *there* (125—17), *were* from be (143—33), *bear* vb. and *forbear* (22—0), *here* = her (17—0), *spere* = hasta (18—0), *swere* vb. (14—0), *fere* = timor (60—6), *ere* subst. = ear (42—4), *where* (41—4), &c.

The total number of apparent exceptions is about 89 out of the 1246. It is not possible to affirm this number as absolutely exact, for when a word occurs but once, as *Omere, Richere,* there seems to be no means of deciding how Chaucer sounded it, otherwise than by the particular rhyme in which it occurs. But for no fewer than 19 of these 89 doubtful rhymes the one word *yere*[1] is responsible, and this coincides with the result of observation of the rhymes in other writers, suggesting that this particular word was sounded at pleasure in either of two ways, just as Lyndesay in the northern dialect uses sometimes *more* rhyming with *glore, score, affore, Diodòre,* and sometimes the peculiarly northern form *mair* or *mare* rhyming with the adj. *fair, repair, declair, bair, sair, cair,* &c. ; and just as also a modern poet will say (w*i*nd) or (wəind), (agen) or (ag*ee*n) as best suits the exigencies of the moment.

I will not however claim for my argument the benefit of this doubt. Let us assume the number of exceptions to be 89, this is only 7·1 per cent on the whole. Now what is the practice of our modern poets as to faulty rhymes? In Moore's Lalla Rookh, Part I., The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, there are about 988 rhymes, of which 69 are defective (word, ador'd; wreath, breath; own, down; love, rove; &c.), being close upon 7 per cent. In Cowper's Table Talk, of 387 rhymes 34 are faulty; 8·8 per cent. In Byron's Giaour, 58 out of about 651; 8·9 per cent. In Keats's Endymion, Book I., 48 out of about 480; 10 per cent. In 50 pages of The Man born to be

[1] See my E. E. P., p. 67.

King, in Morris's Earthly Paradise, 79 out of 725 rhymes are bad (among which are specially notable *wear* rhyming with *fear*, and *fair* with *year*), ratio 10·9 per cent. In Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, to the end of Canto II., 149 out of about 464 are faulty; 14·9 per cent. And then it must be borne in mind that many of Chaucer's poems are in metres in which three, four, or even more words are made to rhyme, and in these more numerous exceptions occur, about 10 or 11 per cent, (allowing for which we should of course have a lower per centage than 7·1 in the simpler metres). Now how is it with the moderns? In 74 stanzas of Childe Harold, each yielding 10 rhymes, 85 are defective; 11·2 per cent. In Southey's Tale of Paraguay, Canto I., of 460 rhymes 67 are bad; 14·5 per cent. In Shelley's Revolt of Islam, Dedication and Canto I., of 740 rhymes 153 are bad (*pierce, immerse; lend, fiend;* and several which are precisely similar to the few cases in Chaucer where a *here* word rhymes with a word like *there*, as *hemisphere, rare; years, wears; tears* subst., *wears; hears, cares; fears, cares; atmosphere, wear;* &c.); 20·7 per cent. The conclusion is obvious that an aggregate of 7·1 per cent of faulty rhymes in *-ere* in all Chaucer is altogether insufficient to disturb the conclusion to which the overwhelming majority of the rhymes point. And a closer scrutiny will greatly reduce the 89 exceptions, as we shall see presently.

Let us now glance briefly at some of the other early poets. We shall find they all lead to the same general conclusion, and therefore also I have not been at the pains to distinguish the spurious from the genuine among the poems that bear Chaucer's name. In Robert of Gloucester these *-ere* words divide themselves into two well marked classes, with only four (or perhaps five) exceptions throughout the whole Chronicle, three of which are furnished by the *yere* to which I have already called attention. In several minor poems which I have examined (the Moral

Ode, Land of Cockayne, Life of St Dunstan, St Swithin, the Oxford Student, &c.), *yere* rhymes three times with the first class, ten times with the second; omitting this word, we find the two classes distinct without a single exception. But two or three words are here in the second class which in Chaucer are in the first—*chere*, *bere* = bier, *lere* and *mislere*, showing differences of pronunciation in the mouths of different speakers in those times, just as some people now say (nii·dhɹ) and (lii·zhɹ), while others say (nəi·dhɹ) and (lezh·ɹ). In Robert of Brunne's Chronicle the classes are distinct with only five exceptions, of which *yere* furnishes none, rhyming everywhere with Class I. In the same poet's Handlyng Synne there are in all 244 of these rhymes, including 13 exceptions: they are that *here* adv. once rhymes with *debonair*, *manere* once with *swere* vb., *okerer* once with *bere* vb., *here* vb. twice with *tollere* (which as an Anglo-Saxon derivative should come in the second class, like *bakbyter*, *ledere*, *shappere*, in the same poem, and as always in Chaucer); *spere* = sphere once with *eyre* = heir, *dere* adj. once with *fyre*, *here* adv. and *scere* = ploughshare each once with *fyre*, *were* from *be* once with *bare* = tulit, and *there* once each with *share* = sheared, *Lazare*, and *ar* = are. I do not include the apparent exceptions that arise from the contraction of *prayere* in seven places into one syllable as in the modern *prayer*, nor the cases in which *thore* and *whore* are substituted for the commoner *there* and *where*.

It may be observed in passing that as to this change which I suppose to have taken place of *prayere* (pree-iir·) into (pree·ɹ) and then (preeɹ), and the similar change of (skwəi-iir·), (maniir·), (matiir·), (mariniir·), (batsheliir·), (popeliir·), (koliir·), &c.—all of them formerly, I believe, sounded with the last syllable as in *cashier*, *arrear*, *gazetteer*, &c.—into the now familiar sounds which we write as *squire*, *manner*, *matter*, *mariner*, *bachelor*, *poplar*, *collar*, &c., the accented (iir·) becoming now a simple (ɹ), the

reader will hardly need to be reminded of the universal tendency of our language to throw back the accent to the beginning of the word; and this change of accent having taken place, the degradation of the vowel from the full clear (ii) into the indistinct and slipshod (ə), as in the modern *manner*, or its total disappearance after another vowel, and the consequent running of two syllables into one, as in *prayer* and *squire*, follows as a matter of course.

If now we examine the same classes of words in the Northern Dialect, we find still the same distinction of words, though the spelling differs. Going through the whole of Lyndesay's poems, we find in all 396 of these rhymes, of which only 15 are exceptional. These are *familiair*—which indeed in Chaucer is not an (e) but an (i) word—rhyming once with *bar* and once with *Mar*, *repair* once with *Synear* = Shinar, *presoneir* with *Dunbar*, *peir* = peer once each with *lair* = lore and *fair* = go, *circuleir*—which according to analogy should be *circulair* or *circulare*—once each with *hemispeir* and *weir* = doubt, *mateir* once each with *declair* and *fair* = go, *beir* = bear vb. once with *cair*, and the verbs *inquyre* or *requyre* (also spelt with *-eir*) rhyming once with *heir* vb., *heir* adv., *freir*, and *yeir*; but on these compounds of *-quire* see below, p. 11, where it will be shown that these four are probably not exceptions. But here again I have not included the 10 instances in which *mair* appears in the southern form *more*, and rhymes accordingly.

Now in all the poems which I have systematically searched through, as well as all that I have more cursorily examined, I find the two classes consist almost entirely of the same sets of words, the Northern Dialect partially excepted. Thus in the one class we have *here* adv., *here* vb., *dear*,[1] *deer*, *near*, *appear*, *clear* and *Chaunticlere*, *cheer*, *beer*, *bier*, *bere* = tulit, *lere* = learn, *lere* = counten-

[1] The reader will excuse the modern spelling, which serves to indicate more readily what *dere* is intended.

ance, *peer* and *compeer*, *swere* = neck, *spere* = sphere, *emispere* = *hemisphere*, *were* = doubt, *year* most commonly, *fere* = companion and *ifere* = in company, *steer* vb., *steer* = steersman, *steer* = ox, as well as the two classes of words of French derivation represented by *manere* and *bachiler* respectively. In the other class are words of A.S. derivation such as *helper*, *miller*, *leader* (where *-er* = A.S. *-ere*), and the corresponding feminines in *-ster* (A.S. *-stre*), as *tapster*, *hoppestere*, the adverbs *there* and *where*, *were* from be, *were* = protect, *wear* = gero, *dere* = vexo, *bear* vb. and *forbear*, *bear* n., *tear* vb., *here* = her, *here* = hair, *ere* = before, *swear* vb., as well as numerous words which, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] rhymed with these as late as the close of the 16th century, though they are now pronounced with (ii)—*ear* vb., *ear* s., *fear*, *gear*, *spear*, *weir*, *tear* s. It is these words that in the Northern Dialect are found, as in modern English, rhyming with *here*, *dear*, *deer*, &c. Possibly it was direct Scottish influence that under the Stuarts made (iir), (spiir), (fiir), &c. fashionable, as it seems to have completed the change of *a* from (aa) to (ee) or (*ee*): see my E. E. P., §§ 69—71.

One early poem, the Story of Genesis and Exodus, claims special mention. At first it puzzled me sorely. It seemed to abound in exceptions to the rule of Chaucer's pronunciation. It was only when I had very nearly finished my examination of the poem that I recollected one peculiarity of the Suffolk dialect (in which according to Dr Morris it is written), namely that in Suffolk *there* and *where* are sounded (dhiiɹ) and (whiiɹ). At once I saw that a line could be drawn on my paper so as to separate *here*, *there*, *where*, *nere*, &c. from *bere*, *were*, *huntere*, &c. without a single exception.[2]

[1] E. E. P., § 3.

[2] It may be desirable to describe my *modus operandi* in collecting rhymes. On finding a distich with *-ere—chere manere*, for instance—I place these words near one another on one page of an open sheet of paper and connect them with a line, across which I

But to return for a while to Chaucer. It may reasonably be asked what light is thrown upon this question by Mr Cromie's carefully compiled Ryme-Index to the Ellesmere MS. of the Canterbury Tales. I will answer that question and give exact figures. Two or three observations however must be premised.

It has been remarked above that *yere* (= annus) seems to have a double pronunciation in Chaucer and some other early poets, like *wind* and *wīnd*, *more* and *mair*. We will therefore set that word aside. The use of the preterite *bere* (= carried) also wavers considerably, rhyming in all Chaucer 8 times with one class, 7 times with the other.[1]

make a short stroke every time that rhyme recurs. The next line is probably of two quite different words, and if analogy or etymology or previous observation has given reason to suppose that these would rhyme with the former—*here* (adv.) *rivere*, for example—I put these on the same page with a similar connecting line; and with them I connect all subsequent rhymes in which any one of these words is found, as *chere dere*, *here matere*, &c. When a rhyme occurs such as *there ere*, *tere millere*, which I suspect to belong to a different class, I place these *on the opposite page*, and connect with them other similar words when rhymes containing them occur. If an exceptional rhyme appears, as *here were*, *appeere where*, the connecting line will cross from one page to the other, and thus the exception be clearly marked to the eye. Now in Genesis and Exodus these lines crossing the page, and marked with little strokes showing the repetition of the rhymes, were unexpectedly numerous: *ner* was connected with *there* and the line crossed, but a line connected it also with *here* (adv.) on the opposite page, and was also crossed; *ger* (= annus) was connected by a crossed line with *there*, but by a line nine times crossed, and thus showing ten instances of that rhyme, with *her* (adv.); and *there* on the right-hand page, where I had set it down as supposing that it would rhyme with *bere* vb., &c., had lines connecting it with *butuler*, *prisoner*, *auter*—all derived from French words in *-ier*—which were on the left-hand page. I had expected scarcely any connexion between words on the opposite pages, as they were arranged according to the results of my previous study of Chaucer's rhymes, but the expectation was disappointed. At last, however, I discovered that among the words on the right-hand page a tortuously meandering line might be drawn completely separating *auter*, *butuler*, *ger* = annus, *here* adv., *there*, *ner*, &c., from *bere* vb., *answere*, *huntere*, *dere* = annoy, *were* = defend, *to-tere*, *ger* = gear, *shere*, &c., and not crossed anywhere by a line indicative of exception.

[1] The two A.S. forms are *bær* and *bear*, = , as I believe, (beer) and (biiar). See E. E. P., § 108 and §§ 116—118.

Enquere and *requere* furnish in all Chaucer 21 rhymes, 13 with one class, 8 with the other; and Lyndesay makes these rhyme twice with words in *-ire* or *-yre*, 4 times with those that he spells with *-eir*, while the only rhyme of *enquere* in Handl. Synne is with a word of the second class (þer): these two words therefore are doubtful, and we will set them aside. The two pronunciations of these words can be accounted for if we remember that they were irregular verbs even in Early French; that the infinitives (see Littré) were *enquerre* and *requerre*, while there were numerous forms with *i*, such as *requiert*. In like manner we may set aside *bere* = a litter for a dead body. Mr Cromie takes this from the A.S. *bær*, but it may equally come from the French *bière*.[1] Usage is divided, though in the Early English poets generally this *bere* is clearly taken from the French, not the English, original.

If then we leave out all the rhymes formed with *yere*, *bere* = tulit, *requere* and *enquere*, and *bere* = bier, what remains? A total of 330 rhymes is given by Mr Cromie, of which, according to my division of classes, only 5 are faulty.[2] They are the following. In p. 44 of the 6-Text edition *breres* rhymes with *geres*, though elsewhere it rhymes once with *deer* subst., and, the Old Norman form being *briere*, this is more in accordance with analogy. Second, in p. 184 *grammeere* = Mod. Fr. grammaire, rhymes with *mateere*, but as *grammeere* occurs nowhere else, I am not sure that this is an exception, yet will not claim for my argument the benefit of the doubt. Third, in p. 197 *dextrer* rhymes with *wonger*, the former word (= *destrier*) taking its ending from the French *-ier*, the latter from the A.S. *-ere*. This is an undoubted exception to the rule: there is not a second rhyme of the sort in all Chaucer. Fourth, in p. 383 we find *frere* = friar, which

[1] A fact overlooked in my E. E. P., p. 67.

[2] Every rhyme in the Ryme-Index being counted twice, the apparent number is 660, including 10 exceptions.

in 38 other places in Chaucer belongs to the same class as *here*, rhyming for once with *were* the plural of *was*: a most certain exception. The fifth is at p. 431, where the adj. *deere* rhymes with *were*, the subj. of *be*. There are in all Chaucer only two other such rhymes formed by this adj. out of a total formed by it of not less than 251. These five (or four or perhaps only three) are the only exceptions out of 330. I have not reckoned however the rhyme of *ever* with *never*, the last syllable being unaccented; and the apparent additional exception of the verb *bere* rhyming with the adverb *here* in p. 41, l. 1421, is only apparent, the *here* in this place not being necessarily an adverb (as Mr Cromie takes it), but making perfectly good sense if taken as a pronoun = *her*. This is one passage out of many where the rhyme helps the reader to see at a glance the true sense of an otherwise ambiguous passage. That it may help to determine the genuineness or the contrary of doubtful lines, I have shown in my book in the case of *fruitesteres* rhyming with *wafereres*.[1]

Briefly to restate this part of my argument, it may be put thus. The word *here* has four distinct meanings: it may be (a) the verb *hear*, or (b) the adverb *here*, or (c) the noun *hair*, or (d) the personal pronoun *her*. If it bears either of the first two meanings, it rhymes in *all* our Early English[2] poets with *dere* adj., *dere* s., *clere*, *chere*, *appeere*, &c., and only very rarely and exceptionally with *were* from be, *where*, *there*, *swere* vb., *forbere*, &c. But it is with these latter words that it rhymes in either the third or fourth sense, and rarely or never with the former. So *were* has seven different meanings: it may be (a) the plural of *was*, it may be (b) the past subjunctive of the same verb, it may be (c) the modern verb to *wear*, or (d) the now obsolete *were* = protect, it may mean (e) *war*,

[1] E. E. P., p. 69, footnote.

[2] Once for all, under this term here and commonly I include *Middle* English, in accordance with the practice of the *Early* English Text Society.

or (f) *husband*, or (g) *doubt* or *perplexity*. In the first six of these senses it rhymes with *there* and its class, in the last sense only does it rhyme with *deere*, *cleere*, &c., and it rhymes with these—with only two exceptions that I have discovered anywhere—not only in Chaucer, but in Lyndesay's Poems, where it occurs in no fewer than 27 rhymes, in Handlyng Synne, in Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, and in short in the whole of our Early English poetry. And a similar distinction is clearly marked in the use of all words with this termination—three or four only excepted,—provided only they form a sufficient number of rhymes to yield any evidence that can be relied on.

Not many minds that are not quite impervious to reasoning will resist the proofs here adduced that we have two distinct classes of words in *-ere* in Early, as in Modern, English, of which the two adverbs now pronounced (ʜiiɪ) and (dheeɪ) may be taken as types respectively; and inasmuch as the same can be proved by similar evidence to be true of words in *-eke*, *-ene*, *-ete*, &c.,[1] and neither of these classes (except very rarely words of the second class) will rhyme with *sette*, *bedde*, *henne*, and other such words with the short *e*; we thus see that there were in the 14th century three different sounds represented by one and the same written symbol, just as at present. The next question therefore is, what were these sounds? As to the short *e*, and as to the second or *there* class, Mr Ellis believes, as I do, that the vowel was sounded as at present—(set), (ʜen); (dheeɪ), wheeɪ).

More fully given, Mr Ellis's view is that certain "rhymes lead irresistibly to the conclusion that the one general sound of *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *eo*, *oe*, *ie* in Chaucer was (ee) long or (e) short, and they leave no room to conclude that *e* was ever pronounced as (i) except in the prefix *be* which we find written indifferently *be bi*. . . . . Perhaps the *e* was generally broad, as (ɛ)[2] rather than (e). . . .

[1] See E. E. P., §§ 95—99. [2] "Like a bleat," Ellis's E. E. P., p. 4.

We must be content with one form (e) for the, possibly, three forms (*e*, e, E). It is indeed very probable that all three coexisted, and were not discriminated by the speakers themselves."[1] The evidence above given shows that the sounds written with *e* were discriminated, at least into two main classes, and that the distinction was very broad, very clearly marked, and universally recognized.

Our inquiry then is now how were *here* adv. and vb., *dere* adj., *chere*, *bachiler*, &c., pronounced? Did they differ only as the German *Herr* (Heer) and *Heer* (He*er*), or the Devonshire *there* (dhee1) and *their* (dhee1)? Or was the difference wider and more marked than this? In answering this question I shall maintain the following propositions:—

1. There is direct and positive evidence from several different quarters that the sound was (ii);

2. There is direct and positive evidence that the symbol, namely *i*, to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii), did not in Chaucer's English represent that sound, but the widely different one of (əi), or some approximation to that diphthong; and

3. There is direct and positive evidence that the *e* in these words was not the close (*ee*), inasmuch as that sound is already provided for by another symbol, *ai* or *ei*.

Each of these propositions I shall endeavour to maintain by several separate and independent arguments; and I wish earnestly to call attention to the fact that all these score or so of independent arguments support one another, and constitute a great mass of *cumulative* evidence. This is not a train of deductive reasoning in which a single fallacy or false premiss vitiates the whole. It is not a chain which drops asunder if a single link gives way. It is not a product of engineering skill the strength of which is to be measured by the strength of its weakest part. The unsoundness of these views can only be demonstrated by my being dislodged, point after point, from every one of

[1] Ellis's E. E. P., p. 263.

the positions I have taken up. Nothing can be more absurd than the course adopted by a German reviewer, R. W., in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, who pulls out of the entire fabric one single brick which he imagines to be defective, and which he holds up to the amusement and amazement of mankind, while it never occurs to him to consider whether the building as a whole has any architectural merit or any adaptation to the purpose for which it was designed. As to that particular brick, we will have a look at it again by and by.

I.

1. The first argument which I shall advance in support of my first proposition is based on our traditional English pronunciation. In most—so far as I am aware, in all—of our dialects the vowel is (ii) in the words of English origin in the class we are discussing; in *here* adv., *hear* vb., *dear* adj., *deer* s., *near*, &c.

It is not necessary to repeat here the reasons I have elsewhere[1] given for believing in the normal stability of our dialects, which, as I contend, have remained in a great degree unchanged for centuries, till the ponderous roller of national education comes in our time to level all distinctions in modes of speech. As to the notion that the Wars of the Roses would occasion a vast change in the mode of speech of the whole nation, never did Queen Mab spin a flimsier cobweb in the brain of any man. Let us hear what Mr Elworthy says of the stability of the West Somersetshire dialect.

"We in our benighted regions have now (raa*i*l·r*oo*ədz), (təl·*i*graamz), and (traak·shən iin·dzh*i*nz), bringing with them new ideas and enlarged knowledge; but we do not find that the (ʌp kən·tri m*ee*n) who come with them are in sufficient number to make any impression upon local pronunciation; and we find too that the words which they

[1] E. E. P., §§ 6—10 and p. 118.

import into the district are adopted as words, but with more or less different sounds attached to them, and I have no doubt but that similar results attend the importation of words into all other districts." With this opinion I heartily agree. And this testimony has reference to this 19th century, in which the "commyxstion and mellynge" of the people is immeasurably greater than at any earlier period of our history.

Yet this assertion of the stability of our dialects needs to be supplemented. It cannot for a moment be questioned that dialects have been and are exceedingly unstable in some other countries and in widely different circumstances. The authorities quoted by Professor Max Müller (Lect. II.) are quite sufficient to establish this conclusion. The question remains, though this is not a fitting time for its discussion, what causes tend to promote or hinder change; but it may be confidently asserted that the periodical scírgemót, the hundred-court holden monthly, and the frequent meetings of the tithing and of the gild, must have had a powerfully conservative influence on spoken language.

Besides, why should our language be so strangely exceptional? There is abundant reason to believe that the ancient pronunciation in the main, and as to the accented stems and root-syllables of words, has survived throughout Spain, Portugal, Italy for Latin, and that of Greek in the main in modern Greece. German scholars pronounce medieval German as much as possible like modern German, and the probability is that they are right (except on certain points in Mœso-Gothic). In Icelandic there has probably been very little change during eight centuries. And as to Early French, Génin's dictum is commonly, and (I venture to think) rightly, accepted: "Les mots anciens se prononçaient comme se prononcent aujourd'hui les mots modernes qui les ont remplacés."[1] It is precisely this

[1] I quote from Pellissier, La Langue française, p. 113, not

principle, of course with numerous implied exceptions, for which I contend as applicable for the most part to English also. The analogy of other languages certainly does not favour Mr Ellis's belief that every long vowel and diphthong in the English tongue, a few favoured words excepted, changed its sound—(aa) to (ee) or (*ee*), (ee) to (ii), (ii) or (*ii*) to (əi), (oo)[1] to (*oo*), (uu) to (əu),[2] (yy)[3] to (iu), (au)[1] to (AA), (eu)[1] to (iu), (ai)[1] to (*ee*)—all in about two hundred years, or not much more.

2. Secondly, of Chaucer's *e* words many at a later time are written with *ee*, as *bee*, *queen*, *sheep*; or in a few cases with the single *e* still, and a final *e* mute as sign of a long preceding vowel, as *here* adv., and *sphere*; while a large number have changed Chaucer's *e* into *ea*. Now the traditional pronunciation of many of this last class is with (ee) or (*ee*); of the former all have (ii). Thus we have *break*,[4] *great*, *breath*, *death*, *bread*, *dead*, *tear* vb., *swear*, *bear* vb., and noun, and this list might be largely increased, especially by the aid of the dialects;[5] while we have also *meek*,[6] *seek*, *feet*, *geese*, *heel* of the body, *steer* vb. and noun, *speed*, *heed*, *need*, *feed*, *bleed*, *succeed*, *creed*, *breed*, *steed*, *seem*, *deem*, *seen*, *keen*, *green*, *fifteen* and other numerals, and so on. Now words like *break*, *great*, *bear*, *swear*, belong with few exceptions (such as *appear*) to Chaucer's second class; those spelt later with *ee* to the first, I think without a single exception. Thus orthography comes to the aid of tradition in fixing by analogy (ii) as the vowel of *here*, &c. Because it must be further observed that these words never have been customarily spelt with *ea*.

having succeeded in finding the words in Génin's Variations du Langage français.

[1] As in the Italian *parlò*, *aurora*, *Europa*, *hai*, the vowels distinct.

[2] As in *how*, *house*. [3] As in French, *flûte*.

[4] In Chaucer *breke*, *grete*, *brethe*, &c.

[5] In the West of England *sea* is (*see*), *peat* (*peet*), *read* (*reed*); but *see* and *reed* are (sii), (riid).

[6] In Chaucer *meke*, *seke*, *feet*, *gees*, &c.

At least I do not remember to have seen in MSS. or books of any age of English, even when our orthography was as yet but imperfectly settled, a sentence such as might tell of "fifteen green geese seen feeding at the meek queen's heels," with even one of these words written with *ea*. In later times when *ween* and *wean*, *week* and *weak*, *heel* and *heal*, &c., are sounded alike, mere ignorance will confound one mode of spelling with another; but my argument has reference to the orthography that was commonly recognized among learned or at least educated men during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries.

3. Thirdly, I would present an *argumentum ad auctoritatem* analogically applied. In the Elizabethan age, when it is admitted by Mr Ellis that *sheep* was pronounced as at present, we find Sir Thomas Smith (1568) describing this *ē* (ii) as the *e Anglicum*.[1] What is implied in this designation? This, at least; that Smith, a man of considerable learning, a true lover of antiquity, a careful student of language, and one whose chief study seems to have been pronunciation, recognizes this as the true English sound. Is it in any degree probable that a sound which almost within living memory had forced its way as a newcomer into the language would be acknowledged by such a man as Smith as κατ' ἐξοχήν "the English *e*"? Nothing is more improbable. And if (ii) is the sound which the symbol *e* represented in *sheep*, to which the rhymes of three centuries or more show *keep* and *sleep* to have been similarly pronounced, while *heap* and *leap* had some different sound[2]—most probably (ee), as Mr Ellis also believes—we find here two small classes of words apparently analogous to the much larger classes in which *here* and *there*

[1] Elsewhere he prefers the feminine—"*e* Anglica," obviously scil. litera.

[2] Chaucer's evidence, however, does not prove this: it is of uncertain tone and insufficient in quantity. But in other poets some proof is found. Thus Sir Philip Sidney makes *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *deep*, *weep*, *keep*, *sheep*, *creep*, *sleep*. In Ben Jonson *cheap*, *heap*, *reap*, *leap* rhyme together, and separately, *keep*, *steep*, *deep*, *sleep*, *weep*, *peep*, *sheep*, *creep*.

are typical individuals, and thus we have at least a strong presumption that as

sheep : heap : : here : there

This *e*, moreover, Smith expressly opposes to the Italian *e* when he says that perhaps we rightly now say, "*Domine ne in furore* per e Italicum, non quemadmodum olim per illud .e. Anglicum quod in *bee* cùm apis dicimus, aut me cùm *ἐμὲ* nostro more loquamur, obseruatur."[1] This "quemadmodum olim" clearly points to a more ancient pronunciation of the *e* in Latin words in this island than the (e) which he approved.

4. But again, two words of the class we are discussing are among the oldest in the language, and might reasonably be expected to be found in some similar form in the nearest allied languages. Accordingly these words—*here* adv., and *deer*—are found in High German, Dutch, Platt-Deutsch, and Friesic, and in all of these the traditional pronunciation of the vowel is the same. No doubt there may have been a time, far, far remote, when the ancestors of the Teutonic and of the Classical races occupied the same village or slept under the same roof, and when a wild animal was called by some such name as (deer): the Latin *ferus* and the Greek *φήρ* or *θήρ* point to a name with no (i) sound in it. If we suppose this, the thought very naturally suggests itself that this (ee) by some trick of the Teutonic mouth (using the word Teutonic in its widest sense) became (Jee), that this adscititious element next developed itself into a full vowel (iee), which in time become the more important part of the diphthong (iie), and finally the new colonist drove out the original settler altogether and only (ii) remained. But the pure (ee) stage of (Heer) and (deer) must have been many centuries—millennia possibly—before the Canterbury Tales were written, and all the earliest forms both of the noun and of the adverb which are given by Graff, Lexel, Kilian, &c., contain an *i*: *dius*, *dier*, *diar*, *djier*, *tier*, *tior*, and *hier*, *hiar*, *hir*, *hie*, *hi*. That there

[1] De Ling. Gr. Pron., p. 14 v°.

was an (i) sound in these cannot be doubted: perhaps indeed some of these forms may have been intended to represent sounds nearly if not quite identical with our English (diiɹ), (hiiɹ). Thus Holland and Germany, with their traditional pronunciation and orthography of these two words, confirm the results already arrived at.

5. A fifth argument is furnished by French traditional pronunciation and spelling in such words as those from which Chaucer's *manere* and *bachiler* were derived.[1] In their early forms almost all of these contained an *i*. But some of them, it has been objected, had no *i* in their earliest forms. What of that, if they had it in or before Chaucer's time? It is sufficient for us to know what French was in his day. Now I have turned up in Littré all Chaucer's words of these two classes, and with the following results:—

In the 10th century we find *menestier*, which in the 11th became *mestier*. In the 12th we find *archier*, *aumosniere*, *carpentier*, *corsier*, *costumier*, *dangier*, *despencier*, *entier*, *erbier*, *messagier*, *olivier*, *panier*, *preiere*, *psaltier*, *riviere*, and *solier*. In the 13th *bordelier*, *celerier*, *clostrier*, *dossiere*, *forestier*, *hostelier*, *liemier*, *marinier*, *poplier*, *tapicier*, and *tavernier*. In the 14th *corniere*, *familier*, *gauffrier*, *jartiere*, *papier*, and *officier*. Other words in Chaucer, but which do not appear in French literature till the 15th or 16th century, are *brassiere*, *clappier* (of which however there is an earlier form, *clapoire*), *enfermier*, *jaulier*, *pantiere*, and *prisonnier*. None of these words are found ending simply in *-er* or *-ere*, all have the *i*.[2]

In the following nine the forms in *er*, and *ier*, are con-

[1] I pronounce all these words like the modern English *engineer*, *cashier*, *arrears*, &c., whatever the spelling is now or was in the 14th century.

[2] Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—myster, archeer, awmere, carpenter, corser, custommer, daunger, spenser, entere, erbere, messager, olyver, panyer, preyere, sawter, ryvere, soler; celerer, cloystrer, dosser, forester, hostileer, limer, maryneer, popeler, tapycer, taverner; corner, familer, waferer, garter, papeer, officer; bracer, claper, fermerer, gayler, panter, prisoner.

temporary: *premier* and *premer*, in the 11th century; *bouteillier* and *buteiller*, *chamberiere* and *chamberere*, *cordelier* and *cordeler*, *colier* and *coler*, *hospitalier* and *hospitauler*, in the 13th; *particulier* and *particuler*, in the 15th. In five the form in *-er*, is later than that in *-ier*: *consellier* (10th century) becomes *cunseiller* (12th); *esquier* (11th) also *escuer* (12th); *biere* = bier (11th) is also *berre* (12th); *pilier* (12th) also *piler* (13th); *eschekier* (12th), *escheker* (13th). And in thirteen the later form, so far as Littré's quotations afford evidence, has the *i*, which the older one wants: *chiere* (12th century), *chere* (11th); *clier* (12th), *cler* (11th); *derrier* (12th), *derere* (11th); *destrier* (12th), *destrer* (11th); *plenier* (12th), *plener* (11th); *tresorier* (12th), *tresorer* (11th); *vergier* (12th), *verger* (11th); *laurier* (13th), *lorer* (11th); *seculier* (13th), *seculer* (12th); *escolier* (14th), *escoler* (12th); *regulier* (14th), *riuler* (13th); *bachelier* (15th), *baceler* (11th); *bouclier* (16th), *bucler* (11th).[1] Now in half of the words which have the double form—that is 14 out of 27—the form with *i* is contemporary with or even earlier than the other. But if the modern French pronunciation may be accepted as a guide, the *i* in all such words as *pre-mier*, *fa-mi-lier*, *ma-nie-re*, &c. not forming a separate syllable, this seems to suggest the possibility that *boucler* and *bouclier* were only different modes of representing the same sound. Icelandic scholars tell us that in old MSS. *her* and *ser* stand for *hèr* and *sèr* (HJeer) (SJeer), and that we may not infer the pronunciation to have been simply (Heer) and (seer) because the accent was not written. This is, to say the least, not improbable. An early and immature orthography is very likely to meet with sounds in actual speech which it knows not how to deal with. And it was probably the same in French, and—as I venture to conjecture—this semi-vowel

[1] Chaucer's forms, with minor variations, are—primer, boteler, chambrere, matere, banere, cordiler, coler, hospitaler, particuler, counseler, squyer, beere, piler, chekker, cheere, cleere, derere (as in warderere = gare derriere = look out behind), dextrer, plener, tresorer, verger, laurer, seculeer, scoler, reguler, bacheler, bokeler.

which preceded the (ee) was confounded by the English and Teutonic *ear* with the distinct vowel (ii), and then became (ii) in the English and Teutonic *mouth*, even to the extrusion of the original (ee). This has certainly been the case in the Dutch and German forms such as *offizier*, &c. So far as the *l* is concerned—for half of these words end in *-ler*—I take it to have had in such cases the power of the *gl* (nearly) in Italian, the *ll* in Spanish, and the *lh* in Portuguese. Although therefore *bacheler* and *bocler* do not appear in forms with *i* in French literature earlier than the 15th and 16th centuries respectively, yet it is easily conceivable and highly probable that these words—as well as many, or indeed all, of the others—may have had the sound of (Jee) quite as much when written without the *i* as when written with it.

There yet remain a few of these words of which I cannot give a good account. The modern French *pardonneur* is not equivalent to Chaucer's *pardoner*, and French literature—at least so far as I can learn from Cotgrave, Kelham, Mätzner, or Littré—has no forms corresponding to his *annueleer*, *corniculer*, *herbeger*, *laborer*. I suppose all these words, as well as *gospeler* and *scryveneer*, to have been used by Chaucer as analogous forms to *counseler* and *archeer*. Seven words he makes continually to rhyme with the class now under consideration, notwithstanding that the French forms appear to have had only (eer): they are, *antiphoner*, *peer* and *compeer*, *frere*, *sopeer*, *dyner*, *homager*, and *spere* = sphere. But *antiphoner* occurs only once (forming two rhymes) in all Chaucer, *homager* only once, and the argument will suffer very little if even we were to add three faulty rhymes to the very moderate number already reckoned.

On the other hand, in Early French *matiere* has also the form *matire* (13th century), and some words appear in what I have called the first class of *-ere* words in Chaucer and his contemporaries, which are anglicized from French words that knew no other form than those in (iir),

as *saphere, pleasir* (Lynd.), *leysere* (Handl. Synne), Fr. *safir, plaisir, leisir.* And is not Chaucer's *poweer* similarly to be accounted for? True, in modern French the form is *pouvoir;* but in the very earliest specimen of French that exists, the famous oath of Lewis the Germanic (842), it is *podir.* Mätzner has the word only in the form *pooir.* Littré's examples give the same with only two exceptions to the end of the 14th century. How then was this pronounced? The Burgundian *oi,* so common as (wa) in modern French, we know to have been (wee) 300 years ago; but in many of these words there is a radical (i),[1] which makes it probable that the (wee) is itself changed from an earlier (wii). If so, the 9th century (pod·iir) dropping the middle consonant becomes (po·iir), which with the necessary euphonic insertion of the semi-vowel becomes (po·wiir). This I believe to be just the sound that *pooir* was intended to represent, and that Chaucer meant the very same when he wrote *powere* or *poweer.* Only the first vowel may have stood for (uu). One of Littré's 12th-century forms is *pouoir* = (puu·wiir), while in the 14th century *pouer* = (puu·weer) comes in, whence (puu·vweer) and (puu·vwar).

II.

I proceed now to my second proposition: that there is evidence that the symbol—namely *i*—to which Mr Ellis attaches the sound of long (ii) did not represent that sound, but the widely different one of (əi), as in modern English, or at least some sound closely approaching (əi).

1. My first argument is again based on the traditional pronunciation of *mine, thine, wife, knife,* &c., in the great majority of our English dialects throughout the island,

[1] Thus *royne* from regina, *froid* from frigidus, *poivre* from piper, (*g*)*loir* from glir-, *moins* from minus, &c.; besides the large class of words in which the *i* is supposed to have assumed precedence of the consonant which it used to follow, as *gloire* from gloria, *témoin* from testimonium, *dortoir* from dormitorium, &c.

north, south, east, and west. In the western counties the sound is perhaps more commonly (a*i*) or (aa*i*)[1] than (əi), as it is also in parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire and elsewhere; in the vale of Gloucester it is (ɔi)[2]; in South Lancashire (ʌ*i*); in each of the three Scottish dialects of which Dr J. A. H. Murray gives so full an account it approximates to (əi); and sometimes one hears (æi). This widely prevailing tradition establishes a strong presumption that (əi) is the true ancient sound, or rather, one of the ancient sounds. For there is reason to believe that there was as great a variety of pronunciation in different parts of the island 500 or perhaps 1000 years ago as at the present day, perhaps even greater; and it may be readily admitted that in some words in some districts the sound of (ii) is also a true ancient sound, as in the Kentish (diik) for *dike*, and the Devonshire (liit) for *little*, which existed within living memory.

2. We have next the traditional pronunciation of numerous Hollandish words akin to, or rather identical with, their English equivalents: *mijn*, *fijn*, *wijn*, *schijn*, *lijn*, *zwijn*, *bijten*, *smijten*, &c., &c. These again afford a strong presumption that at that remote epoch when our Saxon and Angle sires dwelt side by side with the forefathers of the Hollanders, they all alike would speak of (məin fəin wəin); and the existence in High German of the same words, pronounced in the same manner, points to the same conclusion.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is quite possible that the prevailing pronunciation of the *ii* in the Low Countries was (ii), as Erasmus seems to show;[3] nevertheless the earliest known pronunciation in the province of

[1] For West Somerset see Mr Elworthy's lists.

[2] As in b*oy*, n*oi*se.

[3] When he gives *wijt* and *wijn* as containing the same sound as *wit* and *win*, only lengthened; and in asserting, "Quum dico is" [i. e. the Latin *is* = thou goest] "ab eo, sic enuntio quemadmodum Batavi glaciem (ijs): quum lis unde litis, sic effero quemadmodum Gallus sonat lilia." De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pron., p. 143: edit. Froben, 1530.

Holland was (əi) or some sound close akin to this. Siegenbeek, quoted by Mr Ellis (p. 295), *affirms* that this had been changed from an earlier (ii), but *proof* of this change, so far as I am aware, is wholly wanting. The sound of *ii* or *ij* with the Hollanders, which through political and literary influences spread throughout the Netherlands, was (əi): other provinces adopted this as a *new* pronunciation, but there is no evidence that Holland had ever done the same.

3. If we appeal to the grammarians of the 17th century, we find Miege (1688), Wilkins (1668), and Wallis (1653), all recognizing the diphthongal character of our long *i*, which earlier writers seem not to have noticed; Gil, Cheke, Smith, and others could not discern the diphthongal sound when written with a single symbol. But we find Gil (1621) comparing the three words *win* = conquer, *ween* = think, and *wine*. The last of these is supposed by Mr Ellis to have been sounded then in England with the Scotch long *i*, in which we learn from Dr Murray (p. 113) "the second element is very distinctly *ee* [that is (ii)], and is less overshadowed by the preponderance of the first element than in English." But not only do we seem to be treading on very unsafe ground when we endeavour to establish such minute distinctions at so great a distance of time, but if the difference that existed in Gil's time between *win*, *ween*, and *wine* was not broad and clear, it is hard to see how he could boast of this last vowel as "antiquum illum et masculinum sonum," and triumphantly quote the authority of Lipsius, who commends the Britons as almost alone of all Europeans preserving the true sound of words like *regina*, *amica*, *vita*, &c. And be it observed Gil calls this "that ancient sound." Surely if it had intruded into the language within the two centuries preceding, during which time so many books had been written on Pronunciation both in England and on the Continent, a man of learning like Gil, Head Master of St Paul's School, must have been aware of the fact.

Half a century earlier than Gil we find Hart endeavouring to induce "English Latinistes" to adopt, instead of what he calls "our errors," "the Italian and High Dutch and Welshe pronounciation of their letters." Among these "errors" is this, that the English pronounced the *i* with the sound of ει. And what sound was that? Hart does not clearly show, but Mekerch exemplifies it by the Fl. *loosheit*, *scheiden*, &c., and Erasmus by the Dutch for ovum (i. e. *ei*), for paratus (i. e. *bereit*), &c. "Αι diphthongum euidenter audire licet in lingua Germanorum, quum nominant Cæsarem. . . . Neque non sentitur apud nos diphthongus ει, si Hollandice dicas ovum, paratus, uersutiæ, Maius, facinus, seductus, caro. Apud Gallos hæc rarius auditur." (De Lat. Gr. que Sermonis Pro., p. 108: Froben's edit., 1530.) But among Erasmus's examples he gives *caro*, by which he must mean, not the Low German *vleesch* surely, but the High German *Fleisch*. And what sound is this, a diphthong, rarely heard in French, and therefore differing considerably from the pure (ii), and represented in Flemish, Dutch, (and High German?) by *ei*? It must be at least very like our (əi), if not quite identical with it.

4. Fourthly, a Welsh writer, nearly a century before Gil's time, Salesbury (1547), gives very distinct evidence as to our long *i*, writing various English words—*I*, *vine*, *wine*, *dīches*, *thine*, *signes*—in a manner which, as Mr Ellis admits, and as educated Welshmen have confirmed to me, indicates to a modern Welshman no other sound than (əi). And it must be remembered that if Salesbury wanted to express the sound of (əi), he had apparently no other or no better way of doing it than by writing *ei*, as he did. And just as Salesbury, mindful of his Welsh alphabet, regarded *i* as the proper representative of (ii), so both Hart and Gil, men acquainted with foreign languages, to which they repeatedly appeal, looked at our mode of writing from a foreign point of view, and sought to conform it, if possible, to the continental pattern. They therefore of set purpose

reserved *i* or *ĩ* for the sound of (ii), and supposing they required to represent (əi), how could they have done it better than Hart did with (ei), in his *steil*, *weiz*, *weizdum*, *prezentlie*, *enterpreiz*, &c., or than Gil did with his *j*, in *wjf*, *chjld*, *wjz*, *eksïdingly*, &c.? Whether this was an ancient sound or one newly invented in the 16th century, having been utterly unknown in all the languages of mankind till that age, if it needed to be expressed by a distinct written symbol, it is hard to say how that could have been better done by men who assigned to the symbol *i* a different function.

Of these Grammarians Salesbury seems to me to furnish evidence so clear and cogent that apart from the necessities of theory no doubt whatever would be entertained that he heard the English *I*, *vine*, *thine*, *wine*, as (əi), (vəin), (dhəin), (wəin).

5. Still earlier than Salesbury we have Palsgrave (1530) expressly affirming that *i* had two distinct sounds in French (".ii. dyuerse maners of sou*n*dynges"), one of them like the Italian *i*, and like our sound of *e* in *bee*, *bier*, *peer*, *fee*; the other, found only at the beginning or end of a French word, being like the English y in *by and by*, *spy*, *fly*, *awry*. I have given proof elsewhere[1] that this *y* expressed the same sound as was also written with *i*: indeed this is not disputed. What then was that sound? Mr Ellis believes it to have been (*ii*)—the prolonged sound of the English *i* in pit. But in what language does the sound exist? In none that I know of: certainly not in English or German, except when in singing the short vowel of *pit*, *pin*, *will*, is unnaturally and with difficulty spun out; certainly not in French, where the sound, long or short, is unknown. The French sounds are (i), (ii), and commonly a shade thinner than in the English *peat*, *peel*, *seen*; indeed I doubt whether you can find a Frenchman, even one who has lived thirty years in England, whom a keen ear could not detect in a moment

[1] E. E. P., § 14.

by his inability to pronounce *pit, pin, will* in our English mode: he makes them (pit), (pin), (wil).

Moreover that (*ii*) suits the English organs of speech as little as the French or German may be judged by the manner in which a boy will shout out *Teddy* or *Harry*, prolonging the sound for the sake of emphasis: he says (ted*ee*·), (Hær*ee*·); not (ted*ii*·), (Hærii·); for the simple reason that these words are unpronounceable.

It will be objected that the sound of (əi) is equally unknown in French. But—for I am not contending for the exact classical English (əi), even if any two persons utter this with absolute identity of sound—(ai) does exist in French; and this (ai) is just as near to our (əi) as the (ii) of *peat, steel*, to that of *riche, ville:* it only "exiguum distat" as Gil said of *aye* as compared with the *i* of *thine*. But where is (ai) in French? We get it precisely in the ordinary French pronunciation of *trahison* and *hair*, and in the vulgar Parisian *aïder* for aider.[1] But here, it will be objected, we have the written *a;* nevertheless it proves my point that the sound exists, while that of (*ii*) does not. And in provincial French even words written with the simple vowel, as *joli*, "at Montebourg, only 15 miles S.S.E. of Cherbourg,"[2] are even now sounded with (ai) as *jolaï*. Of this fact Mr Ellis furnishes very explicit evidence, though he himself is not satisfied with it. And combining this evidence with that of Palsgrave, we may assert this (ai), or perhaps some sound even nearer to (əi), or perhaps (əi) itself, to have existed early in the 16th century in *by and by, spy, fly, awry*, and the whole class of words represented by these.

But suppose it so, may not the sound even then have been (ii) in Chaucer's time, and have changed during the more than two centuries that elapsed between Chaucer and Palsgrave? Let us examine the elaborate argument by

[1] It may be said that in *trahir, hair*, &c., the *a* and the *i* are sounded separately: but they are not at all more separate to my ear than in the English *aye*.

[2] Ellis's E. E. P., p. 297 and 458 note: see also p. 460.

which Mr Ellis undertakes to prove that Chaucer's long *i* was (*ii*).

The objection that this (*ii*) is not a true English sound, nor a sound known to any language of my acquaintance, is one that I will not further dwell on; but must observe the remarkable result at which Mr Ellis has arrived in supposing that our language in the 14th century had, as to its vowels, such a curiously defective alphabet. In his Key to Palæotype Mr Ellis recognizes in ordinary modern English 27 vowels and diphthongs; but in Chaucer—though he has no scruple about refining, or (shall I say) phonetic hair-splitting—he allows only 16 altogether, of which 7 are still in use, 9 are unknown in modern English. Has the whole genius of our spoken language altered during these 500 years, while all the other languages have undergone changes both slight and slow? It is hard to obtain exact information about our modern dialects of English, but I find Dr Murray recognizes 22 vowels in the Southern dialect of Scotland, while Mr Elworthy, assisted by Mr Ellis, Dr Murray, and Mr Sweet, discovers no fewer than 41 in the dialect of West Somerset. Yet Chaucer has only 16, of which only (aa), (ee), (e), (*i*), (uu), (u), and (ai) survive—the last in one word only, *aye* = yes. Of the 20 omissions, if we compare Mr Ellis's theoretical Chaucer with modern English, the most notable, not to mention the diphthongs (əi), (ɔi), (əu) and (iu), are (*ee*), (*oo*), (AA), and, strangest of all, (ii), with the short vowels corresponding to these. But as in one or two places (pp. 280 and 284) Mr Ellis seems to slur over the distinction between (ii) and (*ii*) as hardly essential to his argument, let his case have the benefit of the doubt, and let us see why we must believe *i* to have an (i) sound in the 14th century.

The evidence which Mr Ellis derives from exceptional rhymes, simply on the principle that Chaucer and Gower had no imperfect rhymes, must be unceremoniously set aside: the principle, as I showed in the early part of this paper, is false, and the evidence falls to the ground. Such

rhymes as *list best, abridge allege, yet wit,* occur in our poets of every age—inexact in every case, and proving precisely nothing.

Then again, in words of French derivation terminations that contained *i* were in French sounded with (i) or (ii), and "it would be difficult to suppose that Chaucer, who was familiar with French, and in the spirit of the times as shewn by the contemporary practice of Gower, was introducing it into English, could have changed the French sound." I will not repeat here what I have said elsewhere[1] as to the tendency of all nations, ourselves by no means excepted, to assimilate foreign words to more familiar forms, as is still done in West Somersetshire and doubtless in every part of England. We constantly anglicize: always have done so: if Chaucer did otherwise with French words, he acted contrary to the national custom, as well as to his own practice in regard to other proper names, witness *Alisaundre, Pruce, Ruce, Lettow, Gernade, Algezir, Galice,*[2] which are neither the native names of places nor the French forms of those names, but anglicized pronunciations, as much as (madii·rɛ), (sher·*i*), dendzhuu·ɛn), (mek·*sico*), are now.

When Mr Ellis says he "cannot force himself to suppose"[3] the *i* in these words ever to have been sounded as

[1] E. E. P., p. 64.

[2] i. e. probably (alisAn·dɪ), (pruus), (ruus), (let·ouu), (dzher·naad), (al·dzhəzəir), (galəis·). The final *e* not to be sounded. It is impossible to believe with Mr Ellis that Chaucer's poetry contained 70 per cent of weak rhymes.

[3] As to this form of argument I may with equal justice urge that "*I* cannot force myself to suppose" the *e* in *here* to have been anything else than (ii), or the *i* in *wine* and *ey* in *they* anything else than the (əi) and (*eei*) which they are at this day. Such an argument is of course an appeal to the general impression produced by long continued study of a subject. But I too, as well as Mr Ellis, have been engaged for many years in these investigations, having given "Readings from Chaucer" before the Plymouth Institution as early as October 21st, 1858, and having exchanged letters on the subject a year or two earlier still with my old friend and schoolfellow the present Prof. of A.S. to the University of Oxford; and the general impression which I have received is *exceedingly strong* in favour of the very slow changes of spoken language. See my E. E. P., pp. 117, 118, footnote.

(əi), not only is he, in regard to some of these words, speaking in plain defiance of Salesbury's (not to say Palsgrave's) authority, but with equally little ceremony he sets aside that of Butler, Gil, and Hart. Mr Ellis objects to the long *i* in the termination of *superlatif, motif, inquisitif;* but even as late as 1633 Butler gives *indicatīve* as the correct sound, and Gil (1621) gives *kaitjv* the *j* = (əi), as Mr Ellis admits,—and Hart speaks of *míseiv* letters. Mr Ellis objects to *rīche*, but Gil writes *rjch*, as the vowel is long also in Dutch and German. In like manner Gil, in perfect agreement with Palsgrave, gives *enemj, maladj, adulterj, mizerj, konstansj* (notwithstanding the accent on the first syllable in ordinary conversation, he takes pains to tell us[1]), and pure English words in like manner, as *everj, opnlj*, and *-lj* always where we now have the short (-l*i*); and in this he is supported by Hart (1569). Gil, however, tells us the usage as to some of these words varied in his time: the vowel was long or short.

Another argument is based on the shortening of (əi) into (*i*): how can we explain that (*sivīləiz*) gives (*sivīlizee*·shen) "except on the theory that (*i*) was the original normal sound?" I fail to see the difficulty. The (əi) is shortened into (*i*) quite irrespective of such a theory, simply by dropping the first element in the diphthong and shortening the remaining one. Precisely so when, throwing back the accent, we change *Newfound'land* into *New'-foundland*, the *found* becomes (fund) or (fʊnd), the first part of the diphthong disappearing altogether.

Again, an appeal is made to the naturally short vowel in *India*. But our poets, true to the instincts of the nation, anglicized the word, and (əind) resulted. Mr Ellis quotes from Chaucer rhymes of this word with *find* and *kind*, and in Allit. Poems, p. 3, we have it rhyming with *blind;* and we have the evidence of the Ormulum for

[1] "Numerus poeticus paroxytonis [proparoxytonis?] in *i* sæpe ultimam productam acuit; ut *mizerj, konstansj, destinj;* unde etiam in prosa fere obtinuit ut ultimâ vel longâ vel brevi æqualiter scribantur & pronuncientur, non acuantur tamen."

the long vowel in all of these words. Moreover in Allit. Poems, ibid., *ynde* rhymes with *schynde*, preterit of *scynen* = (shəin·en) as I still believe, but which no one can imagine to have been (sh*i*n·en).

Then there are rhymes with Latin words ending in *i*, and it is argued that "it is difficult to suppose that Latin was at that time so mispronounced as to have *i* called (əi). The Roman Catholic tradition must have saved this heresy." I have shown in my book (§ 89) that this Roman Catholic tradition had no existence; and it is precisely this vowel in reference to which Lipsius declared that the Britons stood almost alone.

6. And this leads me to observe, dismissing Mr Ellis's work for the time, that it is too commonly taken for granted that the Latin and Greek long *i* was universally (ii). I will not again quote the authority of Lipsius, nor that of Mekerch,[1] nor repeat (see my E. E. P., p. 18, note) what Sir Thomas Smith wrote about the Englishman's being able to converse with the Lombards in Latin, though he could not with a Frenchman. Just as in modern Germany there are different pronunciations existing side by side—(məin *w*əin) and (miin *w*iin),—so it may well have been the case in ancient Italy; and as inscriptions have been found in various parts of Italy, in which the long *i* is represented by *ei*, this mode of writing affords at least a presumption that the mode, or at any rate one mode, of sounding the letter was as a diphthong. Two letters were exhibited to the eye, and those who first thus wrote *ameicus*, *preimus*, &c., did so most probably because they had two closely combined sounds to express by the two letters; and it can be no matter of surprise if this particular combination was deemed suitable 2000 years ago to indicate that very sound which it indicates in modern Dutch and German and (in a few instances) in English.

[1] *I* longum antiquis Romanis proferebatur ut hæc diphthongus *ei*, hoc est *ei*, et *e* inclusum habebat.

And now for that "ray of light from ancient Greece" which has afforded so much amusement to my German critic and others. I will endeavour to state my argument more perspicuously.

Two of our English *i* words are found in almost all the modern Teutonic languages, pronounced in some with (ii), in others with (əi), and are also found both in Latin with its derivative languages and in ancient and modern Greek. Some suppose that one of these words is not indigenous to the Teutonic languages, but borrowed from the Latin, which however does not affect the argument, as the word is found in the earliest literature of, I believe, all the Teutonic races. The words are *wine* & *wike*,[1] which have a diphthongal sound in English, Dutch, and High German, but have the pure (ii) in Platt-Deutsch and Icelandic, as well as in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.[2] But what was the sound in Greek? I answer, a diphthong: not the pure vowel. Nothing is more improbable than that the *οι* of *οἶνος* was a pure vowel, though it is (ii) in Modern Greek. But it may be said that in *οἶνος* and *οἶκος* the *ο* is only a modification of the original digamma. I might reply by falling back on the authority of Immanuel Bekker, in whose edition of Homer these words are always given with both the digamma and the

[1] Still found in the names of *Wyke* and *Heckmondwyke* near Bradford, *Wyke Regis* near Weymouth, *Wyken* near Coventry, *Wykeham* near Scarborough, and *East Wykeham* near Louth in Lincolnshire, in all of which the *wyke* is sounded with the long vowel, as in *like*, *dike*, *Mike*. (I am indebted to the courtesy of the clergy of these parishes for this information.)

[2] In Mœso-Gothic the words are written *wein* and *weihs*, the spelling of which might seem to indicate a diphthong, the (i) sounds being represented by *i*, or occasionally *ī*. But Ulphilas borrowed his alphabet mainly from the Greeks, and the frequent interchange of *ι* and *ει* in Early Greek MSS. shows that before the age of Ulphilas *ει* had already approached, if it had not even fully adopted, the sound of *ι* (ii) which it still has in modern Greek. Yet it is important to remember that the Western Germans received their religion and civilization from the West (not from Constantinople, as the Goths of Mœsia did), and therefore also the Latin alphabet, not that which Uphilas had formed on a Greek basis. Hence, even if the M.G. *ei* was (ii), this furnishes no ground whatever for supposing that the High German *ei* was ever (ii).

ο—Ϝοινος, Ϝοικος. I have preferred looking for older authority, and have found it, at least reference to the latter word—*οἶμος, Ϝοικος.*[1] In one of the most ancient inscriptions given by Bœckh we have TAN *Ϝ*OIKIAN, and this evidence is confirmed by that of other inscriptions, seeming to leave no doubt that the *Ϝ* in such words was not followed by a pure (ii). Thus we have several centuries before Christ in Italy (wiik) and (wiin)—perhaps other forms also—and in Greece some approximation to (wəik) and, judging from analogy, (wəin), just as we have when we compare the Platt-Deutsch and the Hoch-Deutsch at the present day; and thus is shown the doubtfulness of that premiss from which such far-reaching conclusions have been drawn, that words commonly written with *i* in Southern Europe *must* have been in their earliest form sounded with nothing but (ii).

Those at any rate who contend that the class of words we are at this moment dealing with had (ii) for their vowel, have this fact to account for, that at least one important and probably typical word of this class had a diphthong in the earliest Greek we know.

To myself it seems probable that at that distant period when the ancestors of Teutons, Latins, and Hellenes all dwelt side by side, they had words in common which even then varied in pronunciation, some saying (wiin) and (wiik) with the pure (ii), while others sounded the words with (əi) or some similar diphthong; but I frankly admit that the reasons assigned fall far short of demonstration. But if we limit our view to these recent centuries, in which we find Salesbury writing *wine*, &c., with the Welsh *ei*, and Palsgrave expressly asserting that *spy*, *fly*, &c., were *not* sounded with the Italian *i*, and if we further reflect that the little more than a century that elapsed between Chaucer and those two writers was wholly insufficient to

[1] I am not at all satisfied with Cleasby and Vigfusson's opinion that the Latin *vicus* and the O.N. *víc* were entirely different words. The only difficulty is to show the connexion of meaning; but Bosworth does this, helped by the Du. *wijk*.

admit of so great a revolution in our language as the universal change of (ii) into (əi); we certainly have here weighty reasons for believing that Chaucer's *mine* and *thine* were also sounded with the Welsh *ei*, that is to say with the (əi) which is their recognized sound now.

III.

I pass on from the arguments by which I seek to show that words written with *i* were not necessarily, and were not in fact, sounded with (ii), to come to my third proposition. More fully expounded it is this. Supposing it proved that in Chaucer *here* was not sounded like *there*, and that the latter of these was sounded with (ee), it is at least plausible to assert that the former was sounded with (*ee*). That is what I shall endeavour to disprove.

But first of all, inasmuch as most people are not conscious, as Mr Melville Bell has justly remarked, that when they sound the word *fate*[1] they are sounding a diphthong, and inasmuch also as the pure (*ee*) is scarcely known to our language, and inasmuch as I utterly despair of our being able with the best phonologic telescopes to discern such minute distinctions through the haze and mist of five long centuries, I shall assume the right to speak under this head of the vowel in *aerial*, *ailing*, *fate*, *day*, *whey*, *weigh*, &c., however spelt, and with no attempt to distinguish these. This sound, I contend, did not belong to *here* and the whole class of words rhyming therewith, inasmuch as it was habitually represented by *ai* or *ei*. And as it is an admitted fact that in Chaucer these digraphs represented one and the same sound, I undertake to prove that that sound was the (*ee*) or (eei) or (*ee*i) of *aerial*, *ailing*, &c.

1 and 2. This is not a case in which English and French tradition are opposed, as they are about *i*. The French *aimer*,[2] *retraite*, *Seine*, the English *day*, *whey*,

[1] Mr Ellis writes (*feet*) on p. 4, (*feeit*) on p. 272. Surely the latter is more correct. Sophocles gives the very word as φεῖr.

[2] I am aware that *aimer*, &c., sound the *ai* or *ei* as *è* rather than

remain, and many words common to both languages, as (v*ee*n), (pl*ee*n), all contain this sound, and afford at once a strong presumption that this was the ancient sound of the words thus spelt with *ai* or *ei*, as most of them have been for more than five centuries, in these languages, unless distinct proof of change can be adduced.

3. The words *swain*, *dey*, to die (not uncommon in Chaucer, rhyming with *say*, *pray*, *obey*), and *may*, a maid, are simply Old Norse words, or belong to the North Angle dialect which was close akin to Old Norse; and Icelandic tradition, coinciding with English and French tradition just quoted, gives us (sw*eei*dn), (d*eei*·ja), (m*eei*).

4. It is very common in Early French to find a simple *e* written for *ei* or *ai*, thus indicating the sound of these digraphs. Mr Payne has collected numerous examples of *e* for *ai* in Norman French,[1] but it is not confined to that dialect. In Joinville, for example, whose early education was with the count of Champagne, we find *jamez*, *fere*, *fet*, *fesoient*, *mes*, *lesser*, *mestre*, *mauvese*, *megre*, &c. And as to *e* where *ei* is the common form, a few examples are—*vene* (12th century), *vaine* and *voine* (13th), *veine* and *vaine* (14th), now *veine*; *treze* (12th), *treize* (13th); *seigle* (13th), *segle* (16th), now *seigle*; *seignur* (11th), *segneur* (13th); *veant* and *veiant* (11th), now *voyant*; *neif* (11th), *nege* (14th), *neige* and *noige* (15th), now *neige*.

5. At least one example of the converse of this change of orthography is furnished by Rob. Glouc.'s form *Longespei* for *longue espée*.

6. Mr Payne has collected ample evidence that *e* and *ei* or *ai* stood for the same sound, in the rhymes of Early French poetry; *apres* rhyming with *relais*, *retraire* with *manere*, and so on.[2] And, though I would never lay stress on exceptional rhymes, we *haire* (= hair shirt) rhyming with *faire*; this *haire*, which is also written *here* in the

é, but in any case it is not *ê* like the *e* of our *there*. And see below, p. 44.

[1] Phil. Soc. Trans., 1868-9, p. 361. [2] Ibid., p. 387.

Miracles St Loys as it is in Chaucer, being the same word as our *hair*, and the O.N. *hæra* (HAAi·ra), which was formerly pronounced (HEER·a).[1]

7. The grammarians, who however were all later than Chaucer, confirm the above results. Thus Meigret in his Phonetic Grammar writes *fes*, *james*, *lesser*, *plere*, *trere*, *teson* (= taisons), *reson*, &c., though with a differently shaped *e* from that which he uses in *succeder*, *amez*, *ajouté*, *preterit*, *ecriuez*, the former being elsewhere called the "e ouvert," the latter the "e clos;" and Palsgrave describes the sound of *ei* (which, as I shall show immediately, is often the same thing as *ai* with him) in language unmistakeably plain; "the *e* shall have his distinct sound, and the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely." How after this can there be any difficulty? A difficulty arises thus, (*a.*) from the fact that there existed also both in French and in English the sound of (ai), a far less common sound, and Mr Ellis has mistaken, as frequently, the exception for the rule; and (*b.*) from the second fact that our English long (*ee*) has a power of generating the sound of (ai), which has added to the confusion. On these points it will be necessary to dwell a little.

8. To deal with the first objection. I admit—indeed I have made use of the fact above—that the sound of (ai) existed in French. But to what extent did it prevail? Meigret gives only three examples—*haïr*, still so pronounced, and written with the puncta diæresis; *aydant*, which we are told is still trisyllabic in the mouth of an uneducated Parisian, and indeed the separate syllable of *aïder* can be accounted for by the early forms of the verb, such as the *ajudha* in the famous oath of Louis le Germanique; and *aymant*, a loadstone, derived, through the Prov. *aziman*, from *adamas*. Meigret, it is true, also writes *aye* as the subj. of *avoir*, but elsewhere he writes it with *ey*; and *aymer*, to love, he expressly says, though the spelling would point to the sound of (a), is sounded *eymer*.

[1] See Cleasby and Vigfusson's Dictionary, Introd., p. xxxv.

And what says Palsgrave? He evidently, like Meigret, thinks that (ai) is theoretically the true sound, and accordingly he describes the diphthong *ai* as sounded "*a* distinctly, and the *i* shortly and confusely." But unfortunately he gives no examples with the rule. He recognizes *paÿs*, *aÿde*, and *haïr*, as having an *i* which "hath his distinct sounde by hym selfe;" and he tells us that futures in *-ray*, though written with *ay*, are sounded with *ey*. But his transliterations contain 27 words written with *ai* or *ay*, and a very unsatisfactory list it is. It contains eleven of the very words which Joinville's orthography and Meigret's Grammar and Mr Payne's lists show to have been sounded with (ee) or (*ee*); yet Palsgrave leaves the same *ai* or *ay* as exhibiting the pronunciation. The eleven are *faict*, *laissé*, *aymer*, *j'ay*, *mauluais*, *paix*, *naistre*, *faisant*, *villayne*, *mais*, *vray*, and it seems probable that four others would follow the analogy of these, namely, *mondayne*, *vayne*, *souuerayne*, and *secretaire*. Eight others we may assert that Meigret would spell with *ei*,[1] *craindre*, *crainte*, *loingtain*, *ainsi*, *maintenir*, *depainctz*, *maint*, and *vainqueurs*: it seems not unlikely that these were sounded nearly as at present. There remain four others, *naufraige*, *eaige*, *plaige*, *oultraige*, in which there can be no doubt (ai) was the sound, from the explicitness with which he elsewhere describes this termination.[2] This short (i) is lost in modern French. The list contains no word such as *faillir*, *assaillir*, *bailler*, but in this class also it is clear[3] that the sound was (ai), as it still is. But Palsgrave's inexactness in transliteration is shown in his having given on the same pages two other words in *-age*, *aage* another form of *eaige*, and *courage*, in neither of which has he inserted the *i* in the French to be explained, and in only one has he given it in the form which is to explain the sound—*covráige*.[4] But what does this inexactness shew? This, I think:—that even in those words in which the (a) was radical, as

[1] See Ellis's E. E. P., p. 118. [2] Lesclarcissement, p. 8.
[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., pp. 56—64.

naistre from *nascor*, *paix* from *pax*, the habit of modifying this (a), when combined with (i) following it, into (ee) or (*ee*) was so thoroughly established in national usage and so familiar to the writer that it was the most natural oversight possible for him to leave these words unaltered, where a more painstaking and accurate writer, like Meigret, would have altered the symbol. Thus *mais* already expressed to the eye the true sound: therefore, though inadvertently, Palsgrave left it unaltered.

9. But again, having undertaken to disprove that *ai* and *ei* stood for (ai), I am obliged to indict Mr Ellis on the serious charge of utterly setting at defiance the authority of etymology. For let us look at some of the words given by Mr Ellis in Pt. II. of his work in the specimens of Chaucer's and Gower's pronunciation. We get here, first, of Latin origin—

veyne	from	*vena*	now	*veine*
peine	,,	*poena*	,,	*peine*
Mawdeleyne	,,	*Magdalena*	,,	*Madelaine*
counseyl	,,	*consilium*	,,	*conseil*
disdeyn	,,	*dedignor*	,,	*dédaigner*
moneye	,,	*moneta*	,,	*monnaie*
veyl	,,	*velum*	later	*voèle*
Beneyt	,,	*Benedictus*	,,	*Benoèt*
streyt	,,	*strictus*	,,	*estroèt*

besides *pleyn* from *plenus*, *deceive* from *decipio*, *receyve* from *recipio*, *preye* from *precor*, *ceynt* from *cingo*, *obeysant* from *obedire*, *feyne* from *fingo*, and several others, all of which Mr Ellis would sound with (ai), though they have no (a) in the Latin.

In like manner, of Teutonic origin—

reyn, A.S. *regn*
seyl, A.S. *segel*
seyn, to say, A.S. *secgan*
seyde, A.S. *sæde*
way = via, A.S. *weg*

ley, A.S. *lecgan*
ay = ever, O.N. *æ* = (ee)[1]

and others, in all of which the pronunciation that I am objecting to gives the vowel as (ai), though there is no (a) in the earlier form, as also there is no (a) at the present day, and has been none for at least three centuries.

Now I am not going to affirm that the (*ee*) in these words could not become (ai): I shall prove lower down that it could. But there is another remark to be made. The words with a radical (a) have undoubtedly undergone a change at some period—our *plain* from *planus*, *maistre* from *magister*, &c.—a change[2] from (ai) to (ee), or (*ee*), or (*eei*), probably by passing through some intermediate stage or stages, as (aa*i*), (ææ*i*), (ee*i*), (*eei*), (*ee*). If, then, this change took place, as I contend, *before* Chaucer's time, there is no necessity for supposing any great change at any time in the other class of words, namely, those with a radical (e)—*veyne*, *peyne*, *streit*, *obey*, &c., as indeed our Grammarians know nothing of any such change. If, on the other hand, we imagine with Mr Ellis that the (a) words retained their (ai) till *after* Chaucer—it being admitted and indisputable that these two classes were sounded exactly alike in his day—we cannot escape the conclusion that the (e) words underwent with marvellous rapidity a double change: they changed their (ee), or (*ee*), or (*eei*) into (ai) only to resume their original form in a hundred years or so. For instance; to take two words as representatives of two large classes:—*pleyne* from *plenus* was pronounced exactly like *pleyne* from *planus* in Chaucer's age: if the latter had already become (pl*ee*in), no further change need be imagined; if not, the former had to become (plain) only to go back to (pl*ee*in) by Palsgrave's time at latest; how much more rapidly still one cannot conjecture.

[1] See above, p. 37 and note.

[2] Illustrative of this change are the forms *caeine* (11th century), *chaaine* (12th), *chaene*, *chaane*, *caenne*, *caïne* (13th), *chayenne* (15th), *chaisne* (16th), now *chaîne*; yet the diminutive *chenette* appears as early as the 13th century.

Surely no sane man can believe this. Spoken language does not, never did, and never will "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven."

But I shall be told that Palsgrave and Sir Thomas Smith more than three centuries ago, and our provincial dialects now, attest the sound of (ai) in *ai* words. True to a certain extent; but this (ai) or (æi), whether heard in London or in West Somersetshire, is merely a corruption of (*ee*i) or (eei), quite irrespective both of derivation and of spelling. The change has no regard to spelling. The Londoner who sounds (æi) will give it alike to *rein* and *rain*, to *lain* and *lane*, to *veil*, *vail*, and *vale*.[1] And derivation is equally a matter of indifference. It is so in the examples just quoted, and in Mr Elworthy's lists. In these there are three words in which (ai) may, it is barely possible, be the original sound handed down in unbroken tradition—*aa·yd* (aa*i*d), *taa·yldur* (taa*i*l·dɪ), and *baa·y* (baa*i*), from *aïder*, *tailleur*, and Span. *bahia;* and some others have, according to my view, simply broadened out (əi) into (aa*i*), as *bumbaa·y* (bəmbaa*i*·) for *by and by*, *maa·y* (maa*i*) for *my*, *smaayt* (smaa*i*t) for *smite*, and three or four more; but among the rest may be found side by side the two different classes of words to which attention has just been called, those, namely, with (a) in the root and those with (e). With a radical (a) we have *klaa·ym* from *clamo*, *hraa·y* from *radius*, *plaa·yg* from *plaga*, *Maa·y* from *Maia*, *paa·ylĕen* from *palus*, *vaa·yn* from *vanus;* but these show no symptom of a stronger attachment to the (aa) than *vaa·yul* from *velum*, *saa·yul* from *segel*, *fraa·y* from *frigido*, *aa·ym* from *æstimo*, *hraa·yn* from *regn* or from *regno*, *vaa·yn* from *vena*. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that all these words, having the same sound now, reached it from a common starting-point in (*ee*) or (*ee*i). The change is then very simple, the different stages being (*ee*i), (eei), (ææi), (aa*i*),

[1] I remember being puzzled several years ago by a London boy who gave me his name as (læin). I asked him whether he spelt it with *i* or *y*. Neither, he said, but (æi). After a while, but not without difficulty, I found out that the name was *Lane*.

merely reversing the order of the process just now supposed in the case of *planus* and *magister*.

10. Now this corruption had begun more than three hundred years ago. Out of Palsgrave's four examples of (ai)—*rayne, fayne, payne, disdayne*—the third[1] and fourth are from words which have no radical (a), so that the (ai) is an unquestionable corruption. And if we listen to Sir Thomas Smith we find—first indeed, which I may mention parenthetically, that he would mark only a "minima differentia" between *ai* and *ei* (see quotation, Ellis, p. 120), which seems to mean that one was (ææi) and the other (eei), so that the corruption was not so strongly marked as among the "rustici" against whom he inveighs,—and secondly that there was by no means a general agreement as to what words should be sounded with (ææi) and what with (eei). The very words which he would sound with (eei)—*fein*, fingere, *deinti*, delicatus, *peint*, pingere, *feint*, languidus—"others," he says, "sound and pronounce with (ææi): so undiscriminating are we English at any rate in the case of these two diphthongs."[2] Just so there were others who pronounced all the *ai* words with *ei*. Like difference of usage is clearly evidenced by Hart and Gil's want of agreement as to common words. Now will not differences of dialect throw some light on this difficulty? Gil was a Lincolnshire man, Sir Thomas Smith a native of the extreme north of Essex; what more natural than they should condemn as mincing affectation the *ἰσχνότην*—Gil meant *ἰσχνότητα*—of the London pronunciation. It was no doubt as Head Master of St Paul's School that he was liable to be pestered by the fine ladies who—"aliquoties ad me pippiunt, *I pre ya gï yar skalerz lïv ta plë*, pro *I prai you giv your skolarz lëv tu plai;*" that is, (əi pr*eei* ɹɐ g*i* ɹɐɹ skɐl·erz liiv tɐ pl*eei*) for (əi prææ*i* ɹu g*i*v ɹuɹ skol.arz l*ee*v tu plææ*i*). But in the matter of

[1] Palsgrave, however, elsewhere writes *peyne*.

[2] Alii sonant et pronuntiant per *ai*, tam *ἀδιάφοροι* sumus in his duntaxat duabus diphthongis Angli.

pronunciation London has beaten both Lincolnshire and north Essex through the powerful influence of court and parliament, of law-courts and schools, and the incessant locomotion of the population. We do not now say (kææmbrík) which Gil approved but (k*eei*mbrík), not (kææpn) but (k*eei*pɐn), not (butsherz meet) but (butshɹz miit), not (mææ*i*dz) but (m*eei*dz), not (prææ*i*) and (plææ*i*) but (pr*eei*) and (pl*eei*), not (leev) or (l*ee*v) but (liiv). And, so far as can be ascertained, Chaucer was a Londoner, and I believe therefore that the very pronunciation which Smith and Gil condemned was that which Chaucer used, and which had been preserved in the tradition of London speech in good society to the 16th century, as it has been to the 19th. But Gil's specimen of London pronunciation just quoted contains one peculiarity, not sanctioned by good usage, and yet surviving and very common in metropolitan speech—(tɐ pl*eei*) for (tu pl*eei*). It shows incidentally what I have again and again insisted on—the tenacity of life of all forms of spoken language.

11. It may be objected, however, that some of these arguments on the digraph *ai* or *ei*, if they prove that the sound thus represented was an (e) sound, yet do not decide between the open (ee) and the close (*ee*). True, but it will be observed that if the *e* in *there* and *where* was the open (ee), the *ai* or *ei* must have represented a different sound, or we should find such rhymes as *here feyre*, *clene veyne*, &c., which we have (I think) nowhere. Then again, Icelandic tradition with its (sw*eei*dn), &c., affords unmistakeable evidence of the close vowel. So does English tradition except where an *r* following has opened (*ee*) into (ee). In the West of England you may still hear (dh*ee*ɹ) and (v*ee*ɹ), but elsewhere these words have assumed the open (ee), (dheeɹ) and (feeɹ). French usage is divided, *ai* and *ei* usually being (ee), as in *veine*, *aimer*, sometimes (*ee*), as in *saisir ;* but Palsgrave's description of *ei*, "the *i* to be sounded shortly and confusely," and the spelling itself, can leave no doubt. For why should the written *e*

assume a following *i* unless to indicate, as in Icelandic and in modern English, either the thinning off of the end of the sound into (i), or that the whole sound was a vowel akin both to (e) and to (i), which imperfection of the alphabet afforded no better means of representing?

Briefly now to recapitulate.

I. It has been endeavoured in this paper to show that *here* and the words that rhyme with it were probably sounded in Chaucer's time with the same vowel as in the present day; 1st, from prevalent English traditional pronunciation; 2nd, by a perfectly independent argument from spelling, based on the analogy of *sheep, meek, teeth,* as compared with *heap, break, death;* 3rd, by an argument partly dependent on this last, the gist of which lies in an appeal to Sir Thomas Smith's assertion that the *e* in *sheep* was the *e Anglicum,* which also he expressly opposes to the *e Italicum;* 4th, from the traditional pronunciation and orthography of *hier* and *dier* in all the Teutonic languages; and 5th, by a like appeal to the traditional pronunciation and orthography of French words in *-ier* and *-iere.* And what is there to set against this mass of evidence from independent and widely different sources but the *assumption* that Sir Thomas Smith only betrayed his ignorance in his use of the term *e Anglicum,* and the wholly unproved surmise that a vast revolution had taken place in English spoken language during the two centuries that preceded him?

II. In order to show that *i* in Chaucer's time was diphthongal, possessing, or approaching, the sound that symbol still represents, 1st, the various English dialects have been cited as witnesses; and 2nd, the Dutch and High German pronunciation of many of the same words, as in English, have the long *i*; 3rd, the evidence has been adduced of grammarians and orthoepists both English and foreign, several of whom declare positively that our *i* in the 16th century was not the Italian *i*, while others expressly call it a diphthong; and 4th, it has been shown

that of the words now sounded with (əi) at least one of the most prominent was sounded with a diphthong in a kindred language some 2000 years ago or more.

III. To show that *ai* and *ei* = (*ee*), appeal has been made to the evidence, 1st, of English tradition; 2nd, of French tradition; 3rd, of Icelandic tradition; 4th, of French spelling in words like *jamez* for *jamais;* 5th, of one similar example from the English of Rob. Glouc.; 6th, of French rhymes such as *retraire* with *manere;* 7th, of the grammarians; while 8th, various objections have been dealt with; 9th, etymology has been shown to be utterly opposed to the idea that ai = (ai); 10th, certain discrepancies in the statements of grammarians have been shown to arise in all probability from dialectic variety of pronunciation; and 11th, reasons have been assigned for believing not only that *ai* and *ei* represented an (e) sound, but that it was not the open (ee) but the close (*ee*) for which they stood.

By the various arguments here adduced I hope to have proved, at least to some candid readers, that Chaucer did not sound the adverb *here* as (h*ee*r), but nearly or quite as we or our Dutch and German neighbours sound it at the present day. On this point, as on almost all his main conclusions, I still as firmly as ever believe Mr Ellis to be in error; yet I am very far from idly dreaming that I have escaped from error myself. This, at any rate, I may very confidently affirm, that this paper is an honest contribution to the study of Early English Pronunciation, and if the view here maintained can indeed be demonstrated to be erroneous, at least this good result will be arrived at, that *the truth*—for which alone honest men will contend—will be all the more satisfactorily settled on a secure and solid basis.

	fire, &c.	requere	swere	saphere	stere = ox	stere, *v.*	stere	parcuere	brere	refere, *v.*	offere	were	bacheler, &c.	manere, &c.	yeer	cleer	Chauntecleer	deere, *adj.*	deer, *s.*	sere	neer	here, *adv.*	here, *v.*	fere, ifere	appeere	peer	frere	spere	lere	beer	beer
fire [also fere], &c.		2	1			1								2		2		1			2	3	1	1					1		
re-, en-quere [or -ire]	2												1	3		1		2				1							3		
swere, *s.* [or -ire]	1																	1													
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here, *v.*	1						1						2	76	5	12		36		1		21		8	3	3	2	1	13		3
fere, ifere	1													27	2	4		11			2	10	8		1			1			1
appeere						1							1	2		2		6			2	3	3	1							
peer, compeer							1					1	5	1	1		1	3	1			2	3				1				1
frere							1		1				3	18	1			6				3	2			1			1		1
spere, emispere														2		3		4				2	1	1							
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beer = tulit				1		1							4				1														
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pilwebeer													1																		
mere = sea																															
leere, *s.*																1															
ere, *v.* = plough																															
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mere = mare																															
powere																1	1														
hindere, *v.*																															
Jupiter													1																		
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were = weir																															
her, *s.* = hair															3															2	
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ware, stare, &c.													1																		
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ere, *v.*	ere, *s.*	ere, *adv.*	affere	teere, *s.*	tere, *v.*	shere, *v.*	shere(s), *s.*	answere	mere	powere	hindere	Jupiter	menyver	dere, *v.*	bere, *v.*	bere, *s.*	were	-stere	-ere	where	there	were, *v.*	were, *s.*	her, *s.*	feere, *s.*	fer, *adv.*	Fynyst.	seurere	grammeere	swere, *v.*	spere	here	geere	fumetere	dover	debonaire	ware, *&c.*	were	Total rhymes
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Bungay
CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS

APPENDIX II.

COLLATION

OF

THE DURHAM RITUAL;

WITH NOTES, ETC.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR SKEAT.

COLLATION OF THE DURHAM RITUAL,

WITH NOTES, ETC.

By the Rev. Professor Skeat.

My collation of the MS. commonly known as the Durham Ritual is made with Mr. Stevenson's edition. The title of his book is 'Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis'; printed for the Surtees Society in 1840.

The MS. is marked A. iv. 19 in the Cathedral Library of Durham. It contains three distinct Latin service-books, with Northumbrian glosses in various later hands, besides a number of unglossed Latin additions. The editor's statement (Preface, p. vii), that 'the religious services of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria are to be understood from it alone,' may be so far true that we have no other early service-books belonging to that part of the country. But the main portion of the book (Part I.) was probably written in the *South* of England; and this is remarkably illustrated by the fact that a small portion of the *original* text is in Southern English. This passage, printed at p. 114, is in the large bold hand of the Latin text, and is entitled *halsuncge*, i.e. a solemn charge addressed by the priest to the person or persons who were about to proceed to the ordeal. The words printed between square brackets are written above the line, being the alternative words of address, when only one person was to undergo the trial. By way of correcting this text at once, I may observe that all the proper names are written with small letters; that 'þte' in l. 7 is written 'þe' in the MS.; and that 'þys' in l. 8 is written first as 'þus,' but is corrected to þys. The reader should also notice that the next nine rubrics, written in the MS.

with large vermilion letters, are all in the same hand, and belong to the same period. As to the Southern forms of words, note *fér, gind, sien;* the whole is in the Kentish, not in the Northumbrian dialect. Hence the name of *Durham Ritual* must be taken to only mean that it is an old service-book belonging to the church of Durham.

The book belongs, however, to Durham *now*, and has done so for some centuries. It must have passed into the possession of one of the bishops at an early period. The well-known inscription printed at 185 is of some historical importance. We here find four Latin collects, written on a page "from which the earlier writing has been erased, . . . in which the writer prays to God through the merits and intercession of St. Cuthbert." Beneath these collects is appended the following note: "Be suðan wudigan gæte æt áclee on west sæxum on laurentius mæssan dægi on wodnes dægi ælfsige ðæm biscope in his getélde Aldred se p*r*ofast ðæs feower collectæ on fif næht áld[1] mona ær underne awrat." That is: "Near South Woodgate at Oakley in Wessex, on St. Lawrence's day, on Wednesday, when the moon was five nights old, Aldred the provost wrote out, before undern, these four collects for Ælfsig the bishop in his tent." On this Mr. Stevenson remarks: "There seems to be every reason to believe that Ælfsig, the last bishop [but one] of Chester-le-Street,[2] who filled that see from A.D. 968 to 990, is the personage here mentioned, although there was a bishop of Winchester of the same name from 951 to 958. But we have no means of accounting for the journey of the bishop to Aclea in Wessex, and must therefore be satisfied to leave the matter in the same degree of obscurity in which we find it." And he adds in a note, that "several ecclesiastical councils were held at Aclea, but at an earlier period."

But it occurred to Dr. Lingard that it was by no means necessary to leave the matter in such darkness. For Aldred has given us the exact clue to the very date. When, we

[1] MS. áld, *with* ne *added above the line.*
[2] Six miles from Durham; the see was transferred in 994.

may ask, was the moon five nights old on a St. Lawrence's day, on a Wednesday?

To this question Dr. Lingard replies, that the year was 970.[1] I shall venture here to discuss this a little more fully.

St. Lawrence's day is Aug. 10; if this was Wednesday, then Aug. 7 was Sunday, and the letter for Aug. 7 is B, as may be seen in any Prayer-book. Table C, at p. 48 of Sir H. Nicolas' Chronology of History, gives the Sunday letters for all the years, Old Style. In the tenth century, the only years in which the Sunday letter was B[2] were 903, 908, 914, 925, 931, 936, 942, 953, 959, 964, 970, 981, 987, 992, 998. But the moon is to be five nights old, which is a little ambiguous. It may mean that the new moon was on Aug. 6, or on Aug. 5; probably the former. If we take the latter supposition, then, according to the table at p. 90 of the same work, the golden number was XIII. But for the series of years mentioned above, we find (by another table at p. 46) that the golden numbers are 11, 16, 3, 14, 1, 6, 12, 4, 10, 15, 2, 13, 19, 5, 11. There is *only one* that comes right, viz. 981. If we take the former supposition, then the Golden Number is II. and the year is 970. Now both 970 and 981 fall within the period of the bishopric of Ælfsig of Chester-le-Street, but *not* within that of the other Ælfsig. It is remarkable that, even allowing for the ambiguity, there are but two solutions, and that these lie close together. However, the new moon must surely be the *first* night, and four nights afterwards the *fifth*. Add to this, that Dr. Lingard says further—"What may have taken Ælfsige from the North into Wessex, we are not told; but we know that he accompanied Kenneth, king of Scots, to the court of Edgar, soon after the accession of the Scottish prince to the

[1] In the Prolegomena to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, Part IV. ed. Waring (Surtees Soc.), we find, in the note at p. xlvi, the following: "Lingard points out that during the time Ælfsig ruled the see, from 968 to 990, 970 was the only year in which the festival of St. Lawrence (Aug. 10) could fall both on a Wednesday and on the fifth day of the moon. See Lingard, Hist. A.S. Church, vol. ii. p. 364."

[2] *i.e.* for the *latter* part of the year.

throne of his ancestors, which accession is said to have happened in 970. (Extract. ex. Var. Chron. Scot. p. 50.) The entry also shows that the provost Aldred, the second in dignity in the church of St. Cuthbert, accompanied the bishop." See the whole of Note A, on the Durham Ritual, in the Appendix to vol. ii. of Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. We may therefore say, with certainty, that Aldred wrote out those four collects for Ælfsig, of Chester-le-Street, on Wednesday, Aug. 10, A.D. 970; and, moreover, that the said Ælfsig was "in his tent," *i.e.* on a visit to Wessex.

But where is Oakley? There were, probably, several places of the name. Thorpe suggests that one 'ácleá' is Ockley in Surrey. I hardly know if this can strictly be said to be in Wessex; and it would be a satisfaction to find Woodgate. I find, however, *Church Oakley* in Hampshire, near Basingstoke, and an old county atlas of mine (Pigot's, 1831) marks, in close proximity to it, Dean Gate Inn and Wootton St. Lawrence. This is certainly remarkable. A *Church* Oakley, near Basingstoke, would do well for a conference; and, though I have not found *Woodgate*, I have found *Wootton* and *Deangate*; but, more than that, I have found *St. Lawrence*! I am tempted to speculate a little further, and to imagine that Ælfsig the bishop may have acquired this WESSEX (or KENTISH) SERVICE-BOOK on this very occasion; and that Aldred, by way of neatly commemorating the circumstance, wrote out four prayers with special reference to *St. Cuthbert*, not forgetting, at the same time, to propitiate *St. Lawrence*.

There is another note in the MS. which calls for remark. Ælfsig was succeeded, in 990, by Aldhun, and the entry at the foot of a page close to the end of Part II. (p. 143) renders it probable that the whole volume, as we now have it, was taken by Aldhun from Chester-le-Street to Durham when he transferred the episcopal see to that place in 994; and there is abundant evidence to show that it has remained at Durham ever since.

But I hold that we are nearly as far off as ever from the

vexed question, as to who wrote the glosses. I should say, however, it was not Aldred the provost. There is nothing to show that he wrote more than this one page; I see no resemblance between this page and any of the rest. The glosses may have been written afterwards, at Chester-le-Street or at Durham. They are certainly in a Northumbrian dialect; but the handwriting can hardly be put later than the close of the tenth century.[1] There is nothing to connect this Aldred with the Aldred, son of Tilwine, who glossed the Lindisfarne MS. Moreover, I cannot think that all the glosses are in one hand. Some are in red ink, and some in black; and those in red ink are unlike those in black.

The MS. clearly consists of three parts bound in one, of which the undoubtedly Southern portion forms Part I., and cannot be placed earlier than the tenth century; while Parts II. and III. may be northern writing of a century earlier. But the three parts have probably been together from very early times.

The collation of the MS., as given below, is due to Mr. Bradshaw, who has kindly given me much assistance, for which I beg leave to record my sincere thanks. The collation is as follows:

PART I. Eight 5-sheet numbered quires, followed by a ninth 6-sheet quire. The scribe has in several cases (as often happens) cancelled a leaf or added an extra leaf, probably where he had made some mistake.

Quire I. (leaves 1–10); lost entirely.

Quire II. (leaves 11–20); leaf 11 lost.

Quire III. (leaf 3 cancelled; leaves 21–29); leaf 27 lost.

Quire IV. (leaves 30–39; all lost but one, probably leaf 38.

Quire V. leaves (40–49); four lost, 40, 41, 42, 43.

[1] Dr. Murray kindly informs me that, after a careful comparison of the MS. with the gloss in the Durham Gospels, Mr. Maunde Thompson and himself came to the conclusion that they are not by the same hand; also that the 'Ritual' gloss is somewhat *earlier* than that of the Gospels.

Quire VI. (with an extra leaf after the 6th; leaves 50–60); two lost, 56 and 60.

Quire VII. (with an extra leaf after the 4th; leaves 61–71); perfect.

Quire VIII. (with an extra leaf after the 4th; leaves 72–82); two lost, 72, 73.

Quire IX. (leaves 83–94); perfect.

PART II. One 4-sheet quire, with later additions.

Quire *a* (leaf 4 cancelled; leaves 95–101); perfect.[1]

b and *c*; two single *thick* leaves (102, 103).

d; one *thin* leaf (104).

e; one *outside* leaf (105).

PART III. One 6-sheet quire, with a leaf attached.

Quire A (leaves 106–117); perfect.

B; one *outside* leaf (118).

To compare this with the edition, we may note the following:

Page 1. Begins with leaf 12 of MS.

Page 32. After § 19, one leaf (27) lost.

Page 36. After § 3, eight leaves lost (30–37).

Page 38. After § 15, five leaves lost (39–43).

Page 53. The asterisks merely show the erasure of a rubric; no leaf lost.

Page 64. After the top rubric, one leaf lost (56).

Page 70. After first two lines of § 8; one leaf lost (60).

Page 80. The asterisks merely mean that a long rubric has faded.

Page 93. After l. 16, two leaves lost (72, 73).

Page 111. The asterisk denotes an erased page; the hymn which follows is written on the erased page in a later hand.

Page 138. Part I. of MS. ends. The beginning of Part II. is transposed by the binder. Turn to p. 145, where Part II. begins; proceed to the end of the prose on p. 162; return to p. 138 (which reads on without the

[1] But transposed by the binder; as now bound, leaves 95–101 follow leaf 105.

loss of a single word); and proceed to end of § 1 on p. 145.

Page 162. Part III. begins with the Hymn.

In Part I. (the Wessex book) the text is in black, glossed in red. The English at p. 114, being original text, is written precisely as the Latin is. The only glossed *additions* in this Part are the prayer 'Deus meus . . .' (p. 125), and the first eight of the *Benedixiones ad lectiones* on p. 126.

In Part II. the original text is red and the gloss in black (pp. 145–147). The gloss only covers the original handwriting in this Part. This gloss in black does not seem at all like that in red in the rest of the book; and it perhaps comes nearer than the other to the handwriting of the gloss in the Lindisfarne MS.

In Part III. the text is black and the gloss in red, except that on one page of the MS. five rubrics written in red are glossed in black. I am not sure that this black gloss (pp. 183, 184) is from the same hand as the black gloss of Part II. The only unglossed passages in Part III. are the later additions, and some small portions of original text on pp. 183, 184, where the red glossator had left off his work.

The red glosses throughout the volume are certainly all by one hand; but none, red or black, resemble the writing of Aldred, who entered the four collects, mentioned above, on the erased page in Part III. (p. 185).

The Latin text abounds in contractions, which, however, are all of the most ordinary kind. Stevenson, therefore, expands all contractions without remark. I have not collated this text.

It is proper that I should here explain that I have only *once* read over the glosses in the MS., though I believe I have done so carefully. My opportunity of inspecting the MS. was due to the kindness of the Dean and Chapter of Durham in granting the use of the MS. to Dr. Murray for a period sufficient for full examination of it, especially with a view to ascertain the make-up of the book, and its connexion, if any, with the Durham Gospels, as asserted by Sir F. Madden. As editor of the Durham Gospels, I naturally take

much interest in the question; but I hope we may look for a new edition of the 'Ritual' by Dr. Murray, and I only put out the following collation by way of a stop-gap, hoping thereby to be of some service to him in two ways; first, by gaining him a little more time for a work which will require great attention; and secondly, by putting on record such errors in the former text as I have myself observed. I also feel that, on this account, it is better not to discuss any further the numerous points of interest that arise in connexion with the Northumbrian glosses.

I append to this article a collation of Stevenson's English text with the MS. I ought to remark that his text is fairly correct, and that the rather long list of notable points by no means represents that he has left many misprints; but I have taken occasion to notice that certain doubtful words really are as he has printed them; and, in particular, I give a list of the numerous *alterations* in the glosses themselves. The glossator continually corrects himself; and, in such cases, Stevenson almost invariably gives (as is right) the corrected form. It is remarkable that Stevenson is, in general, most correct where the MS. is hardest to read. His worst errors are where he alters the form of a word wherever it occurs, which is misleading; a reader who sees the same form several times repeated is almost sure to think that the form is that of the MS.[1] This is particularly the case with *usra*, almost always printed *ussa*; with *forgifnise*, almost always printed *foregifnise*; with *rvmmodvm*, frequently printed *rvmmodlicvm*, and a few others. Had such errors been avoided, the list of misprints would not have been a long one; and I think the text may be accepted with sufficient confidence by any scholar who cares to compare it with the following collation, and to correct just such points as seem to him really to require it. The rune for *day* is quite distinct from that for *man* throughout the MS.; in the edition, both are represented by the same symbol.

The symbol ˘ occurs above the line; it means 'u,' and I

[1] Thus, on p. 25, the stem *dærst* is altered to *Særft* thrice in the course of four lines, intentionally, yet wrongly.

represent it by italic *u*, as in my edition of the Gospels. In the edition, it is usually omitted altogether. A curl over certain words is very common. It sometimes denotes a regular contraction, as in '*for*' and 'æft*er*'; sometimes it merely indicates that the word is contracted; and it is even added, by way of flourish, when the word is quite complete. In the edition, this curl is denoted by an apostrophe. At p. 14, l. 4, the gloss to *quadrigesimali* should rather have been printed *fæst'nlic'*, i.e. fæst*e*rnlic*e*, the curl being *above*, not *after* the *n*; and so in other cases.

Accents are rare; a few occur.

The edition takes no notice of corrections of the MS.; except at p. 28, l. 16, where the gloss *helme*, first written, and then underlined for omission, is printed in italics.

The compound letter *æ* frequently appears with a dot above and below the former member of it. This means *æ* altered to *e*; it is printed *e*.

At p. 6, l. 4, the word 'lic*h*oma' occurs. By italic *h*, I mean that the symbol ⸗, meaning *h*, is added above the *c*. In this case, the editor has inserted the *h*; but he commonly misses it. He has, however, printed an apostrophe (though there is no curl above), and he has omitted the *o*.

The separation of compound words, common in the MS., is not indicated; on the other hand, I have observed *of dune* in the printed text where the MS. has *ofdune* as one word. A few words, both text and gloss, have been accidentally omitted in the edition; this is rarely the case.

At about p. 36, words such as 'frv̄' are printed *frvm*, i.e. are expanded; but this practice is soon dropped again.

At about p. 39, the ordinary modern English *w* is used to denote the A.S. *wén*; but this practice is soon dropped again.

At pp. 99 and 100 are some marginal notes, given below. They are of small value, and are omitted in the edition.

In some places, glosses are printed that are hardly visible in the MS. But I accept these, except where I have made a note to the contrary.

COLLATION.

In the following collation, I give, for convenience of reference, the *Latin* word of the text within marks of parenthesis. This will prove a help where the lines of the page are difficult to number, as is sometimes the case. I may sometimes have miscounted the lines, but the Latin word is a sure guide. The English forms given are *those of the MS.*; except where the contrary is said.

The thick numbers refer to the *pages*, and other numbers to the *lines* of Stevenson's edition. In reckoning the lines, the *Latin* text is meant.

1. 1. *Hierus'* is written in the MS. with a small h, not a capital. This remark applies, throughout, to every letter printed as a capital. The apostrophe signifies that a waved stroke is written above the end of the word in the MS. This stroke generally denotes a contraction. Thus, hierus' is for hierus*alem*. But, in some cases, the stroke is needlessly added to a word that is complete already. 9. (exultet) wynsvmiaȝ.

2. 3. (ducere) latva. (concede) f*or*gef. qui (ȝa ȝe). (ex fide) *here the flourishes over* of *and* lvfa *appear to be unmeaning.* 4. (celsitudinis) heannis*se*. 6. (omnium) allra. 8. (mentibus) *perhaps* ȝohtv*m; I see* ȝoht . . *distinctly.* 9. (substantia) vnstondennisse ł. (nostre) vser. 10. (apparuit) ædeawde. 11. (intus) innabord'. 14. (solempnitatem) symbbeltid; *that is, the word is plainly divided into its component parts; and this may be taken as a general rule. So also* aed-eava *in l.* 16, *and* soȝ-cvom *in l.* 19. 21. (misterium) deglagiryne.

3. 1. (nostri) vsver'; *perhaps* vsvere*s*. *And, generally, an apostrophe signifies a flourish over the word, which may or may not denote a contraction.* 5. (duce) latva. 10. (odoris) gistences. 18. (generatione) geeneoreso.

4. 3. (argento) svlferne; *with* n *expuncted.* 6. (suo) sinv*m*. 10. (annua) gerlico. (interius) innweardlic*e*. (asse qui) fro*m* him ł gifylge.[1]

5. 3. (vestra) ivero; *the* e *being inserted above the line.* 4. (vest-

[1] That is, the Lat. *assequi* is written *asse qui*. The glossator at first thought that *asse* = *a se*, or *from him*; but afterwards saw his way.

rum) iver'. (benignus) rv*m*mód. 9. (me) mehc. (in) in. 12. (repleveris) ðv gifylldest; *the* d *above the line.* 15. (nequeat) ðy læs mægi. 18. (bradium) ðone sig.

6. 1. (coronam) sig-beg. 4. (castigo) bego ł clænsigo. (corpus) lic*h*oma; *the* h *being above, and denoted by the symbol* ⸗. 5. (servitutem) . . . ðeado*m*e. 7. (libenter) lvstlice. *After* meis *add*—ut I*n*habitet In me uirt*us christi*, *glossed by* þte inbye in mec mægn cristes. 10. (factus) aworden. (evacuavi) ic gi-Idlade (*sic*); *read* gi-idlade. 12. (hæc) ðasv*m*.

7. 5. *after* protectione, *insert* tua, *glossed* ðinvm. 7. (absolutos) vnbvndeno. (adversitate) wiðirwordnissum. 9. (observantium) bihaldnise. 10. (voluntates) willo. 14. (reparationis) eftnivuw*u*nges. 16. (quesumus) we bid'. 17. (sanctorum) hælgana. 19. (periculis) froecelnisv*m*. 20. (subsistere) vnderbeara. 21. (quæ) ða ðe.

8. 1. (infirmitatem) vntrymnise, *altered to* vntr*u*mnise. (nostram) vsu*m*. 6. (gaudeat) gifeaga. 9. (contra) ongægn. 13. (devotione) oeste. 14. (tuere) giscild. 15. (emunda) giclænsig. 16. (dominetur iniquitas) gionvælde*ð* vnrehtnise. 17. (placaris) gicvoemes ł gicvoemed bist. 18. (flagella) svoppa, *alt. to* svyppa. 19. (peccatis nostris) synnv*m* vsv*m*. (meremur) ve giearnia. 21. (favore) mersvnge.

9. 1. (prosequere) f*o*refylg; *no more visible.* 4. (convenienter) gibyredlice. 5. (fructum) væstme. 6. (causas) intingo. 11. (annua) gerlice, *with* e *expuncted.* (quesumus) we bidd'. 13. (gaudeamus) gigladia ue. 17. (oves) scíp.

10. 4. (si) gife; *sic, as printed.* (uiuificauit, *alt. to* uiuificabit) giliffæstade, *alt. to* giliffæsta*ð*. 14. (invocate) in*n*veardlice, *etc.* 16. (iniquus) vnrehtwis. 21. (iniquitatem) vnrehtvisnise.

11. 1. (furor) walm'. 10. (ante) aer. (dabit) gisile*ð*. 16. (vituperetur) ateled sie. 19. (inquietos) ða vnbli*ð*o. 20. (infirmos) ðæm, *etc.*

12. 1. (reddat) agelda. 4. (agite) doe*ð* gie. 6. (imitatores) . . gilicbiseno. 14. (edificationem) gihrine; *with* h *expuncted.* 16. (nolite) nælla*ð* gie. (quo) ðon. 18. (omnis) aelc. 19. (malitia) yfelgiornise. 20. (misericordes) miltheorto. (donantes) gefendo.

13. 4. (omnes) allo. (tribunal) hehse*ð*ile; *but with* i *expuncted.* 5. (unusquisque) an eghvoelc. 9. (opus) woerce; *but with latter* e *expuncted.* 11. (dilectionis) lvfsv*m*mnis*se*. 17. (humilitatem) e*ð*modnise; *no curl.*

14. 1. (quodcumque) ȳ svæhvædd; *no curl.* 2. (agentes) doendo. 3. (patri) fæder; *alt. to* feder. 4. (quadrigesimali) fæst*er*nlic'. 8. (citius) hraeðe; *there is a long curl above.* 12. (jejunium) fæst*er*n. 13. (proficiat) giðii. 16. (nostra) vsra. 18. (nostras) vsra. 19. (contra) ongægn.

15. 11. (auxilio) fvltvmme. 13. (eo) ðæm. 17. (supplicationibus) gibeadv*m*; to vsv*m* *is deleted.* 19. (adversa) wiðirwordnisso. 21. (cuncta) allo.

16. 2. (destitui) gisceadest. 9. (observantiæ) bihaldennisses.

17. 1. (nostrarum) vsra. 5. (protectione) giscildnise; *no curl.* 8. (noxiis) woerdnisvm. 9. (subveniat) vnde cyme; *sic; read* vnder-cyme. 10. (nostrorum) vsra. 14. (facilius) ðy eðelicor i eaðor. 18. (benigno) rvmmodlicvm.

18. 2. (nobis) vs. 4. (prebes) ðv givnne; *alt. to* ðv givnna. 7. (jejunia) faestino. 9. (capiamus) we giniomma. 11. (proficiat) giðiie; *with* e *expuncted.* (institutis) insetnisvm; *with curl over* nis. 18. (gratiam) geafana; *alt. to* geafona.

19. 8. (averti) ymboerdig (*sic*). 19. (quasi) svoelce.

20. 5. (anima) svel; *sic; read* savel. 15. (claribus) brehtvm; *with curl over* ht. (invocavi) gi-incege. 20. *after* salutis *insert* auxiliatus sum; *glossed by* helpend am. 21. (suscitares) . . . awoehtest.

21. 4. (manufactum) hondt-woero. 5. (creationis) giscæpp'es. 8. *after* quod *insert* et; *glossed by the symbol for* and. 9. (forma) bisine. 11. (accipiens) onfoende. 13. (humiliavit) gieðmodade.

22. 2. (æternam) ecnise; *alt. to* eco. 3. (gloriam) wvldvr. 4. (secula) worulde, *alt. to* worulda. 8. (etiam) gée. 9. (suo) sinv*m*. (pepercit) gispærede. 19. (subire) vn gaa; *sic; read* vnder-gaa. 20. (resurrectionis) erestes.

23. 3. (passione) ðrowenges; *with former* e *expuncted.* 10. (tibi) ðe. (accepta) onfoengo. 11. (efficiant) gifre*m*me; *alt. to* gifre*m*mo. 14. (peragere) ðerhdoa. (indulgentiam) forgefnis' *is marked to be deleted.* 17. (incessanter) unablinnenlice (*sic*). 20. (expelleres) afirdest.

24. 5. (qua) ðæ*m*. (manibus) hondv*m*. 8. (sentiamus) ve gifoela. 11. (communis) gimænsv*m*n'. 13. (benedictus) gibloedsad. 16. (incontaminatam) vnwidlad. 17. (cœlis) heofnv*m*. 20. (traditionis) giselenissese; *with final* e *expuncted.* (quasi) svoelce.

25. 4. (vestra) iwero. (abscondita) gideglad. 5. (apparuerit) sædeawað. 6. (apparebitis) biðon sædeawado. 7. (fermentum) dærsta, *alt. to* dærsto (*sic*). 9. (epulemur) gi*h*rordiga. (fermento)

daerstv*m* (*sic*). (veteri) aldesv*m*; *alt. to* aldv*m*. 10. (fermento) dærstv*m*. (nequitiæ) vnwisnise. (azymis) dærstv*m* ł on ȝearfv*m*. 12. (omnem) aelc. 17. (virtutes) mægno.

26. 2. *The* MS. *has* pro nobis uobis (*sic*), *glossed by* fo*r*e vs ivh; S. *omits* nobis *and its gloss, and has* ivih *for* ivh. 6. (consepulti) gibyrg . do; *indistinct and rubbed*. 8. (patris) fador'; *with a curl*. 15. (simul) gilíc ł ætdgeadre (*sic*). 16. (illi) him ł ȝæ*m*. 17. (dominabitur) biȝ ricsend, *etc*. 18. (nostrum) vsra. 22. (vivorum) lifigændra.

27. 6. (et) æc. 10. (patris) fæder; *with a curl*. (nostri) vser; *with a curl*. 12. (conresuscitavit) gilic ł eft giawoehte; *with* a *expuncted*. 21. (coram) bif*o*ra.

28. 5. (perfectum) wisfæst. (de) o; *expuncted*. 6. (apud) æd (*sic*). (vicissitudinis) æt *uncertain; looks like* echvoerflvnges. (obumbratio) f*o*rascywvng. 7. (voluntarie) lvstvme. 8. (creaturæ) gescæftes. 9. (dilectissimi) leofa *vel* ȝa lefosta. 10. (audiendum) geherann (*sic*). 12. (filii) bearnas; *alt. to* bearno. 16. (lorica) helme byrne; helme *being underlined for omission*. 17. (posuit) gisett.

29. 6. (inmaculata) vnawoemmedo. 7. (viduas) widvas. (in) i*n*. 8. (immaculatum) vnawoemmed'. 19. (quesumus) ve bid'.

30. 12. (paschalia) eostrolica (*sic*); *but* eostorlic *in l*. 14. 21. (quesumus) ve bid'.

31. 10. (annua) gerlic. 11. (laetificas) ȝv gigladas. (concede) gilef. 15. (festivitatis) symbeltid; *with curl*. 20. (tribue) giréc, *alt. to* réc.

32. 2. (adunasti) gige . . r . dest; *probably* gigeadridest. 14 (concede) gilef. 18. (chyrographum) hondgiwrit.

33. 1. (paschali) ȝa eostorlico, *alt. to* ȝa eostorlicv*m*. 3. (vitam) lífe. (resurrectione) erest. 11. (renatis) eftace*n*ndv*m*.

34. 2. (gaudere) gifeaga; *alt. to* gifea. 5. (pravitate) w*u*oe ł wiȝirmoednise. 8. (fructiferum) wæstimberende. 11. (respuentes) wiȝ sæcgende, *alt. to* wiȝ sæccende. 15. (facias) ȝv dost. 19. (salute) hælo. 21. (summus) heh ł ȝe hesta.

35. 3. (consedentem) ȝæ*m* efne sittendv*m*; *with* v*m of* sittendv*m expuncted*. 5. (nobis) vs. 8. (ineffabile) vnasægcgendlic (*sic*). (regenerationis) eft acennisses. 9. (innovare) giniwge. 11. (solita) wnvlic' (*sic!*); *read* wunlic', *as in* S. 12. (redempti) eft alesedo. 15. (celebramus) ve mersigaȝ. (intelligentia) ongetnisse. 21. (bone) gode; *alt. to* god. 22. (oves) scipo; *alt. to* scip.

36. 1. (incursione) onerni*n*ge. 2. (circuite) ymbhwarfaȝ. 4.

(facientem) doende. 10. (in) on. 13. (a) from; *twice.* (nostros) vsra. 15. (tua) ðinum. 17. (spatio) rume. (horas) tido; *alt. to* tidvm. 19. (vesperum) eferne.

37. 9. (nostras) vsra. (propitius) mildelice. 12. (pravitate) woe ł viðirweardnise. 15. (luceat) gilehta. 16. (nostris) vsvm. 17. (molestias) hefignise. 18. (sustenta) vnder vreð. (necessaria) nedðærfa; *alt. to* nedðærfo. 21. (tuæ) ðinræ.

38. 3. (inenarribili) vnassæcgendlicvm. 7. (præceptorum) bibodvm; *alt. to* bibodana. 10. (virtutem) mægn. 13. (vigilantes) wæccendo. 14. (remuneras) eft ðonces ðv ł. 16. (auxilium) fultvmme. 18. (se) Ina *(sic!); which I do not understand.* 21. (proficiens) ðiiende.

39. 2. (cognoscat) ongett. 6. (lætetur) sie glædo. 10. (consequantur) hia gifylga. 13. (humanos) mennisco; *indistinct.*

40. 3. (indulta) vnnende ł agefeno ł gilefeno. 9. (devota) oestigo; *alt. to* oestigvm. 10. (parcere) spæria. 12. (constringit) gifæstnað. 13. (pauperum) ðorfendra. (spes) hyht. (salusque) *and* hælo. 14. (exaudi) giher. 15. (verberum) ðersincgra; *and a curl over end of* swinca. (abundantia) ginyhtsumnise. 17. (ignoscis) ongetest (?); *uncertain.* 18. (lacrimas) tehhero. (respice) eft bisih. 21. (posse) mægi.

41. 3. (merore) rótnise. 6. (prestas) ðv giwæmne. 18. (flagella) syuipa *(sic); after which insert* cognoscimus tuæ, *glossed* ve ongeton ðines. 19. (afflictionem) gisvoenc. 20. (venia) *for*gifnise. 21. (dominum) driht'.

42. 2. (venia) *for*gefnise. 3. (per) ðe'h; *i.e.* ðerh. 5. (parce) spær. 6. (flagellamur) ve se asvngvno; *alt. to* asvngeno. 12. (miserationis) milsa; *with curl above* a. 13. (fatigamur) ve biðon gisvoencdo. 14. (merito) earnunge. (pietatis) arfæstnise; *with curl above* se. 17. (reatum) synnignise ł scyldign'. 21. (actio) déd. (caelestis) heofonlic. (servire) gihere.

43. 5. (esto) voæs. (fragilitatis) asuuncgennisse. 6. (verberas) ðv ðersces. 8. (despicias) ðv gitela ł ne hen ðv. 11. (tribulationem) costvncge. 15. (operatio) wyrcende ł wyrcing.

44. 2. (sapientiæ) snytro (?); *see* p. 45, l. 15. 3. (Stephanus) stefan. 4. (dexteras) sviðrvm. 14. (diligere) lvfia. 15. (celebramus) ve mersias. 17. (beati) eadgvm. 18. (intercessor) giðingehere; *alt. to* giðingere.

45. 2. (portionem) dael. 3. (gratias) geafona ðoncvnca. 8. (ante) aer. 11. (continens) gihaldendgiorn; *with final* n *smudged.* 14. (medio) middvm. 15. (stola) stól. 19. (pater) faeder.

46. 1. (caelestibus) heofnv*m*. 11. (veniam) f*or*gifnise. 17. (copiosius) monigfald*li*cor; *the* li *being indicated only by a curl.*

47. 1. (conpetentis) biddendes ł gigivendes. 4. (sanctamque) haligne æc. 9. (frontibus) ondwliotvm; *but alt. to* ondliotvm. 15. (quatuor) feorti; *alt. to* feoro. 16. (terra) earðe. 18. (quocumque) sva hvidir.

48. 2. (ante) bif*or*a. 5. (martyres) ðroveres; *alt. to* ðroveras. 6. (confessi) ondetendo. 8. (moribus) ðeav*u*m. 9. (tamen) sva ðæh. (gloriosius) wvld*u*rig. 11. (gaudere) gifeaiga. (prebuerunt) gisaldon; *alt. to* saldon. 14. (sinceram) . . . bliðelic'. 15. (nosse) . . w*u*tta. 17. (dum) ðaget. (profitentes) opdetende. 18. (coronati) gisigfæstado.

49. 1. (omnipotens) alm'; *see* l. 4. 6. (agimus) ve doæð.

50. 3. (mundi) middang*eard*es. 4. (formidare) onscynia.

51. 4. (contulisti) gibrohtest. 5. (cujus) ðære (?). 11. (premimur) ve biðon aðryhto. 15. (genetricem) acennic (*sic*).

52. 11. (mundemur) ve se giclænsado. 15. (gaudemus) ve gifeaga. 16. (presta) gionne; *alt. to* givnne.

54. 5. (festa) symbel-tid; *I can see no final* e *now.*

55. 2. (utero) *h*rife. 5. (universa) allo. 10. (destruas) tostregda. 11. (plantes) . . . giplontia. 14. (de longe) ofearra; *with* o *expuncted.* 17. (usque) oð to; *with* við *above* to. 18. (terre) earðes. 19. (reges) cyningas. (consurgent) girisað; *alt. to* arisað.

56. 2. (viam) woeg. 5. (baptistæ) bæchere; *sic. In l.* 7, bæcere. 14. (vox) steft; *sic.*

57. 7. (vite) lifes. 9. (quidam) svm oðer; *but* oðer *is underlined for omission.* 10. (elimosinam) aellmisa. (acciperet) onfoenge; *alt. to* onfenge. 11. (do) ic sila. 12. (Jesu) hæl'. (Nazareni) nætzaren'. 16. (viduas) ða widvo; *alt. to* widva.

58. 5. (velociter) hræððelice; *alt. to* hræðlice. 8. (estimabat) gitelede. 10. (reversus) eft ymwoende. 11. (manu) hondte'. 12. (expectatione) basnunge. 14. (concedis) ðu gilefes. 18. (quique) s[e] ðu ðe æc.

59. 1. (remuneratione) eft geafvnge. 3. (perturbationibus) styrenissv*m*. 6. (solvendi) vndoe . nise; *with former* e *above the line, and curl over* nise. 10. (infernorum) ellvar'; *sic.* (eruis) ðv gineres. 13. (apostolicis) ap*ostoli*cv*m*. 15. (principibus) aldormonnv*m*. 17. (continuo) symlvnge; *alt. to* symlvng. 18. (gaudet) gifeaiga.

60. 3. (minimus) lasest. 4. (vocari) . . gicliopped; *alt. to* gicliopad.

5. (sum) ic am; *but* ic *is underlined.* 10. (fidem) lofv. 11. (corona) sigbeg.

61. 6. (validioribus) stronglrum (!). 8. (bona) godo. 9. (nepotes) æft*er*-cneoreso. 10. (manent) hia wuiaþ. 11. (corpora) lichomo. 12. (secula) worvldo; *alt. to* worvldv*m.* 15. (erexit) ahof. (tertio) þirding; *alt. to* þirde. 17. (æternitatis) æcelices; *alt. to* ecelices.

62. 1. (perpetua) ecelica; *alt. to* ecelicv*m.* 8. (circumdas) ymbseles. 10. (sancti) halga waras; *with* waras *underlined.*

63. 2. (assequamur) ve gifylga. 9. (celebrat) gimersiaþ; *alt. to* mersiaþ. 11. (copiosum) monnigfallice; *alt. to* monnigfallic. 12. (veniam) f*or*gefnisse.

64. 2. (merita) earnvngo. (gehennæ) tint'ge; *sic.* 7. (con tempto) giteledo; *alt. to* giteledv*m.* 8. (martyrii) þrounges. 14. (foveant) gihelpa. 15. (desinis) blinnes þv. 16. (adjuvari) holpen (*not* aholpen).

65. 3. (confessoris) ondeteres. (annua) gerlic; *with curl above.* 5. (colimus) ve bigaaþ. (exempla) bisino; *alt. to* bisinv*m.* 8. (tabernaculo) vse (*sic*). 10. (sanctificata) gihalgadv*m.* 11. (requievi) ic giræste; *alt. to* ic gireste. 12. (eradicavi) ic giwyrtrvmade. 13. (detentio) hræcing. 15. (exalta) wynsumændo. 17. (Hiericho) hieric*ho.* 18. (platanus *not* plantanus) platan'. 19. (balsamum) þæt recilc. 20. (myrra) recilc.

66. 7. (fiducialiter) ballice; *sic.* 10. (iniquitatibus) vnrehtvisnisvm. 15. (ignosce) f*or*gifi; *alt. to* f*or*gif. 20. (caelesti) heofunlicvm.

67. 3. (concedat) f*or*gefe. 11. (tuæ) þinre; *but* e *has a tag* (=æ). (extende) giræc.

68. 4. (sanctorum) halga vara. 6. (pulcra) feger. 7. (inmortalitas) vndeadlicenise; *alt. to* vndeadlicnise. 13. (prodivi) ic gi . . oh; *illegible, but no* v; *looks like* gi . doh. 14. (non) ne; *alt. to* no. 15. (balsamum) recilc. 16. (terebintus) earþ hifign. 18. (una) an. 20. (concubinæ) cefissa; *sic.*

69. 5. (congregamur) ve gisomniaþ. 9. (tribvat) giselle. 15. (mariæ) mar'. (intercessione) þingvn.

70. 5. (experiatur) sie aynsped (?). 11. (protegat) giscildaþ. 15. (habens) hæbbende; *alt. to* hæbbend. (thuribulum) ræcelc. 19. (beati) eadges; *alt. to* eadgo. 20. (agni) lembes; *alt. to* lombes.

71. 5. (miro) wvndvrlicv*m.* 6. (dispensas) giraedes. 16. (supplicum) boensendra; *but* boensando *in l.* 10. (adoramus) ve vorþia.

72. 6. (laetatur) gilgladia; *alt. to* gigladia. 7. (suffragiis)

fvltvmmv*m*. 10. (nos) *no gloss*. (misericorditer) milthe[or]tlice. 11. (restaura) eft boet. 14. (portavit) gibær.

73. 8. (gloriosa) wuldriga; *alt. to* wuldrig. 10. (sanctorum) halga vara; *plainly; delete query*.

74. 4. (perpetuo) ecev*m*; *alt. to* ecv*m*. 13. (consoletur) gifroefred; *alt. to* gifroefre.

75. 3. (cottidie) dæghwoæmlice. 7. (supplicationibus) boenvm. 12. (protegamur) ve sie ascilda; *sic; but read* ascildad. 17. (gloriosos) wuldrigv*m*; *alt. to* wuldrigo.

76. 9. (prepararet) gigearvade. 11. (continua) gilomlico; *alt. to* gilomlicv*m*. 16. (ejusdem) his ðæs ilca; *but* his *is underlined*.

77. 10. (sancti) sc halg', *but* sc *is underlined*. 11. (indulgentiam) f*or*gefnise. 19. (martyrii) ðrov*u*nges.

78. 4. (passionis) ðrov*u*nges. 8. (intercessione) ðingenge; *alt. to* ðingvnge.

79. 11. (absoluti) ve vnbvndeno. 12. (periculis) froecelnisv*m*. (exuamur) ve sie bireafad. 18. (efficiatur) gifr . . ma.

80. 1. (intercessionibus) . . gvnga; *read* ðingvnga. 2. (rudimenta) niva lar; *no curl*. (donasti) gisaldes. 12. (votiva) oestigo; *alt. to* oesto.

81. 11. (sapientia) snytro; *alt. to* snytre. 12. (nubes) wolgceno; *but* g *is expuncted*. 19. (benedictionis) bloecsvnges; *alt. to* bloetsvnges.

82. 1. (preveniendo) mið f*or*e c . me; *no more visible*. 2. (sentiamus) gifoele ve. 4. (sempiterna) eco. 14. (adversis) wiðermoednvsum; *alt. to* wiðermoednisvm. 17. (prophetarum) vitgana. 18. (ædificatio) gitimber . . . 20. (coedificamini) æc gitimbrað gie; *but* gie *is marked for deletion*.

83. 12. (gloriosa) gwuldrigo; *with former* g *expuncted*. 18. (tuos) ðinr; *alt. to* ðino.

84. 2. (festa) sym'tido; *plainly*. 8. (doctrinis) larv*u*m. 11. (muniti) gitry*m*medo; *alt. to* gitry*m*medv*m*. 18. (continebit) bið gihalden.

85. 1. (tradidit) giselið. 3. (deprecabitur) gibiddað. 4. (voluerat) v. lle; *perhaps* vælle. (intelligentiæ) ondgetes. (replebit) eft gif . lleð. 5. (tanquam) svoelce. (eloquia) giriodo. (sapientiæ) snyt . . . 6. (confitebitur) giondetað (?); ondetað *is plain*. 7. (sapientiam) *no gloss visible*. 10. (temptationem) costvnge. 14. (patrocinio) fadorlico ðing'; *alt. to* fadorlicv*m* ðing'.

86. 6. (Justorum) soðfæsta. 7. (mori) þ*æ*tte deadedo. 8.

(exitus) *the gloss is plain.* 9. (exterminii) woes*ternes*. 14. (holocausta) *the gloss is plain.* 17, 18. harundineto cito; *with* to *underlined in the former word, and* cito *added*; *both in red ink.* 18. (regnabit) giricsas; *alt. to* giricsaȝ.

87. 6. (preimus) . . ycge ve ł meardv*m*. 11. (obtinet) *gloss illegible.* 12. (donetur) se sald.

88. 5. (similis) gilic; *no curl.*

89. 2. (habemus) habba ve; *with* h *expuncted.* 7. (tribue) giréc. 8. (foveri) *þæt*te ve sie holpen. 9. (obsequio) hernissv*m*; *alt. to* hernisse. 12. (intercessione) *gloss illegible.* 13. (protegas) *gloss illegible.*

90. 13. (facti) awvrdeno; *alt. to* awordeno. 15. (sacerdotium) h sacedrhad; *sic*; *but with* d *before* r *expuncted*; *read* sacerdhad.

91. 10. (confessorum) ondeter[a]. 15. (prosint) gi *marked for deletion.*

92. 1. (concelebrans) mersande. 4. (cogitatio) smeavngc; *with* c *expuncted, and a curl above.* 5. (Accipient) hia o[n]foeȝ; hia *marked for deletion.* 8. (Induent) gigervaȝ. 11. (noster) vserne; *no curl.* 13. (deduxit) gilæd . .

93. 1. (Omnipotens) allm'. 3. (fidei) lvfv*m*. 11. (clementiam) *gloss illegible.* 12. (frequentibus) oft giriosed (?); *indistinct.* 13. (consortiis) miȝgihlyttv*m*.

94. 2. (peccatorum) synna; *alt. to* synnv; *sic.* 14. (ligno) rode; *with* trees *above.* 15. (resurgeret) eft arise. 20. (angelicæ) to engelices.

95. 11. (frondes) danas; *alt. to* tanas.

97. 19. (vascula) fætelsco; *alt. to* fetelsco.

99. 4. (panes) lafo; *sic.* 5. (alimentum) giriorde; *alt. to* giriord. 14. (sumpserit) onfoeȝ; *with* ȝ *expuncted.* Here *appears, in the margin, in black ink*; Ærest halga water ⁊ salt. ⁊ siȝþan sing þonne . As. Asp*e*rges me d*eus* mid þæm scalme. Miserere mei. ⁊ þisne coH. ⁊ pax huic domui. ⁊ d*eus* miscreat*ur*. ⁊ þisne coH.

100. 6. *Here appears, in the margin, in black ink*; Siȝþan þisne As. Benedic d*eus* domum ista*m* & omnes habitantes in eo, quia d*omi*ne dixisti pax huic domui benedic d*omi*ne timentes te pusillos cu*m* maioribu*s*. benedicti uos a d*omi*no qui fecit celum. 10. (tribus) ȝriim.

101. 9. (exteriores) ȝa ytmesto; *alt. to* ȝa utmesto. (justos) soȝfæsto. 20. (aperuisti) vntyndest.

102. 2. (digneris) ȝv gmeodv*m*; *sic*; *read* gimeodv*m*, *nearly as*

in l. 5. 5. (prestare) giw*u*nna. 7. (incurrat) oniorne. 20. (ingrassante) gihefgindv*m* (?); *the top of the* d *is gone, so that it looks like* gihefginov*m*.

103. 2. (furtum) ȝiof . nto; *only one letter gone.*

104. 1. (famulam) ȝioenne. 5. *after* Deus *insert* super hanc famula*m*, *glossed by* ofer ȝas ȝioen*ne*. 6. (cxliiii) feoero, *etc.* 8. (inventus) gimoetted.

105. 2. (ferveat) givallia; *alt. to* givalla. 10. (exornari) þæt*t*e ȝv, *etc.*

106. 2. (velamine) wriilcse. 7. (incerta) vnwtedo. 8. *before* opprimatur, *insert* tibi, *glossed* ȝe.

107. 15. (iratus) w*u*ræȝde. 17. (invitati) gilaȝade; *alt. to* gilaȝado.

108. 4. (Ligatis) gibvndenv*m*. 5. (autem) wu'. 8. (dispositor) girædend; *only the* gi *is indistinct; the rest is clear.* 10. (concordiæ) efne hearta'. (jugo) wocce; *alt. to* iocce. 13. (generatio) cneoreso.

109. 5. (dispositis) f*or*letnvm. 8. (institui) *the word printed* asended *I read as* asetted. 9. (conligaveris) gis . . scipli . . (?). 10. (sacrificium) clæne giryne. 15. (maritali) veres gimane. (jungenda) gifoeged. 16. (jugum) iwocc. 17. (imitatrisque) ȝu sie gilíced æc. 20. (prevaricationis) giltineg; *alt. to* gyltineg.

110. 1. (fugat) gifliæ . ; *doubtful.* 2. (discipline) ȝeatscip . . . 6. (tertiam) ȝirdan. 9. (legitima) gilefeȝralicv*m*; *alt. to* gilefeȝlicv*m*. 14. (æternam) ecvm. 19. (thalamum) brydbvre.

111. 13. (eo) . . em; *perhaps* ȝæm.

113. 9. (cxl) hvnd feor . . . ; *no gloss to* iiii. 12. (milia) ȝvsende; *alt. to* ȝvsenda. 21. (ullo) ængvm. 23. (virtutis) mægnes.

114. 2. (invocationem) onceignise. 7—16. *In the text, in black ink; the words between square brackets are written above the line. In l.* 13, *for* ꝑte *read* ꝑe. *In l.* 14, MS. *has* þus, *corrected to* þys. 18. *(Rubric) for* gehalga, *read* halga. 21. (Jordanis) *gloss illegible.* (dignatus) gimeodvmade. (est) *gloss illegible.*

115. 5. (digneris) gimeodvma. 12. (cui) ȝæ*m*.

116. 2. (eis) ȝæ*m*. 4. (es) ȝu ȝe arsȝ; *with* s *expuncted.* 11. (tutelam) ongiscildnise (?); *first letter illegible.* 20. (hydrias) stænen fæto væt*r*es.

117. 5. (assparsionem) astr . gdnise; *one letter gone.* 7. (aptas) giscroero (?). (capiendas) foanne. 9. (. . tione) . . . est.

118. 4. (remissionem) eftf*or*gifnis'. 5. (expellendas) f*or*drifanne.

7. (Jesu) hael'. 11. (digneris) gimeodvma. 12. (creaturam) giscæfto; *alt. to* giscæft. Last line: (ea) ðær; *the other word is underlined for omission.*

119. 3. (invoco) ic inceigo. 9. (latrinibus) ðeafv*m; no more legible.* (animalia) netno. 12. (sinistram) vinst; *alt. to* vynst. 19. (remissionem) eft f*or*gefnis.

120. 11. (vivum) lifigiend'. 15. (sanitas) haelo. 16. (eam) ðæm.

121. 5. (omni) ælc. 10. (eradicare) of wyrt-trvm . . ; *no more legible.* 15. (demones) diovles.

122. 8. (trementes) *gloss as printed; sic.* 12. (infestatio) vnstydfvlnis. 14. (misericordiam) miltheart'.

123. 2. (descendat) ofdune stiga (?). 8. (auctoritate) frvmsettnesse. 12. (tertia) ðirdda.

124. 14. (doctrinis) larwvm. 19. (largiatur) agefaiga. 21. (misero) armne; *alt. to* armvm.

125. 17. (adversæ) wiðirwcardo.

126. 4. (homo) monn. 10. (dignetur) gimeood'.

145. 7. (dominantem) ricsende. 11. (vermes) wwyrmas. 15. (æternæ) æces; *needlessly altered in MS. to* æcres.

146. 1. (sancte) halge; *alt. to* halga. 12. (vniversa) allne; *alt. to* allvm.

162. *Ymnus: l.* 4. (servet) gihalda.

163. 1. (pura) giclæno; *indistinct.* 3. (terret) of*er*cyma; *indistinct.* 11. (Paraclito) rvmmodv*m.* 15. (Patris) fædor'. 19. (personat) ðerhl . . . 21. (Accendat) gilehto.

164. 3. (Paraclito) rvmmodvm. 9. (litium) giciidana (?). 10. (Aufer) fro*m* do. 14. (compar) g . . acc . ; *no more legible.*

165. 12. (Reddamus) ue gelda. 16. (secula) wvorvldo.

166. 15. (ne nos) ðy læs vsig. 21. (laude) herer; *sic; with curl above.*

167. 1. (semitis) svoeðv*m*; *with tag to* e (=æ). 3. (inclina) gibeg. 15. (misericordiarum) milt-heartnise; *alt. to* milt-heartnisa.

168. 1. (Adprehende) gegríp. 3. (frameam) voepen giðræcc. 6. (nostros) vsra. (via) voegi. 14. (aufer) gini*m.*

169. 3. (seculi) vorld. 5. (spes) hyht. (finium) gimære; *alt. to* gimæro. 6. (terræ) eorðes. (mare) sae. 13. (noli) nælle ðv. 14. (r') eftselenise. 15. (propitius) miltheort. 19. (coronat) gisigfæstade.

170. 4. (ora) gibide; *alt. to* gibidd. 10. (æternam) écce. 11. (dignare) gimeodvmia. 17. (Patre) feder.

171. 2. (digneris) gimeodvma ȝv. 3. (corpora) lichoma. 6. (Sancto) halge; *alt. to* halgv*m*. 9. (peccavi) synde; *but with curl above*. 15. (diei) dæges. 18. (eloquia) soȝspreco. 20. (caligines) misto. 21. (momenta) sgytila (*sic*).

172. 1. (permanere) ȝerh wvniga. 4. (colere) bigeonga; *plainly*. 5. (animæ) saveles. 11. (fecit) se ȝe dydeo (*sic!*). 12. (terram) *no gloss*. 15. (alienis) vtatcvndv*m*; *with second* t *expuncted*. 17. (salutaris) halvoendes.

174. 8. (hostium) duru ł dor; *plainly*.

175. 3. (Patri) ȝæm feder.

176. 5. (tuæ) ȝinræ. 7. (habundantia) ginyhtsvmnise. 13. (me) mec. 16. (terræ) earȝes.

177. 1. (discordantibus) ȝæm slitendvm; *but prob. an error for* flitendvm. 2. (sensum) foelnise. 3. (pace) sibe.

178. 8. (facti) avordeno. 16. (Inmittet) onsettde (?). (timentium) ȝara ondredenda.

179. 19. (præstas) ȝv giwnne.

181. 1. (matutina) morgenlicvm. 9. (creatorem) sceppend; *the former* e *has a tag below*. 13. (nostrorum) vsra. 15. (Benedictus) gebloedsad.

182. 4. (Dirigere) gerihta. 10. (dominationis) lafardscipes.

183. 3. (in) in [*not* on]. 18. (horam) tíd'.

184. 23. (volueris) ȝv; *rest illegible*. (divinis) godcvndvm.

185. 19–22. The correct reading of the A.S. note has been already given.

188. *Col.* 1, *last line*. (commissum) beboden. *Col.* 2, l. 2, strongi. 9. (Gavisetus) *plainly*. 14. (Gloria) wvldor. 20. (heriditas) erfevardnise.

189. *Col.* 1, 12. swiȝe micil. 13. ȝa hvile. 21. æ. *Col.* 2, 9. bebodvm. *Last line*; *the gloss is* ne.

190. *Col.* 1, 12. *perhaps* ælcvm. *Col.* 2, 4. hremiȝ. 13. *fore* huon. 18. hvv. 23. *for* ȝon.

191. *Col.* 1, 10. gefæl. 13. rehtelice. *Col.* 2, 17. to try*m*nise. 22. svoelce.

192. 7. (ignis) fyres. 10. (instabilitas) vnstydfvllnise. 13. *transpose to* efno sindon. 18. (dicitur) is acvoeden. (Seraphin) seraphin. 20. (imperium) hæs; *no more*.

193. 3. (constituitur) gesetted biȝ. 4. (patricio) ȝæ*m*, *etc.* (dissimilis) vngelic. 6. (aliarum) oȝera; *with curl over* r. 8. (Tribunus) latw*ua*; *not* latwa. 10. (decurio) niogscire *or* megscire; *indistinct*. 13. (divites) ricsa; *with curl over* a. 15. (magistratus)

. . . lardom. (principes) aldormen ; *with curl.* 16. (interpretati) getrahtado. 17. (ternos) ðriffaldo. 21. (excubant) gelinia ð.

194. 1. (lectores) rederas. (præcones) *fore*boderes; *alt. to* fore-boderas. 3. (Salomonem) salom*on.* 4. (gentem) cynn. 5. (Sub-diaconus) vnder diac'. (Eppidiaconi) embihtmen, *etc.* 9. (seniores) aeldro. 12. (dictum) acvoeden. 17. (vicari) scir'. 21. (patriæ) oedles; *plainly.*

195. 3. (et) æc. (presbyteri) meas'. (nuncupati) genomad. 4. (presbyteri) meas'; *no more.* (nominati) biðon genomado. 7. (l.) on lædin. 8. (cerarius) væx biornende; *sic.* (recitandum) *omit* to. 14. (requievit) gireste'. 17. (provincia) meghðe.

196. 11. (provincia) megðe. 16. (provincia) megð. 18. (Saracenorum) saracina. 19. (Eropo) in ðær byrig.

197. 6. (provincia) megðe. 7. *Here begins the last page; it is much rubbed; the glosses are uncertain, and hardly to be depended on.* 11. (parentibus) aeldrv*m, etc.* 14. (xxx) ðrit'gv*m.* 18. (Gemuit) sv . . ge . . fade.

198. 1. engel; *plainly; and the Latin word below it is* hamum. 6. *The rest is too uncertain to be of any use.*

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INDEX.

(By Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage.)

References starred (*) are to the Appendixes I. and II., and those in Roman numerals to Appendix III.

Abnormal and *Abnormous*, 577
Aboard and *Abroad*, 578
Abyss, origin and history of, 576
Accadian Phonology, by Professor A. H. Sayce, 123
——— how ascertained by the Assyrian language, 126
Accadian language, character of, 123
——— vowels in, 127
——— accent in, 127
——— diphthongs in, 132
——— consonants in, 133
——— phonetic decay in, 125, 139
——— its connexion with other dialects, 142
Accusative case, absent in Caucasian languages, 600, 618
Accent in Accadian language, 127
Addresses, Annual. *See* President.
Adjectives in West Somerset Dialect, 157
——— comparison of, 161
——— in spoken Swedish, 506
Adverbs in West Somerset Dialect, 223
ai, pronunciation of, in Early French, 37*
Alone, *Lone*, and *Lonely*, Mr. H. Wedgwood, viii.
Alphabet of the Malagasy language, 287
Andaman Islands, language of, 87
Anglo-Cymric Score, by Mr. A. J. Ellis, 316
Annam, language and dialects of, 85
Arracan, language of, 73
Armenian, Report on, 1876-7, by Prof. Hübschmann, 64
——— Literature, 66
——— Grammars and Dictionaries, 68
Articles in spoken Swedish, 505
Assyrian and Accadian languages, 126
-ate, Dr. Murray on English participles and verbs in, 580
-au, diphthong in Old English, 562, xiv.

Boeck, M. Von, on Quichua, 439
Borneo, language of, 101
Brandreth, Mr. E. L., on Non-Aryan languages of India, ii.
Bulgarian Language, Mr. W. R. Morfill, ix.
Burmah, the languages of, 74
——— derivation of the name, 77
Burmese language, its characteristics, 77

Cambojan language, the, 82
Castle, history and meaning of, 582
Caucasian languages, by Professor Schiefner, 593
Caviare, the pronunciation of, 574
Celebes, language of, 102
Celtic and Gypsy Numerals, 343
Characteristics of English work in Philology, 10
Chaucer, pronunciation of *-ere* in, 3*
——— *yere* in, 5*, 10*
——— faulty rhymes in, 11*
Cochin-Chinese dialects, 85
Clarendon Press, Agreement with, for publication of the Society's Dictionary, xv, xlix.
Comparison of adjectives in West Somerset Dialect, 161
——— in spoken Swedish, 509
Compounds, Dr. Murray on the treatment of, in the Society's Dictionary, 582
Conjunctions in West Somerset Dialect, 234

Consonants in Accadian language:—
(1). Gutturals, 133
(2). Dentals, 134
(3). Labials, 135
(4). M and V, 135
(5). Nasals, 136
(6). R, 137
(7). Sibilants, 138
(8). Aspirates, 138
——— sounds of, in Swedish, 468, 478
——— vocality of, in Swedish, 484
COURTEILLE, Prof. P. De, on Turkish, 1876-7, 54
COUSENS, Rev. W. E., the Malagasy Language, 283
Curmudgeon, Prof. SKEAT on, vii.
CUST, R. N., on Languages of Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago, 1876-7, 72
——— on Korean, 613

DAWSON, Mr. B., on final *n* before a vowel and *h*, in the A. V. of the Bible, vii.
Dialect of West Somerset, Grammar of, Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY, 143
Nouns in, 146
Adjectives in, 157
Numerals in, 168
Pronouns in, 174
Verbs in, 185
Adverbs in, 223
Prepositions in, 229
Conjunctions in, 234
Interjections in, 237
Specimens of, 238
Notes on, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 254
Dialectology, Mr. H. SWEET, 398
Dialects, Dutch, 29
——— Swedish, 42
——— Turkish, 61
——— stability of, in English, 15*
——— of Malagasy language, 295
——— Swiss-German, Dr. L. TOBLER, 419
——— Italian, by Prof. RAJNA, 587
——— English, classification, etc., of, Mr. A. J. ELLIS, 562, iii, vi, xix, xx.
Dictionary, The Society's, Dr. MURRAY on the Progress of, 567
——— sub-Editors of, 569
——— statistics of, 570
——— specimens of, 622, lx.
——— agreement with the Clarendon Press for the publication of, xv, xlix.
Diphthongs in the Accadian language, 132
DONNER, Dr. O., on the Relations of Finnish and Lappish, 602
Durham Ritual, Collation of, by Prof. SKEAT, 51*; description of the MS. 55*; Stevenson's edition of, 58*
Dutch, Report on, 1876-7, by Dr. J. H. GALLÉE, 16
——— Grammars, 26
——— Dictionaries, 27
——— Dialects, 29

E sounds in Chaucer, 13*
e for *ai* in Early French, 36*
Early French Text Society, 6
ee sounds in Chaucer, 17*
ELLIS, Mr. A. J., on *e* sounds in Chaucer, 13*
——— Anglo-Cymric Score, 316
——— Classification of English Dialects, 562, iii. xix. xx.
——— on Engytype and Phonetic Writing, x.
ELWORTHY, Mr. F. T., Grammar and Dialect of West Somerset, 143
English Metre, by Prof. J. B. MAYOR, 257
Engytype and Phonetic Writing, by Mr. A. J. ELLIS, x.
-ere, pronunciation of words ending in, in Chaucer, 3*; in Robert of Gloucester, 6*; in Robert de Brunne, 7*; in Suffolk, 9*
-ere rhymes in Chaucer, table of, 46*
Etymologies, English, vii, viii, xii, xiii, xviii.

Faulty rhymes in Modern Poets, 5*
——— in Chaucer, 11*
Finnish and Lappish, by Dr. O. DONNER, 602
Folklore of Madagascar, 297
Formosa, language and dialects of, 105

GALLÉE, Dr. J. H., on Dutch, 1876-7, 16
Gender in the Teutonic Languages, Mr. H. SWEET, xi.
Gipsy Language, Mr. C. G. LELAND, xviii.
Grammar and Dialect of West Somerset, Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY, 143

Here and *There* in Chaucer, by Dr. R. F. WEYMOUTH, 1*, i.
HÜBSCHMANN, Prof., on Armenian, 1876-7, 64

i, pronunciation of, in English, 23*
——————— in Latin and Greek, 32*
Icelandic Texts published, 34
India, Non-Aryan Languages of, by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, ii.
Indo-Chinese and Indian Archipelago Languages, by Mr. R. N. Cust, 72
Andaman Islands, 87
Annam, 85
Arracan, 73
Borneo, 101
Burmah, 74
Cambodia, 82
Celebes, 102
Cochin-China, 85
Formosa, 105
Java, 95
Kakhyen, 78
Karens, 76
Khyeng, 74
Laccadive Islands, 89
Madagascar, 106
Malay, 90
Maldive Islands, 88
Nicobar Islands, 87
Pegu, 74
Philippine Islands, 104
Polynesia, 89
Shan, 80
Siam, 82
Sumatra, 99
Tavoyee, 76
Inflexions, absent in Malagasy language, 292
——— in spoken Swedish substantives, 497
Interjections in West Somerset Dialect, 237
Intonation in spoken Swedish, 495
Italian Dialects, by Prof. Rajna, 587

Japanese Language, Report on, 1876-7, by Prof. L. de Rosny, 109
——————— books on, published in Holland, 111
Austria, 112
France, 113
Italy, 115
England, 116
America, 117
Switzerland, 117
——————— relationship of, to Korean, 616
Javanese language and its divisions, 95
——— Dictionaries and Grammars, 97
——— character and history of, 97

Kakhyens, language of the, 78
Karens, subdivisions and dialects of the, 76
Khyeng or Hiou language, 74
Korean, by Mr. R. N. Cust, 613
——— relationship of, to Japanese, 616

Laccadive Islands, language of, 89
Leland, Mr. C. G., the Gypsies and their language, xviii.
Leskien, Prof. A., on Lithuanian, Lettish, and Prussian, 1876-7, 44
Lettish and Lithuanian, their connexion, 47
——— Grammars, 52
——— Dictionaries, 53
Lexicography, Dr. Murray on the Problems and Principles of, 573
Lithuanian, Lettish and Prussian, Report on, 1876, by Prof. A. Leskien, 44
——— Grammars, 49
——— Dictionaries, 50
Logan, Dr., on the Indo-Chinese Languages, 79

Madagascar, language and dialects of 106
——— origin of the name, 282
Malagasy Language, by Rev. W. E. Cousens, 282
——— vocabularies of, 283
——— alphabet of, 287
——— prefixes and suffixes, 290
——— reduplication in, 292
——— inflexions absent in, 292
——— dialects of, 295
——— folklore, 298
——— relations of to other languages, 298
Malay language and its divisions, 90
Maldive Islands, language of, 88
Mayor, Prof. J. B., on English Metre, 257, iv.
Metre, English, by Prof. J. B. Mayor, 257, iv.
Mon or Peguan language and alphabet, 75
Morfill, Mr. W. R., on the Servian Language, iii.
——————— on the Bulgarian Language, ix.
Murray, Dr. J. A. H., Notes on West Somerset Dialect, 254
——————— Annual Address, 1878-9
On the Society's work in 1878-9, 561

On the Progress of the Society's Dictionary, 567
On Abstracts of the Society's Proceedings, 565
On the Problems and Principles of Lexicography, 573
On the word *Caviare*, 574
On the word *Abyss*, 576
On the words *Abnormal* and *Abnormous*, 577
On the word *Carousal*, 577
On the word *Aboard*, 578
On the word *Castle*, 578
On the verbs and participles in *-ate*, 580
On compound words, 582
On the word *Address*, 622
On the absence of the Accusative in Caucasian languages, 618

Nicobar Islands, language and dialects of, 87
Nicol, Mr. H., on the diphthong-*au*, 562
——— ——— on some points in Early English pronunciation, vi.
——— ——— on some English derivations, xii.
——— ——— on Middle English Orthography, ix.
Nouns in West Somerset Dialect Grammar, 146
Numerals in West Somerset Dialect, 168
——— in Celtic and Gypsy, 343
——— in spoken Swedish, 510

Old-English, publications in, during 1876-7, 4
Orthography, Middle English, Mr. H. Nicol, ix.

Pegu, the language of, its characteristics, 74
Philippine Islands, languages and dialects of, 104
Philological Society's Work in 1876-7, by Mr. H. Sweet, 1
in 1877-8, by Mr. H. Sweet, 373
in 1878-9, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 561
——— ——— ——— Articles of Association of, xxxiv.
Philology, English, Mr. H. Sweet, 3
——— ——— ——— the future of, Mr. H. Sweet, 410
——— ——— ——— and Germanic, 376
Phonetic decay in the Accadian language, 125, 139
Phonetics, works on, 8, 40
Phonology, Mr. H. Sweet, 7, 392
Plurals of Nouns in West Somerset Dialect, 146
——— in spoken Swedish, 500
Polynesia, languages of, 89
——— Our Present Knowledge of the languages of, Rev. S. J. Whitmee, 424
Possessive case of Nouns in West Somerset Dialect, 155
Prefixes and suffixes in Malagasy, 290
Prepositions in West Somerset Dialect, 229
President's Address, 1876-7, by Mr. H. Sweet, 1
——— ——— 1877-8, by Mr. H. Sweet, 373
——— ——— 1878-9, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 561
Problems and Principles of Lexicography, by Dr. Murray, 573
Pronouns in West Somerset Dialect, 174
Possessive, 182
Interrogative, 182
Relative, 183
Compound, 184
——— in Malagasy language, 292
——— in spoken Swedish, 511

Quantity in spoken Swedish, 484
Quichua, Report on, 1877-8, M. Von Boeck, 439

Rajna, Prof., on Italian Dialects, 587
Rakheng, the language of Arracan, 73
Reduplication in Malagasy language, 292
Reports, 1876-7:—
Courteille, Prof. P. de, on Turkish, 54
Cust, R. N., on Languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, etc., 72
Gallée, Dr. J. H., on Dutch, 16
Hübschmann, Prof., on Armenian, 64
Leskien, Prof. A., on Lithunian, etc., 44
Rosny, Prof. L. de, on Japanese, 109
Tamm, Dr. F., on Swedish, 30
——— 1877-8:—
Boeck, M. von, on Quichua, 439
Tobler, Dr. L., on Swiss-German Dialects, 419
Whitmee, Rev. S. J., Our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Polynesia, 424

Reports, 1878-9:—
CUST, Mr. R. N., on Korean 613
DONNER, Dr. O., on Finnish and Lappish, 602
RAJNA, Prof., on Italian Dialects, 587
SCHIEFNER, Prof., on the Languages of the Caucasus, 593

Rhymes, faulty, in modern Poets, 5*
——— Chaucer, 11*
Rhymes in *-ere*, in Chaucer, Table of, 46*
Robert of Gloucester, pronunciation of *ere* in, 6*
ROSNY, Prof. L. De, on Japanese, 1876-7, 109
Russian Pronunciation, Mr. H. SWEET, 543
Ruth, Book of, in West Somerset Dialect, 247

SAYCE, Prof. A. H. on Accadian Phonology, 123
SCHIEFNER, Prof., on the Languages of the Caucasus, 593
Score, the Anglo-Cymric, by A. J. ELLIS, F.R.S., 316
Use of, 321
Range of, 322
Classes of, 326
N. American Indian Versions of, 338, 359
Its origin and use, 340
Versions of, 359
Servian Language and its Dialects, Mr. W. R. MORFILL, iii.
Shan Language, 80
Siamese language, the characteristics of, 82
SKEAT, Prof., Collation of the Durham Ritual, 51*; description of the MS. 55*; on Stevenson's edition, 58*
——— on *Curmudgeon*, vii.
Smith, Sir T., on the pronunciation of the English *e*, 18*
Somerset, West, Grammar and Dialect of, Mr. F. T. ELWORTHY, 143
Sounds and Forms of spoken Swedish, Mr. H. SWEET, 457
Specimens of West Somerset Dialect, 238
——— of spoken Swedish, 531
——— of the Society's Dictionary, 622, lx.
Spelling Reform, 9
Stevenson's edition of Durham Ritual, 58*
Stress in spoken Swedish, 490
Substantives, inflexions of, in spoken Swedish:
Gender, 497
Case, 498
Number, 500
Sumatra, languages of, 99
Swahili language, 312
——— and Malagasy, 313
Swedish, Report on, 1876-7, by Dr. F. TAMM, 30
——— Grammars, 33
——— Dictionaries, 39
——— dialects, 42
——— sounds and forms of, Mr. H. SWEET, 457
——— differences between the written and spoken language, 458
——— vowels in, 461, 473
——— consonants in, 468, 478
——— vocality of consonants in, 484
——— quantity in, 484
——— stress in, 490
——— intonation in, 495
——— inflexions in, 497
——— articles in, 505
——— adjectives in, 506
——— numerals in, 510
——— pronouns in, 511
——— verbs in, 517
SWEET, H., Presidential Address, 1876-7, 1
——— 1877-8, 373
——— on the Work of the Philological Society, 1876-7, 1
——— 1877-8, 373
——— on English Philology, 3, 410
——— on Phonology, 7, 392
——— English and Germanic Philology, 376
——— Dialectology, 398
——— Sounds and Forms of spoken Swedish, 457
——— Russian Pronunciation, 543
——— on Gender in the Teutonic Languages, xi.
Swiss-German Dialects, Dr. L. TOBLER, 419
Syntax of spoken Swedish, 526

TAMM, Dr. F., on Swedish, 1876-7, 30
Tavoyee (or Taneagsari) Language, 76
Tennyson, Prof. MAYOR on the Metres in, iv.
Teutonic Languages, gender in, Mr. H. SWEET, xi.

TOBLER, Dr. L., on Swiss-Germanic Dialects, 419
Turkish, Report on, 1876-7, by Prof. P. de COURTEILLE, 54
Turkish Dictionaries, 55

Umlaut in Swedish, 52
Universities, study of English at the, 12

Verbs in West Somerset Dialect:—
Weak, 185,
Strong, 190
Formation of Simple Tenses of, 191
Auxiliary, 196
Passive Voice, 223
Verbs in spoken Swedish, 517
Vowels in Acadian language, 127, 132
Vowel sounds in Swedish, 461, 473

Wedgwood, Mr. H., on certain English Etymologies, 563, viii.
WEYMOUTH, Dr. R. F., on *Here* and *There* in Chaucer, 1*, i.
WHITMEE, Rev. S. J., on Our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Polynesia, 424

Yere, pronunciation of, in Chaucer, 5*, 10*

Zupitza, Prof., on editors and editing, 11

APPENDIX III.

MINUTES OF

MEETINGS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FROM JANUARY 19, 1877, to MAY 2, 1879.

Friday, Jan. 19, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On *here* and *there* in Chaucer," by Dr. Weymouth (see Appendix I. pp. 1–48[1]). The first point Dr. Weymouth contended for was that *e* has two sounds in Chaucer, and that *here* and *there* are representatives of two classes of words which, though spelt alike, refuse to rhyme. The number of rhymes in all Chaucer formed by words ending in *-er* or *-ere* (with other varieties of spelling) is 1,246, and examination of these proves that certain words, of which *here* is one, habitually rhyme with one another; and that certain others, *there*, *where*, etc., also habitually rhyme with one another; but these latter only very exceptionally rhyme with the former class. To give a single instance: the adjective *dere* (dear) forms in all 251 rhymes in Chaucer, in only three of which does it rhyme with a word of the *there* class. In Robert of Gloucester, Lyndesay, and other early poets, a like distinction of the two classes of *-ere* words is clearly marked. The sound of *there* not being disputed, it remains to show how *here* was pronounced, and the three following propositions were maintained:—1. There is direct evidence that the vowel in *here* was sounded as *ee* in modern English. This is proved by the traditional English pronunciation of the words; by the authority of Sir Thomas Smith, the orthoepist, who, writing in 1568, distinctly opposes the *e Anglicum* to the *e Italicum;* by the orthography and traditional pronunciation of *here* and the noun *deer* (which everywhere rhymes with the *here* class) in all the Teutonic dialects; and by other arguments. 2. There is evidence to show that the symbol to which Mr. A. J. Ellis (whose views Dr. Weymouth opposes) attaches this sound of *ee* in fourteenth-century English, namely *i*, was not sounded *ee*, but nearly or quite as we still sound it in *my wife*. This was argued partly from the traditional pronunciation of words of this class, but mainly from the statements of the grammarians of the sixteenth century, and the entire absence of evidence that any change had taken place between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth. 3. That the *e* in *here* was not simply the *é fermé*, that sound being represented by *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*. This was argued from English and French traditions in *veine*, *plaine*, etc.;

[1] Members are askt to put stars (*) to these Appendix pages.

from Icelandic tradition in *sweyn*, and one or two other words; from the frequent interchange of *e* with *ai* in Early French orthography; from Early French rhymes; and from the statements of the grammarians. It was also urged that some of the difficulties which their statements present may be removed by remembering the differences of the dialects which Gil and Smith represented as opposed to Chaucer, who was a Londoner.

Friday, Feb. 2, 1877.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On Parallel Developments in English, Danish, and Swedish," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *President*. In this, two kinds of agreement between cognate languages were pointed out: 1, negative, or traditional, the result of the retention of a common form; and 2, positive, or parallel developments, which take place independently in each language, in obedience to natural laws. The importance of the latter class for the determination of the general laws of language was illustrated by many examples from the languages treated of.

Friday, Feb. 16, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Rev. E. B. Knuttesford Fortescue was elected a Member of the Society. The Hon. Sec. announced that the Council had resolved that henceforth Messrs. Trübner should be the Society's publishers. The Paper read was: "On the Classification of the Non-Aryan Languages of India, Part I.,"[1] by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. Six groups, the reader said, might be made of them—namely, Dravidian, Kolarian, Burmo-Tibetan, Khasi, Tai, and Mon-Anam. He described the leading characteristics, such as the rational and irrational gender, the expression of several grammatical categories and relations by root-modifications, of the Dravidian; the animate and inanimate gender, the agreement of the verb with both subject and object, the two forms of each tense, of the Kolarian; the tones, the determinative syllables, the great differences of verbal structure, of the Burmo-Tibetan.—It was resolved that a Special Meeting of the Society be held next Friday, Feb. 23, to hear the second part of Mr. Brandreth's paper.

Friday, Feb. 23, 1877.—(Special Meeting.)—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On the Derivation of the word *Deuce* in 'The Deuce!'" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq. 2. "On the Classification of the Non-Aryan Languages of India, Part II.," by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. In the latter Mr. Brandreth continued his account of the great Burmo-Tibetan group, describing the differences in grammar between the different members of the group. He further subdivided the group into fifteen classes. He next described the principal characteristics of the remaining groups of the Khasi, expressing all its grammatical relations by prefixes, with its masculine and feminine gender, its dropping of certain vowels to prevent hiatus, its significant formatives, etc.; of the Tai, with its tones nearly as numerous as the Chinese, with its final consonants either unpronounced or changing the sound of preceding vowels, its letter changes between the different dialects, etc.; and finally of the Mon-Anam, in regard to which he pointed out more especially the striking resemblance in grammar between the Mon and Anamese languages. In the three last-mentioned groups he noticed that the genitive rela-

[1] Printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. N.S. pp. 1—32.

tion of the noun was generally expressed by position only, the noun in that relation always coming after the noun on which it depended, contrary to the rule of the three groups first mentioned, as well as of the Chinese and of all the Aryan languages of India. (Mr. Brandreth's Papers have since been printed, with an excellent Map, in vol. x. of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society.)

Friday, March 2, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. Major Fryer was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On the Phonology of the English Dialects," by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. The reader explained his attempts, by collecting examples and versions of one comparative specimen from living dialectal speakers, during the last four years, to form "phonetic districts," which adopted the same system of pronunciation within certain limits. After discussing the general treatment of vowels and consonants, he proceeded to give the characteristics and principal variations of these districts, and read many specimens in illustration. His districts were, first, the Western, with a western border separating it from the midland; second, the Eastern, with an eastern border also separating it from the midland, and a south-eastern, which was as much a western as an eastern border; third, the Midland, with a midland border; and fourth, the Northern, with a northern border to its south and an English border to its north. Scotland and the Celtic districts were omitted. He remarked on the closeness of the agreement of these phonetic districts with the areas of the dialects and sub-dialects in the classification of our dialects made by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, who had materially assisted him in his researches. He also stated his great obligations to numerous other friends, and specially to Mr. C. C. Robinson for Yorkshire, Mr. J. G. Goodchild for Cumberland and Westmorland, and Mr. T. Hallam for Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire.

Friday, March 16, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. Mr. James Wood, M.A., was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On the Servian Language and its Dialects," by W. R. Morfill, Esq. A classification was attempted of the various Servian and Croatian races under the Turkish and Austrian rule, and their geographical positions were defined. The reader commented on the variety of alphabets in use among these peoples, and the attempts of Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, of Agram, to fuse them into one. The phonetic system of Servian was compared with that of the other Slavonic languages, special attention being called to the vocal use of *r*, and the remarks of Miklosich and Whitney. An examination of the parts of speech followed, with remarks on the very complicated character of the verbs, where we meet again with the so-called "aspects," which are such a distinctive feature in Russian and Polish also. A brief glance at Servian history, the glorious epoch of Stephen Dushan, and the complete paralysis of their nationality after Kossovo, was concluded by an allusion to the great epochs of Servian and Croatian literature. Mention was then made of the curious Lives of St. Simeon and St. Sabbas, compiled in the thirteenth century, and the Rodoslov in the fourteenth, the Code of Laws of Tzar Stephen Dushan, and the collection of Servian and Dalmatian ballads, first published by the Franciscan monk Kachich Mioshich in 1756, but more fully known by the labours of Vuk Stephanovich Karajich, in 1824. It was made clear that these beautiful poems are as yet but imperfectly known to the English public by the

incorrect versions of Sir John Bowring. The reader added extracts from Vuk's Collection, from that of Melutinovich, published in 1837 at Leipzig under the title of *Songs of the Montenegrins*, and a specimen of a very pretty pastoral poem was given from the Collection of Petranovich, published at Sarajevo in 1867, a book almost unknown to Western readers. Some brief remarks followed on the Ragusan Epoch and the culmination of Dalmatian poetry under Ivan Gundulich, and the labours of the Servian Vuk Stephanovich in the present century. The reader then examined the position of the Slovenish language (or dialect), and the views held by Kopitar and Miklosich that it was the genuine Palæoslavonic, the latter having newly affirmed this opinion with unabated vigour in his *Altslovenische Formenlehre* (Wien, 1874). The peculiarities of Slovenish were pointed out, the dual and other archaic forms, and also the Codex Frisingianus, assigned to the latter half of the eighth century, and therefore the oldest piece of Slavonic writing in existence. The reader concluded with a few remarks on Slovenish literature ; Primus Truber and his labours in the sixteenth century being especially discussed. (The substance of Mr. Morfill's Paper has since appeared in the *Westminster Review*, to which he has contributed several articles on this and like subjects.)

Friday, April 6, 1877.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Rev. Robert Jones was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read was : "On the Comparative Grammar of the Living Teutonic Languages," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *President*.

Friday, April 20, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was : "On the Metres of Tennyson, with some Observations on the Rhythm of Marlowe," by the Rev. Prof. J. B. Mayor. Prof. Mayor stated that in order to test the general scheme of metrical analysis sketched out in his former papers, he had selected a modern poet, in whose case there could be no dispute as to readings or pronunciation, and who was known to have given much attention to the subject of metre, and that he (Prof. Mayor) had applied his method to every one of Tennyson's poems, with the following results :—1. Trochaic metre.—Mr. Tennyson's poems afford instances of the 2-feet line both in the complete and truncated forms, of the 3-feet truncated, of the 4-, 5-, and 6-feet in both forms, of the 7-feet in the truncated form, of the 8-feet in both forms. The line is varied by dactylic and iambic substitution, as well as by truncation and anacrusis. Where a line falls into two or more sections, truncation and anacrusis are admissible at the beginning and end of each section. 2. Iambic metre.—Examples were given of the 2-feet line in the masculine form, of the 3-, 4-, and 5-feet in both the masculine and feminine forms, of the 6- and 7-feet in the masculine form. The line is varied by anapaestic and trochaic (rarely dactylic) substitutions, and by initial truncation (a monosyllable standing for the first foot), which was shown to prevail in some of the poems. 3. Anapaestic.—Examples containing from one to eight feet were given. The line is varied by the addition of a final superfluous syllable (feminine rhythm), by iambic substitution, and by initial truncation (the monosyllabic first foot), as in

"Slow|ly and sad|ly we laid| him down,"

which was shown to be extremely common in Tennyson. An 8-feet line containing four sections was quoted, in which each section com-

menced with a monosyllabic foot. 4. Dactylic.—The only pure example is "The Charge of the Light Brigade," consisting of 2-feet lines with trochaic substitution in the second foot. Examples of monosyllabic substitution were quoted from Heber and Hood. The employment of anacrusis, final and initial truncation, and feminine rhythm, as a means of varying the rhythm, was justified on the principle that one or two unaccented syllables preceding the initial accent of the line, or following the final accent, are not essential to the rhythm, and may be added or omitted without injury to the metre, if that is sufficiently marked by the general character of the passage. Mixed and classical rhythms in Tennyson were next dealt with, and it was shown how the different metres were combined to form poems.—Prof. Mayor then read a short second paper, pointing out the use of the monosyllabic foot, and other peculiarities in Marlowe's heroic line.[1]

Friday, May 4, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On Accadian Phonology," by the Rev. A. H. Sayce.[2] 2. "On French Genders, Part I.," by Prof. Cassal. (Prof. Cassal's Papers have since been published as a work on "French Genders.")

Friday, May 18, 1877.—(ANNIVERSARY MEETING.)—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The following Members of the Society were elected its Officers for the ensuing year:

President.—Henry Sweet, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

The Archbishop of Dublin.	Alexander J. Ellis, Esq.
Edwin Guest, Esq.	The Rev. Richard Morris.
Whitley Stokes, Esq.	James A. H. Murray, Esq.

Ordinary Members of Council.

E. L. Brandreth, Esq.	The Rev. J. B. Mayor.
C. Cassal, Esq.	W. R. Morfill, Esq.
C. B. Cayley, Esq.	J. Muir, Esq.
R. N. Cust, Esq.	Henry Nicol, Esq.
F. T. Elworthy, Esq.	J. Peile, Esq.
Henry Hucks Gibbs, Esq.	Charles Rieu, Esq.
E. R. Horton, Esq.	The Rev. W. W. Skeat.
Henry Jenner, Esq.	E. B. Tylor, Esq.
The Rev. B. Kennedy.	Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.
Russell Martineau, Esq.	R. F. Weymouth, Esq.

Treasurer.—Benjamin Dawson, Esq.

Hon. Secretary.—Fredk. J. Furnivall, Esq.

The President read his Annual Address (printed above, pp. 1–122) containing: 1. Reports by himself on the Work of the Society during the past year, and on the Progress of Phonology. 2. On Dutch, by Dr. J. Hallé (translated by J. H. Hessels, Esq., and revised by the President). 3. On Swedish, by Dr. F. Tamm (translated by Dr. Erdmann). 4. On Lithuanian, by Prof. A. Leskien (Englished by the President). 5. On the Languages of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago, by R. N. Cust, Esq.

[1] These papers are printed above, pp. 257–282.
[2] Printed above, pp. 123–142.

Friday, June 1, 1877.—H. SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On French Genders, Part II.," by Prof. Cassal; 2. "On Some Points of English Pronunciation, Part I.," by H. Nicol, Esq.

Friday, June 15, 1877.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. Prof. Kern, of Leyden, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society, and William Wakeford, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On Some Points in Early English Pronunciation, Part II.," by Henry Nicol, Esq. From Salesbury, in 1567, identifying English *ū* with Welsh *uw*, and discriminating it from French and Scotch *u*, as well as from other identifications of E. *ū* with E. *you*, Mr. Nicol inferred that in Early Modern English long *u*, as in *duke*, and close *ew*, as in *new*, were (as maintained by Dr. Weymouth) diphthongal, either *yu* or *iu*, and not *yy*, the simple Fr. sound with which some early authorities, followed by Mr. Ellis, identified them. He also showed, from the Early Modern distinction between close and open *ew* (*new*, *dew*) existing in Chaucer (as noticed by Dr. Weymouth), in correspondence with the Old English distinction (*niwe*, *deāw*), and from words of French origin in *u* final or before a vowel being often spelt with *ew* (*mewe*, Fr. *mue*) and rhyming on the E. close diphthong, that Middle English replaced Fr. *u* in this situation by *ēu*; but that Fr. *u* before a consonant, as in *duk* (Fr. *duc*), which is never spelt with *ew*, preserved its simple *yy* sound in Mid. E. This distinction was confirmed by Northern English, Hampole, before 1350, rhyming *fortone* = *fortune* on *sone* = *soon*, both having the *œœ* sound (also written *u*) still common in Scotch, while final *u* is treated as *ew*; and living proof was adduced from the Teviotdale dialect, in which *ū* before a consonant, as in *use* subst. (Fr. *us*), is simple *œœ*, this word rhyming on *goose* (O.E. *gōs*), while when final it is the diphthong *œu*, *due* (Fr. *dû*) = *dœu*, coinciding with *dew* (O.E. *deāw*) also = *dœu*, not with *do* (O.E. *dō*) = *dœœ*. In the final section of his paper, Mr. Nicol pointed out that Orm's system of marking the shortness of a vowel by doubling the following consonant broke down when the consonant was itself followed by a vowel, showing that Middle English, like Swedish and Italian, distinguished double from single consonants when between vowels; Orm could not write *sune* (*son*, O.E. *sunu*) with two *n's*, though its vowel was short, because that would have made his reader pronounce *sun-ne*, which was *sun* (O.E. *sunne*). The difference existed in the time of Chaucer, by whom *sone* (*sunu*), for instance, is always kept distinct in spelling and rhymes from *sonne* (*sunne*); these two differing in the length of the medial consonant, while his *sowne* (Fr. *son*, our *sound*) differed from the first in the length of the vowel. And from Orm sometimes putting a short mark, never a long one, over the vowels of *name*, *stede*, etc., it was inferred that he everywhere preserved the O.E. short vowels (*nama*, *stēde*), which in such words were in Chaucer's time, as in Mod. E. (*name*, *stead*), lengthened.

Friday, Nov. 2, 1877.—Dr. James A. H. Murray, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "Statement concerning the Returns Received to my Word-List for Provincial Pronunciation," by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. Mr. Ellis reported that, in order to complete his previous collections for the Fifth Part of his Early English Pronunciation, which was to deal with our dialects, he had sent out, chiefly to country clergymen, 1,612 lists of characteristic words and phrases, and a list of narratives, to be written in Glossic, in the dialect

of each district of Great Britain. To these he had received only 223 replies, some from each county, some from Scotland and Wales; several of these were valuable from their fullness and accuracy, while others were very meagre in detail; one consisted only of a single word. 2. "On the phrases to 'part from' and to 'part with,'" by Dr. Sattler, the writer citing a very large number of instances, and showing that in the former phrase the act of parting was (generally) the speaker's, while in the latter the cause of parting was generally not his. 3. "Specimens of the West Somerset Dialect," some racy country stories, read with the proper native accent and twang, by the best authority on the dialect, Mr. F. T. Elworthy, of Foxdown, Wellington, Somersetshire.[1]

Friday, November 16, 1877.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Miss Coleman and Mr. Donald W. Ferguson were elected Members of the Society. Mr. A. J. Ellis stated that he had then 260 returns to his word-lists. The papers read were: 1. "On the use of final *n*, in *an*, *mine*, etc., before a vowel and *h*, in the Authorised Version of the Bible," by B. Dawson, Esq. After examining more than a thousand instances, and noting their curious inconsistencies, Mr. Dawson accounted for the latter by showing that, generally speaking, the passages left untouched from Tyndale's version preserved the *n*, while the passages altered by the translators did away with it. 2. "On *Curmudgeon*," by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. Philemon Holland's form "cornmudgin" (corn-hoarder) explained the first part of the word; the second, Mr. Skeat derived from the verb *mug*, to hoard or hide, seen in *muglard*, a miser, and in *hugger-mugger*; while the other form of it, *much* (pron. *mooch*), was seen in the E.E. *muchares*, skulking thieves, *mich*, to skulk (*cf.* "*miching* mallecho"), O. French *mucer* or *muchier*, etc. 3. "On the Compound Tenses of Romanic Reflected Verbs," by H. Nicol, Esq., in reference to the Italian and French use of the intransitive auxiliary *esse* with an oblique case of the reflexive pronoun. After pointing out the importance for investigating this development of distinguishing between those verbs of reflexive form which have reflexive meaning *(je me suis lavé)*, and those which have intransitive meaning *(je m'en suis allé)*, he noted that where an intransitive verb takes *avoir* when used alone, and *être* when used with the reflexive pronoun, the difference cannot be explained, as Gessner maintains, by the intransitive nature of the reflexive form. The meaning of the simple verb makes it impossible for the Old French *se dormir* to be more intransitive than *dormir* itself, so that the fact that the perfect of the former is *je me suis dormi*, of the latter *j'ai dormi*, calls for some other explanation.

Friday, Dec. 7, 1877.—The Rev. Dr. R. MORRIS, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Mr. A. M. Ferguson, jun., was elected a Member of the Society. The papers read were: 1. "On the Anglo-Cymric Score," by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*.[2] This had been lately spoken of as "the Ancient British Numerals." In 1870 Mr. Ellis printed one of these scores in the *Philological Transactions*, believed to be the first published. In February, 1874, he laid twenty-five different versions before the Philological Society, but only printed them in proof, as he was waiting for more information. This evening he minutely examined forty-four versions, including seven received from America, and there

[1] Printed as part of the "Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset," pp. 143–256, above.

[2] Printed above, pp. 316–372.

attributed to the Indians. The conclusions he drew from this complete investigation were as follows: 1. This score is a real system of counting, at least two or three hundred years old, which, however, was rare fifty years ago. 2. It was actually used in counting sheep (six informants), and was heard so used by one living informant. It has sunk to be used for counting stitches in knitting (two cases), or for amusing children (seven cases), or for "counting out" at school (at least seven cases). To this last use is probably due many of the anomalous words, as shown by other countings out, of which eight were cited. 3. That it was foreign to those who used it, and was in England attributed to Scotch drovers (four cases). The ease of its importation was shown by the existence of seven American versions attributed to the Indians. As the score is totally unlike the Gaelic or American numerals, these hypotheses are worthless. 4. The names of the numerals 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, 20, can all be easily connected with Welsh. The names of 16, 17, 18, 19, as 1 and 15, 2 and 15, 3 and 15, 4, and 15, are peculiar to Welsh among all known Celtic languages, and are consistently employed in the score. Hence the foundation of the score must be Welsh, unless the unknown Celtic of Strathclyde had the same peculiarity. But the absolute divergence of the names for 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, from any Celtic type, and the comparative ease with which they can be accounted for on the "counting out" principle, invalidates the theory of indigenous growth and favours importation. How it was imported into England is as little known as how it was imported into America, where it was known in 1717, and recollected by a man as an old affair, who was eighty-one in 1868. 5. There is no ground at all for supposing that the extraordinary words for 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, were "the Ancient British Numerals," but there is strong ground for attributing them to the influence of swing and rhyme (predominant for the pairs 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 6 and 7, 8 and 9, but non-existent in Celtic numerals), as in countings out and nursery jingles, for which the score is still used. 6. The score possesses no linguistic interest, as the discovery of a lost system of numerals, and its real philological value is the illustration it gives of the alteration of words in passing from mouth to mouth without being fixed in writing, and the tenacity with which constructions cling (like that of 16, 17, 18, 19, in the score) when the materials vary. 2. "On *Gallow* (to dazzle) in King Lear, iii. 2," by M. Métivier.

Friday, Dec. 21, 1877.—A. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On some Doubtful Points and Practical Difficulties in English Grammar," by J. A. H. Murray, Esq., *Vice-President*.

Friday, Jan. 18, 1878.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Dr. Murray laid his Table of the Periods of the English Language (for his *Encyclopædia Britannica* article) before the meeting. The Papers read were: 1. "On Alone, Lone, Lonely," by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq. Mr. Wedgwood contested Mr. Skeat's derivation of *lonely, lonesome, lone*, from the Icelandic *laun* 'concealment.' Mr. Skeat had rightly rejected Dasent, Vigfusson, and Serenius's derivation of *alone* (=all one) from the Icelandic *à laun* 'in hiding, secretly'; then why did he cut *lone* away from *alone*, from which it so clearly came? "It is not good for men to be *alone*. Hitherto all things that have been named were approved of God to be very good: *lmeliness* is the first thing which God's eye named not good."—Milton, *Tetrachordon* (in Richardson). A *lone* woman is a woman who stands alone. A *lonely* or a

lonesome place is one strikingly destitute of inhabitants, when you feel painfully alone, without any reference to the notion of concealment, which is the only meaning of the Scandinavian forms: Icel. *leyniligr*, Sw. *lönlig*, have only the sense of 'hidden, secret, clandestine.' *Lone, lonely, lonesome*, are comparatively modern forms, are not in Stratmann; and in the *Ancren Riwle* we find *only* where we should now use *lonely:* "The leoue lefdi, ne ledde heo *onlich* lif"—a lonely life? So our *lonesome* = German *einsam* 'solitary, lonely, alone.' The proposed etymology from *à laun* was contradicted by the history of the forms in English texts, by phonetic laws—for Icel. *laun* would make E. *lown*, a form which occurs in Scotch—by the meaning of the word, and by our present dialect, for in Lancashire *onely*—"awm very onely"—was the word for "lonely."—2. "On Middle-English Orthography," by Henry Nicol, Esq. The Middle-English use of *o* for *u*, and of *u* for *y* and *ȳ* (Fr. *u*, Germ. *ü*), was pointed out to be Early Norman, the Late Middle-English use of *ou* for *ū* (common also in Anglo-French MSS.) to be late Parisian (*ou* in earlier French indicating the diphthong *ȯu*). Prof. ten Brink's theory that *o* indicated a medial or doubtful length of *u* was adversely criticised, and the use of *o* shown to be orthographical for short *u*; Dr. Murray's rule that *o* is used when adjacent to *m, n, u* (*v*), or *w*, to prevent confusion arising from their similarity in shape to *u*, being supplemented by the rule that *o* is used before a single consonant followed by a vowel, because *u* would there be read with its usual French value *ȳ*. It was remarked that the Late West Saxon (eleventh century) use of *y* for *i* and *e* is not due to the sound *y* having become *i*, but indicates a real substitution in certain words of the sound *y* for the earlier vowels, shown by such fourteenth-century spellings as *schup* (L. W. S. *scyp* for *scip*, now *ship*), *huyre* (*hȳran* for *hēran*, *hear*); the latter word occurring in rhyme on *mesure* (*measure*). The English use of *qu* for *kw* (O. E. *cw*) was shown to be Early Norman (later French sounding *qu* as simple *k*), and that of *gu* for simple *g* to be Late Parisian (Early Par., like Italian, sounding *gu* as *gw*, and Norman, like Picard, not replacing Germ. *w* by *gu*). The English letter *w*, substituted for the Old English rune, was noted to be borrowed from Early Norman (French), where it replaced the O. H. German *uu*.

Friday, Feb. 1, 1878.—Dr. JAS. A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On the Bulgarian Language, with special reference to the Palæo-Slavonic," by W. R. Morfill, Esq. The phonology of the languages was compared, attention being called to the existence of nasals in one of the Bulgarian dialects, a fact unknown till the recent communication of Prof. Drinov in Jagić's *Archiv*. The modern Bulgarian was shown to be in a more analytical condition than any other Slavonic language—the inflexions of the nouns and adjectives being nearly all gone. In the post-position of the article (itself a very un-Slavonic feature) Roumanian and Albanian influences were traced. The views of Schleicher and Michlosich on the relation of Palæo-Slavonic to Bulgarian and Slavonish were examined. The lecturer concluded with some remarks on Bulgarian literature, which is but meagre, owing to the strenuous resistance of the Turkish Government to all attempts at education by their rayahs. In conclusion, a few extracts were given from the fine collection of ballads published by the Brothers Miladinov and M. Dozon—one especially touching, on the cruel oppressions of the Turks—and comments were

made on the disgraceful forgery of Verkovick, called "The Slavonic Veda."

Friday, Feb. 15, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. C. S. Jerram, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On Malagasy, the Language of Madagascar,"[1] by the Rev. William E. Cousins, since 1862 a Missionary of the London Missionary Society in the Island. Mr. Cousins gave an account of the various contributions made by Europeans to the study and development of the Malagasy language from the sixteenth century to the present time. The written form of the language now in use was introduced by missionaries of the London Missionary Society about sixty years ago. Substantially one language exists throughout the whole of Madagascar, but there are various dialects. That spoken by the Horas is the principal and most cultivated dialect. The Sakalàva is used on the west coast, and in the northern parts of the island; the Betsimisàraka is spoken on the east coast, and the Betsilèo in the interior of the island south of Imèrina. The paper contained a description of the principal linguistic features of the Malagasy, and an account of its unwritten literature, which consists chiefly of fragments of history, proverbs, and fables. The relation of the Malagasy to other languages was also discussed, and evidence adduced in favour of regarding it as the most westerly member of the Malayo-Polynesian family. Mr. Cousins showed that, both in its vocabulary and in its grammar, the Malagasy bears the closest analogy to this family. Without denying that an African element may exist in the language, Mr. Cousins maintained that no near relation to any African language had yet been proved to exist. At the same time many African words have been introduced as the result of commercial intercourse.

Friday, March 1, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On Engytype, and Approximate Phonetic Writing for Philological Purposes," by Alex. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. Having found that philologists who, although unwilling to take the trouble of studying the science of speech sounds, were yet often in want of a readily printed means of representing deviations from the usual powers of the letters, Mr. Ellis had devised the approximate system of Phonetic Writing, called for the reason Engytype (.eq.gitaip). No capitals are used, but their presence is indicated by a prefixed period. The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, have their Latin sense, as in *father*, *there*, *machine*, *ore*, *rule*; and *y*, *œ* are the French *u*, *eu*, while *ə* (a turned *e*) gives the short *u* in *cut*, or *a* in *idea*. It is of the essence of Engytype that the letters each represent several shades of sound, which are distinguished when necessary by accents, as *ä* in *man*, *á* in *ask*, *a* in *father*, *à* a deeper Scotch sound, *â* in *all*, and so on, in this order *ä á a à â*, from the closest to the openest form Nasal vowels are distinguished, as in Polish, by a subscript (¸) or turned apostrophe, as in French *vin vend vont brun*, written *ve*¸ *va*¸ *vo*¸ *brœ*¸. Long vowels are doubled, short are single; thus, *män*, *ásk*, *faadhə*, *ââl*. Initial capitals are indicated by a prefixed period as *.fraans*= France. Stress is marked, when desired, by (·) at the close of the accented syllable. The *r* is not written when not pronounced. Among the consonants observe *j*, *q* for *y* and *ng* in *young*=jəq; and *dh*, *zh* for *th*, and *s*, in *the* vision=dhə vizhən. Varieties of con-

[1] Printed above, pp. 283-315.

sonants are indicated also by accents, apostrophes, or turned accents, turned apostrophes and turned commas, or the mark for degrees (°), as r' $r^{\backprime}$ $_{,}r$ $_{,}r$ r' $r^{\backprime}$ r° $r_{\circ}$. The precise use of such marks is left to the writer of Engytype to assign at any time. Example: Extract from the open page of the Duke of Devonshire's copy of Caxton's "Recule of the historyes of Troyes," 1471, in the Caxton Exhibition, August, 1877. In the Engytype the pronunciation is that of the sixteenth and not the fifteenth century, as the latter has not been satisfactorily determined: .and for as much as ai supooz dhə said twuu buuks biin not had tu foor dhis taim in our iqglish laq·guadzh, dheerfoor ai had dhə beter wil tu akomplish dhis said werk, whitsh werk was begun in .bryydzhis, and kontinyd in .gaunt, and finishid in .kolain, in dhə taim of dhə trublus world, and of dhə greet dəvisiunz, bii·iq and reeiniq as wel in dhə rweejaamz of .iqland and .frauns as in aul udher plaasez yyniversali thurgjh dhə world, dhat is to wit, dhə jiir of our lord a thouzand four hundred seventi oon [*19th Senturi:* in whitsh jiiə tuk plees dhi bätl əv .baanet änd dhi məədə əv .henri dhi siksth in .iqlənd.]—2. "On the History of Early and Modern Icelandic Sounds," by M. Gunlögson.

Friday, March 15, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Paper read (by Henry Nicol, Esq.) was: "On the Practical Study of Languages," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *President*.

Friday, April 5, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Rev. William Urwick and J. J. Bollinger, Esq., were elected Members of the Society. The *Hon. Secretary* stated that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press had appointed Friday, April 26, for an interview with Dr. Murray about the Society's Dictionary. On the proposal of F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Hon. Secretary, and Alex. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*, Messrs. E. L. Brandreth and R. N. Cust were appointed the Society's Delegates to the Congress of Orientalists at Florence, in the ensuing September. A Paper by Mr. H. Sweet, *President*, "On Gender in the Teutonic Languages," was read by Mr. Nicol. Four kinds of gender were distinguished. 1. *Absence* of gender, except in the specific words "man," "woman," etc. 2. *Natural* gender, as in English, where male and female beings are respectively masculine and feminine, and inanimate things are neuter; other distinctions being also possible, such as the twofold one of rational and irrational. 3. *Metaphorical* gender, by which inanimate things are regarded as male or female according to some fancied analogy. 4. *Grammatical* gender, by which things (and occasionally human beings) may be either masculine, feminine, or neuter, without regard to their meaning. The processes by which grammatical gender has been simplified or lost in the modern Teutonic languages were then examined, and some cases of the development of an independent metaphorical gender were pointed out.—Mr. A. J. Ellis stated the results of his trial of the phonograph with Prof. Bell. He found that it could not at present be trusted to register properly all the variations of sound of the human voice. In reproducing *s*, *o*, *e*, it specially failed.

Friday, May 3, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Dr. Murray gave a short account of his interview with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, about the publication of the Society's Dictionary, and also of his conversation with Prof. Max Müller on the

project. He thought that there was good hope that the issue would be favourable. Mr. Henry Nicol read a paper "On some English Derivations," of which the chief were :—*aitchbone* and *edgebone*, alterations of the older *natchbone*, from Old French *nache* (= *naticam* from Latin *natis*) ; *bush* (box), from O.F. *boisse* (Lat. *pyxida*, Mod. F. *boîte*) ; *cellar*, in *salt-cellar*, an alteration of Mid. E. *saler* from F. *saliere* (Lat. *salāriam*) ; *daub*, from F. *dauber* (in O.F. = plaster), and this not connected with *adouber*, but from Lat. *dealbāre* (plaster, whitewash), as Spanish *jalbegar* = *dealbicāre* ; *folly* (arbour, etc., in place-names), from O.F. *foilliee*, Mod. F. *folie*, with same meaning (= *foliātam*, from Lat. *folium*) ; *moil*, not Lat. *mōlīrī*, but from F. *mouiller* (= *molliāre*, from Lat. *mollīre*) ; *owelty*, from O.F. *ueltē* (Lat. *aequālitātem*) ; *tittle*, originally identical with *title*, from O.F. *title*, "a tittle, a small line drawn over an abridged word" (Cotgrave, under *tiltre*), just as Span. *tilde*, also from Lat. *titulum* ; *toil*, from O.F. *toeillier* (of doubtful origin, Mod. F. *touiller*) ; *ure*, preserved in *inure*, from O.F. *oevre* (Lat. *operam*, Mod. F. *œuvre*), as *manure* from *manuevre* ; *use* (benefit), from O.F. *oes* (Lat. *opus*) ; and *sweetheart*, not a corruption of *sweetard*, but really *sweet heart* (Chaucer, *swetè hertè*, in two words, and *herte swete*).—Miss M. Coleman read a short paper "On Russian, its Sounds, the Peculiarities of its Verbs, the Four Aspects," etc.

Friday, May 17, 1878.—(ANNIVERSARY MEETING.)—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Hon. Secretary stated that Dr. Murray had had a letter from the Secretary of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Prof. B. Price, saying that the Delegates had authorized him to enter into negociations with the Society for the publication of its Dictionary on the basis of the terms submitted by the President to the Delegacy. The Council had accordingly directed the Dictionary Committee to meet Prof. Price, and try to come to terms with him. The Treasurer's Cash Account was taken as read ; and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the Auditors. On the recommendation of the Council, the Society resolved that the first of its Rules should be altered by leaving out the last clause, "and the Philological Illustration of the Classical Writers of Greece and Rome," so that the first Rule should run :—

"I. OBJECT.

"The Philological Society is formed for the investigation of the Structure, the Affinities, and the History of Languages." The President, after mentioning the causes that had deprived him of the assistance of several scholars who had half promised him reports on different branches of Philology, read his Annual Address, printed above, pp. 373-455, in which he dealt with Phonology, Dialectology (with special regard to England, Norway, and Sweden), the Future of English Philology, Prof. Skeat's election, the *Anglia*, etc. The President then read extracts from the reports of Mr. Whitmee, "On our present knowledge of the Languages of Polynesia ;" and Dr. Tobler, "On the German Dialects of Switzerland." The following Members of the Society were then elected its Officers for the ensuing year :—

President.—Dr. James A. H. Murray.

Vice-Presidents.

The Archbishop of Dublin.	Alexander J. Ellis, Esq.
Edwin Guest, Esq.	The Rev. Richard Morris.
Whitley Stokes, Esq.	Henry Sweet, Esq.

Ordinary Members of Council.

E. L. Brandreth, Esq.
C. Cassal, Esq.
C. B. Cayley, Esq.
R. N. Cust, Esq.
Sir John F. Davis, Bart.
F. T. Elworthy, Esq.
Henry Hucks Gibbs, Esq.
E. R. Horton, Esq.
Henry Jenner, Esq.
Russell Martineau, Esq.
The Rev. J. B. Mayor.
W. R. Morfill, Esq.
Sir Charles Murray.
Henry Nicol, Esq.
Charles Rieu, Esq.
The Rev. W. W. Skeat.
The Rev. Dr. W. Thompson.
William Wagner, Esq.
Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.
R. F. Weymouth, Esq.

Treasurer.

Benjamin Dawson, Esq., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.

Hon. Secretary.

Frederick J. Furnivall, Esq., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Mr. Henry Sweet then vacated the Chair, which was taken by Dr. Murray, who returned thanks for the honour paid him, and also referred to the value of Mr. F. T. Elworthy's papers on the Somerset Dialect, Mr. Brandreth's on the Neo-Aryan Languages of India, and Mr. Cousin's on Malagasy. Prof. de Gubernatis made an interesting statement as to the development of the study of the Italian dialects in Italy, and the founding of Neo-Latin chairs there.

Friday, June 7, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Hon. Secretary stated that the Dictionary Committee had met Prof. Price on behalf of the Clarendon Press Delegates, and had made certain concessions in the terms first suggested by the Society. He had no doubt that the negociations would be completed speedily, and without difficulty. The Papers read were: 1. "On the Quichua Languages of Peru," by M. E. von Boeck, with comments by Clements R. Markham, Esq. 2. "On the Spoken Swedish Language, Part I.," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.*[1]

Friday, June 21, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Furnivall stated that Dr. Murray and he had again met Prof. B. Price on behalf of the Clarendon Press Delegates, about the Society's English Dictionary, that certain alterations in Prof. Price's proposed contract had been suggested by him (Mr. Furnivall), and since by the Council, and that the negociations would be continued. With a view to the registration of the Society under the Friendly Societies' Act, or some other, Messrs. Henry Hucks Gibbs, F. J. Furnivall, and Henry Sweet were appointed Trustees of the Society. The Papers read were: 1. "English Etymologies, *duffel, kill, mumper, bout, joram, cave in, pore, pour,* and *cadeau,*" by Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq. 2. "On the Spoken Swedish Language, Part II.,"[1] by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.*

Friday, Nov. 1, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On Proposed Modifications of and Additions to Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech* Alphabet," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.*

[1] Printed above, pp. 457—543.

Friday, Nov. 15. 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. T. P. Brocklehurst was elected a Member of the Society. Mr. E. L. Brandreth and Mr. R. N. Cust gave a report of the work of the Sections they had attended at the Congress of Orientalists at Florence, as the Delegates of the Society. Mr. Brandreth showed photographs of the members attending the Congress. The Paper read was: "Classification of Word-Meanings, Part I.," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.*

Friday, Dec. 6, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Prof. Goodwin, and Thomas Stenhouse, Esq., were elected Members of the Society. Mr. Henry Sweet gave an account of the proof that the metre of the Skaldic poetry of Iceland was Keltic in its origin, the fact having lately been established by Dr. Edgardi, in Germany. The Paper read was: "The Classification of Word-Meanings, Part II.," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.*

Friday, Dec. 20, 1878.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On the Early Middle-English Diphthong *au* in late Modern English," by Henry Nicol, Esq. After pointing out that Middle English *au* was retained as a diphthong at the beginning of the sixteenth century, even in words now spelt with *a (launce, laumpe, straunge, sauge)*, Mr. Nicol showed that at the same period *au* had arisen from *a* before *l* not followed by a vowel *(all, half, alms, talk, salt)*; that before certain consonants *l* was then dropped *(half, alms, talk)*, while retained elsewhere; and that *au* subsequently lost its *u* before some consonants *(half, lance, lamp, strange, sage)*, keeping it before others. Attention was drawn to the living London representatives of the diphthong *(ôô*, rarely *ô*, in *cause, salt*; *aa* in *chant, alms*; *æ* in *lamp, pansy*; *ê* in *Pall Mall*; *ei* from *éé* in *strange, sage)*; to the distinction before *nd* between *aa* from French nasal *a (command, slander)* and *æ* from native *a (hand, gander)*; and to the etymological misspellings with *aul* or *al* for *au (fault*, for *faut, balm* for *baum)*, which in a few words *(fault, vault)* have corrupted the pronunciation; as well as to the retention of the spelling *au* in some words whose vowel is not *ôô (aunt, gauge)*, and its occasional introduction for *a* before *l (maul, haulm)*.—2. "On the Classification of Word-Meanings," Part III., by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President.* The author showed how a philosophical arrangement of all our words was possible under the leading idea of each group, so as to avoid such inconsistencies as Roget's in putting "eat" under "Insertion," etc.

Friday, Jan. 17, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "A Comparison of the Gaurian with the Romance Languages, Part I, Phonology, § 1, Vowels," by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. By Gaurian were meant those modern languages of India which were derived from the Sanskrit. The reader said that the changes by which Sanskrit had become Gaurian and Latin Romance were so remarkably alike that it was worth while putting them side by side. The resemblance extended both to the phonology and to the other parts of the grammar of each group. It was to the eleventh century that the first real specimens of Romance belonged; while our knowledge of Gaurian dated from the end of the twelfth century. Very little was known of the spoken language of either domain for several centuries previous to

these dates; but, as was shown, the popular dialects of each group during this period must have been diverging more and more from the ancient idiom preserved in the literary language, until they attained their latest stage of change and development in the different modern languages. The present paper related only to the phonology; in a second paper Mr. Brandreth proposed to deal with the comparative morphology of the two groups. It was resolved to hold a special meeting on this night week (*in fact fortnight*) to hear the rest of Mr. Brandreth's paper.

Friday, Jan. 31, 1879.—Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Rev. A. H. Sayce and Mr. Drielsma were elected Members of the Society. The Paper read was: "A Comparison of the Gaurian with the Romance Languages, Part I., Phonology, § 2, Consonants," by E. L. Brandreth, Esq. (This has since been printed in vol. xi. of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 287–316).

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING, AT ONCE THE LAST OF THE UNINCORPORATED PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE FIRST OF THE INCORPORATED ONE. *Friday, Feb.* 7, 1879.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Chairman stated that the Hon. Secretary's Circular (*A.*, p. xxiii. below) had informd members why the meeting to-night had been made special, in order to wind up, or rather dissolve, the old Society, and let it at once take the new form given to it by its incorporation under the Companies Acts, 1862, 1869, and 1877. The Council had acted throughout under the advice of Mr. G. Sweet, for whose generous and friendly help they were most grateful; and he trusted that the Society would confirm the action of the Council. He accordingly moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

"That the Philological Society approves the action of the Council in respect to Incorporation, and adopts and confirms the Agreement of the 5th December, 1878, between Dr. Murray and Mr. Furnivall [*D.*, annexed to the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Philological Society, p. xlvi. of the print below], and, in conformity therewith, hands over all its assets and liabilities to the Philological Society, incorporated under the Companies Acts of 1862, 1867, and 1877, on the 2nd January, 1879, and dissolves itself as an unincorporated Society."

The Chairman then declared the Special General Meeting of the incorporated Philological Society open, and, having called on the Hon. Secretary to read the notice convening the meeting (which was accordingly read), and then to give a history of the Society's English Dictionary up to the beginning of the negociations with the Clarendon Press (which was accordingly given), he, the Chairman, gave an account of the negociations which had resulted in the settling of the Indenture of Agreement already sent out to members except as to a few later unimportant alterations, which the Hon. Secretary stated. The Chairman then called on the Hon. Secretary to read the letter he had received from the Delegates' Secretary to be laid before the meeting to-night. This was read as follows:—

"Secretary's Room, Clarendon Press, Oxford, Feb. 5, 1879. The Secretary of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press is instructed by the Delegates to communicate the following resolution to the Secretary of the Philological Society, with a request that he will lay the same before the Philological Society at their meeting on Friday, February 7th. 'At

a Meeting of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, held on Friday, Jan. 31, it was resolved :—That the Philological Society be informed, that although the Delegates do not feel themselves justified in entering into an Agreement respecting the English Dictionary which should bind their successors to assign to the Society a larger share of the profits than 15 per cent., yet they venture to express a confident expectation that should the profits eventually be larger than they estimate, their successors will entertain favourably any application made to them by the Society for an increase in its share of the profits.' It was also ordered that this Resolution be entered on the Minutes of the Board."

—The Chairman then put to the meeting the following Resolution agreed on by the majority of the Council :

"That the Philological Society having considered the Contract proposed to be entered into between the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in the University of Oxford and the Philological Society, as well as the Resolution passed by the Delegates on January 31, 1879, accept the Contract and order the Seal of the Society to be affixed thereto."

The Chairman urged the meeting to accept the resolution. The result of doing so would be, that the Society's long-contemplated Dictionary would, though only in its concise form, *become a fact*. As the Society could only get 15 per cent. of the profits—the Council had tried hard for 20—it would be content with the smaller sum. The production of the Dictionary was the one thing to be considered.—Dr. Murray also urged the adoption of the resolution. He gave a narrative of Macmillan's negociations with him and the Council, for a Dictionary at first meant to supersede Webster's—as suggested originally by Harpers of New York—and then for a larger, though still too small a book. He thought that the 7,000 pages 4to. that the Delegates had agreed to give would enable the work to be done well. He proposed to begin with A.D. 1131, when at least three-fourths of the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary died out, and to give a quotation for every century for every meaning of every word in which it existed. He also hoped to carry the subdivision of meanings much farther than had yet been done. The exclusion of the ultimate etymologies—which the Delegates had insisted on—he hoped to meet by persuading them ultimately to let him put them in a separate volume. He appealed to members for vigorous help, as the funds at his disposal would only pay an assistant and a couple of clerks, besides himself. The rate of production fixed on meant the turning out of three quarto pages a day like the specimen handed round, besides the correcting and revising of three other pages or more. As to the percentage, he thought the Delegates should be met liberally. They would have to make heavy advances for editorial work,[1] besides the cost of wages, paper, printing, etc. But if members would not be satisfied with 15 per cent. profit, they could have 2½ of his, Dr. Murray's, 20 per cent., which he had already offered to the Council, though they did not accept it.—Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, in urging the acceptance of the Council's resolution, and the non-acceptance of any part of Dr. Murray's profits, asked what kind of quotations were specially wanted, and suggested that lists of words needed should be put out.—Mr. Russell Martineau, confirming Mr. Gibbs's views, asked what books specially

[1] Nine thousand pounds in all: *See* the Contract. The Press also prints slips for readers, and gives its English books for reading.

needed reading.—Dr. Murray said that quotations for the 18th and 19th centuries were specially needed, and that he desired advice as to what books and classes of books should be read as likely to supply special classes of words.—Mr. H. B. Wheatley and the Rev. Dr. R. Morris, Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood and a few other members spoke in support of the resolution.

Mr. Furnivall then moved the amendment of which he had given notice: (See *B.* below, p. xxvii, the P.S. to the Statement of the Council.)

"That, in the resolution, for the words '*accept the Contract, and order the Seal of the Society to be affixed thereto,*' be substituted, 'are of opinion that they are fairly entitled to the 20 per cent. of the net profits originally guaranteed to them by the Contract approvd by the Delegates. They are also of opinion that the Delegates' resolution of Jan. 31, 1879, should be embodied in the Contract in such more definite form as the Council and Delegates agree on. But if this cannot be obtained, the Society, in order not to stay the progress of the Dictionary, accept the contract as now revised, and order the Seal of the Society to be affixed thereto.' "

Mr. Furnivall felt very strongly that the Delegates had not kept good faith with the Society. They had from the first declared that they alone would settle the Editor's payment with him, and that the Society should have nothing to do with it. After many months' discussion they had returned to the Society a Draft Contract deliberately approved—and agreed to by the Council—that the Delegates alone should settle with the Editor, and charge the payments to him as an expense of the work, and give the Society 20 per cent. of the net profits. And yet, in deliberate defiance of their deliberately approved Contract, they (the Delegates) had turned round on the Society, and said that part of Dr. Murray's payment (that is, its estimated equivalent) should come out of the Society's poor little 20 per cent. alone, the Delegates' big 60 per cent. not being touched. Mr. Furnivall urged the meeting to confirm the Council's resolution of last November or December. "That the Council are of opinion that the Society is entitled to the 20 per cent. of profits already agreed on." This was the fact. And though Mr. Furnivall would accept the dictation of the Delegates rather than stop the coming out of the Dictionary, he calld on the meeting to affirm the Society's undoubted right.—Dr. Oswald seconded the amendment.—Mr. Henry Sweet only refraind from seconding the amendment because it did not go far enough. He would stop all negociations sooner than allow the Delegates to cut down the profits once agreed on. He read the resolution he had proposed to the Council:

"The Council, having already made great concessions from their proposals — agreed on as the basis of negociation — by accepting the definite terms for the Dictionary which the Delegates offered conditionally on their (the Delegates) arranging with the proposed editor, regret that the Delegates have failed in arranging with Dr. Murray, and resolve to proceed no further with the incorporation of the Society till the Delegates have completed their arrangements."

He, Mr. Sweet, was quite sure the Society had only to hold out, to get their own terms; but seeing how many members had made up their minds to accept the Delegates' terms, he would not trouble the meeting by proposing any resolution.

After a few words from Dr. Murray and the Chairman, the amendment was negatived and the resolution carried; and a vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. George Sweet for his very valuable and

gratuitous services to the Society in its negociations and incorporation, and to Mr. Charles Sweet for kindly acting as the Honorary Solicitor of the Society on its incorporation.

Friday, Feb. 21, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Hon. Secretary not having completed the minutes of the last meeting, it was resolved that the reading of them be put off till the next meeting. The Hon. Secretary said that the Solicitor of the Clarendon Press had sent him the engrosst contract, to which the seal of the Society was to be affixt; but as it had a wrong date, and an incomplete specimen of the Dictionary, he had returnd the engrossment for alteration. The Contract would be dated March 1, 1879.[1] The Paper read was: "Contributions to Old English Etymology and Phonology," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President*. The derivations proposed were: 1. *Gársecg*, from the *gásric* of the Runic Casket, which Mr. Sweet translated "sea," and explained as a derivative of the root *gais*, thus signifying the "raging one." 2. *Fultum*, in its oldest form *fultem=full-teám*. 3. *Sulung* (neuter) *=sulg-lang*, parallel to *furh-lang*, the form *swulung* pointing to *swulg* from the root *swelg*, *sulg* originally meaning the "devourer" (of the earth). The phonological contributions were as follows: The preterite *cam* of *cuman* levelled its vowel under that of the plural *cómon*, by the analogy of *slóg*, *slógon*, etc., as shown by the *coom* of the Pastoral. The *é* of *wén*, *woen*, etc., is a mutation of *ó*, the stages being *wáni*, *wóni* (like *máno*, *móna*), *wáni*, *wán*, *wén*. The *a* of *ai* became *æ*, as in *dæg* from *dag*, etc., the resulting *æi* being still preserved in *weiláwei* (Alfred's Boethius) for *wáláwá* from original *wai*, this *weiláwei* being the original of the E. *wail*. The change of *a* into *æ* was universal, not only in *dæg*, but also in *dægas*, *hærd*, *æll*, the stage of vowel and consonant influence being much later. *R* and *l* acted on *a* in two ways, (1) by inserting a guttural glide-vowel, giving *hæard*, *æall*, and (2) by gutturalizing the *æ* itself, giving *hard*, *all*, all of these forms having arisen independently in the different dialects. Original *au* passed into *ea* through *æu*, *æo*, *æò*, *æa* (as shown independently by Paul in Germany), the change of *æò* to *æa* being parallel to that of *hano* to *hana*. The older stage preserved in Bede's *Aeodbald*. The diphthongs in *heard*, *heorte*, *dream*, *freosan*, all originally had the stress on the first element, which was long in the second pair: *æa*, *eo*; *ææa*, *eeo*. The Old Saxon change of *séola* (=Gothic *saiwala*) to *siola* is the result of confusion with the long-vowelled diphthongs. Afterwards the stress was often shifted together with the quantity, *ææa* becoming *æaa*.—Mr. Furnivall reported that he had had a plain seal cut for the Society, having on it "The Philological Society" in the centre; "Founded 1842" at top; and "Incorporated 1879" at foot.

Friday, Feb. 28, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. F. J. Vipan and Mr. J. W. Bone were elected members of the Society. The Paper read was: "On the Rhæto-Romanic Dialect," by Prof. Russell Martineau.

Friday, March 7, 1879.—Dr. J. A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On the Origin of the Gypsies, and their Language," by C. G. Leland, Esq. While agreeing with Capt. Burton that the Jāts of North-Western India had probably furnished the main stock of the race, Mr. Leland also held that the Luris of Persia and the

[1] See it printed below, *E.* p. xlix.

Dōms had greatly contributed to form it. He suggested that the words "Dōm," a male Gipsy, "Dōmni," the female Gipsy, and "Dōmnipaua," Gipsyhood, reappear in the English "Rom," "Romni," and "Romanypen," which have the same meanings. Mr. Leland indicated other analogies between these races. He suggested that as Indian Gipsies had previous to their appearance in Europe passed themselves off in Egypt as religious pilgrims from Yemen, the precedent possibly induced them to do the same in Christendom, and that from this they called themselves Egyptians. As to the much-disputed term of Zingari, Mr. Leland inclined to put faith in the Gipsies' own account of its derivation from Chen, the first Gipsy chief, who left India for Turkey, and who married his sister Guin, whence the word "Chenguen." He had positively ascertained that there are in India, Gipsies who call themselves and their language Rom. Mr. Leland attached particular importance to the fact that from their first arrival in Europe the Gipsies were known as eaters of animals which had died a natural death,—a characteristic of the pre-Aryan races and especially of the Dōms,—that they were musicians and actors like the Luris, and jockeys and bold robbers like the Jāts. 2. "On the Old French Vowel End-Law, first enunciated in 1871, by Prof. Zupitza, Part I.," by Henry Nicol, Esq.

Friday, March 21, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: 1. "On the Old-Irish Texts of the Ambrosian Library and St. Gall," by Prof. Ascoli, of Milan, with an Introduction by R. N. Cust, Esq. (read by Mr. Cust). 2. "On the Old-French Vowel End-law, Part II.," by Henry Nicol, Esq. Mr. Nicol classified the chief consonant combinations after the accented vowel, according to their taking or not taking unaccented *e* after or between them, where the Latin vowel of the final syllable was not *a*. It was noted that most combinations whose last element was a liquid or nasal required *e*, while but few of those ending in *s* or a mute did so; and especially that, while combinations originally ending in consonantal *y* took final *e* in Provençal only when assibilated (*gatge* from Teut. *wadium*, but *oli* from Lat. *oleum*), they all took it in Old French (*guage* subst., now *gage*; and *olie*, now *huile*), though final *dzh* in verbs became *ts* instead of taking *e* (*guaz*, 1st sing., pres. ind., from *guagier*, now *gager*), and final *tsh* was common in Northern French (Picard *brach*, usual Fr. *bras*, from *brāchium*).

Friday, April 4, 1879.—Dr JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. A. G. Snelgrove was elected a member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On the Pronunciation and History of the Spelling of Russian," by Henry Sweet, Esq., *Vice-President* (printed above, pp. 543—560).

Friday, April 18, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "A Report (the 4th) on my Dialectal Investigations, Part I.," by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. Mr. Ellis said, in 1868 he had been obliged to refer to dialectal usage in the first part of his treatise on Early English Pronunciation; and had hence felt the necessity of including existing dialects in his researches. He began in a desultory manner to collect examples of dialectal pronunciation in 1868; but in 1873 he commenced systematic collections by preparing a Comparative Specimen to be translated into local speech.

Of this, up to date, he has obtained 153 versions, of which 106 are really good, and 36 valuable though not so good, leaving only 11 of doubtful value. Of these 19 from 12 counties were obtained through the active intervention of Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, who has helped him throughout in the kindest and most effectual manner; 1 in England and 6 in Scotland through Dr. Murray; 21 in Yorkshire were furnished by Mr. C. Clough Robinson; 24 from 4 counties were obtained, or phonetically written from dictation, by Mr. Thomas Hallam; 20 from 5 counties were obtained, or phonetically written from dictation, by Mr. J. G. Goodchild. Mr. Ellis's obligations to these gentlemen for active assistance throughout have been very great indeed. Finding that these specimens left many parts of the country destitute of information, he sent a large number of word-lists to have the pronunciation marked to clergymen and others in the obscure regions. Of these 314 were returned filled, 54 being very good, 82 good, 70 middling, and 108 indifferent. But this not proving sufficient to complete the classification required, another, shorter and more compact, Test Example was sent out in the same way last February, of which upwards of 150 have been returned filled. Thus upwards of 600 new documents have been obtained for determining existing dialectal pronunciation. On these, and other notes and printed books (which give very uncertain help), Mr. Ellis will found the fifth part of his *Early English Pronunciation*, devoted to English Dialectal Phonology. He then proceeded to explain, by the help of a very large map, the classification he proposed as the foundation of his work, with 3 districts, 5 divisions, 13 subdivisions, and 35 groups, which would have to be again divided into varieties and individuals. Reserving the detail of the characteristics for the second part of his Report, he explained the nature of the dialectal differences by tracing the distribution of certain constructions, words and sounds over various localities. —On the recommendation of the Council, Mr. Danby P. Fry and Mr. H. B. Wheatley were appointed auditors of the Treasurer's Accounts.

Friday, May 2, 1879.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "A Report (the 4th) on my Dialectical Investigations, Part II.," by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. This consisted in giving the characteristics of the writer's three districts, five divisions, thirteen subdivisions, and thirty-six groups of English dialects, leaving the varieties undefined. Each of these localities is marked by combinations of the letters N. North, S. South, E. East, W. West, M. Mid or Midland, B. Border, L. Lowland Scotch, and I. Insular. The S. district consists of all England south of a line drawn from the southern boundary of Shropshire to the northern boundary of Essex, and is distinguished by a "reverted R," or *r* spoken with the under part of the tongue turned towards the roof of the mouth, and generally by the verb substantive *I be* or (rarely) *I are*. The N. district lies north of a line passing to the south of Westmorland, north and east of Craven in Yorkshire, just north of Leeds, turning south by Selby, and just touching the north of Nottinghamshire, and then turning north-eastwards to fall to the sea just north of Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire; and is distinguished by the pronunciation of *down, town, house*, etc., as *doon, toon, hoos*, the English division speaking *come down*, as *kŏŏm dōōn*, and the Lowland Scotch as *kum doon*. For Lowland Scotch Mr. Ellis followed Dr. Murray's divisions in his *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. Between the N. and S. lies the M. district, which is not homogeneous, but has five subdivi-

sions. The M. E., consisting of Norfolk and Suffolk, has the peculiar French *u* or German *ü* generally commenced with an open mouth, and hence sounding as a diphthong *yü*, running into *yoo*. The N.E., consisting of South and Mid Lincolnshire, which has no French *u*, no verbal plural in *-en*, and calls *come down*, *kŏŏm doun*, and has numerous fractured vowels. The B.E., consisting of Hunts, Cambridge, Northampton, Rutland, and N. Beds, has a pronunciation most like that of received English. The N.M., consisting of the clothing districts of Yorkshire and the deanery of Craven, pronounces *come down* as *kŏŏm dahn* or *dahŏŏn*, and uses *shoo* for *she*. The true M. has the verbal plural in *-en*, very decidedly in S. Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, and also in Salop, as *they liven* for *they live*; but in Stafford and Warwick it remains only in a few forms, as *han yo*, *dŏŏn yo*, for *have you*, *do you*; while in Leicester it has become extinct within this century. In its four Border dialects it is much modified. Mr. Ellis illustrated his detailed account of all the thirty-six groups by reading numerous extracts from his 153 comparative specimens. He then showed what would be the nature of the arrangement of Part V. of his treatise on *Early English Pronunciation*, which will contain the phonology of existing English Dialects, founded upon these investigations, and probably require eighteen to twenty-four months yet to write and pass through the press.

At the close of each meeting the thanks of the Society were voted to the writers and readers of the Papers. Also at each Anniversary Meeting the thanks of the Society were voted to the Council of University College for allowing the use of its rooms rent-free for the Society's Meetings.

From May, 1877, to June, 1879, the following presentations were made to the Society :—The Classification of the Uralian Languages, by H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, presented by the author. A Dialect Map of England, in black and red, by H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (600 copies, to accompany the Prince's paper on English Dialects), presented by the author. The "Museum Etrusque de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino," 1829, presented by the author's son, H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte. The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. v. parts 1 and 2; Two Parts of the Collections Scientifique de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministére des Affaires Etrangères; Abstract of the Proceedings of the American Philological Association; Abstract of the Proceedings of the Oriental Society, presented by the respective Societies. "Speech in Song," by Alex. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*, 1878, presented by the author. Dr. Barnes's "English Speechcraft," presented by A. J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*. Carisch's "Grammar of the Rhæto-Romanic Dialect," and Bopp's "Ueber das Conjugations-System der Sanskritsprache," 1816, presented by Prof. Russell Martineau. "Troisième Note sur le 'Que' pronominal propre au Béarnais, et sur la Probabilité de son Origine Basque," by H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, presented by the author. "Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois," by M. Henri Gaidoz, presented by the author. "On the Classification of Languages" (Madras, 1879), by Dr. Gustav Oppert, presented by the author.

For each gift the thanks of the Society were voted at the time of presentation.

A.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill.
London, N.W.
18*th January*, 1879.

My Dear Sir,

You are aware that for over twenty years the Society has had in hand the preparation of a new English Dictionary, but that from want of funds to pay an Editor to devote a sufficient part of his time to it as his business, and the consequent uncertainty of when the book could be brought out, the work on it has of late years much languisht. But about two years ago, in order to bring the matter to a practical issue, the Council began to negociate with publishing firms, and at last with the Clarendon Press Delegates,—with whom they have now settled a Contract, subject to the Society's approval,—to advance money enough to pay an Editor, an assistant, and a couple of clerks, and to undertake the printing and publication of the book. They were at once advised by the eminent Counsel they consulted,—a gentleman whose generous help thro' all the negociations they gratefully acknowledge,—that in order to deal with the work, and to enter into any Contract with any publishers or the Clarendon Press Delegates, the Society *must* be put on a legal basis, must be incorporated, and that by far the best means of effecting such incorporation would be, to register the Society under the Companies' Acts of 1862 and 1867 as a Limited Liability Company, and obtain the Licence of the Board of Trade not to have the word *Limited* following the name of the Society.

Counsel stated that the Rules of the Society could continue as before, with only a few formal changes; that all its elections, work, etc., would go on as of old; only its standing in the eye of the law would be changed.

The Council accordingly acted on their Counsel's advice—confirmd as it was by the opinion of the legal members of its own body, and the Solicitor to the Press Delegates. Their adviser most kindly prepared the necessary Agreement for the formation of the transformed Society—new, yet old—and its *Memorandum and Articles of Association*. A copy of these I enclose you. The Licence of the Board of Trade was also obtaind, and the new Society was duly registerd by a relative of one of the Council—

who kindly acted as its Honorary Secretary—on January 2, 1879. (The *Certificate of Incorporation* is printed at the back of the half-title of the *Memorandum and Articles* enclosd.)

Under these circumstances you will, I trust, approve the action taken by the Council, and will consent to become a Member of the new Society, as you are a Member of the present one, and will witness that consent by signing and sending me the letter or declaration of Membership on the flyleaf of this circular. This signature will make you a Member of the new Society; and the only fresh liability you incur by signing it is, that if you are a Member of the Society when it winds up—which I hope it never will do—you will have to pay £1 towards the Society's debts, if it has any.

I have now only to give you notice (1) under the old *Rules*, that a Special General Meeting of the old Society will be held in the Council Room of University College, London (Gower Street, W.C.), on Friday, February 7, at eight P.M., to approve and adopt the course taken by the Council; (2) under the new *Articles*, that at the same place and time, or rather, immediately after the first-named meeting, a Special General Meeting of the New Philological Society,—of such Members of the old Society as have signd the Memorandum and Articles, or the accompanying Declaration of Membership,—will be held; and that to it will be submitted a Resolution[1] authorising the Seal of the Society to be affixt to the Contract with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the completion and publication of the Society's English Dictionary. About this Contract the Council will send you a statement before the Meeting.

After the Meeting the old Society will cease to exist, except for the purpose of handing over its work and property to the new Society, itself in a new form; and we shall all hope that the old seed in its new bed will put forth fresh shoots with ever-increasing vigour.

Very truly yours,

FREDK. J. FURNIVALL,

Hon. Sec. Philological Society.

P.S.—An Extra Meeting of the Society will be held on Friday, January 24, at 8·15, at University College, to hear the second portion of Mr. BRANDRETH's Paper, "A Comparison of the Gaurian with the Romance Languages, Part I. Phonology."

[1] I shall move an amendment on the wording of the Resolution.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY:

(INCORPORATED).

I, the undersigned, being an Ordinary Member of the unincorporated Association called "The Philological Society," and being desirous of becoming a Member of the incorporated Society called "The Philological Society," do hereby promise that I will be governed by the Rules of the said last-named Society as they are now formed, or as they may be hereafter altered or amended: *Provided however*, that whenever I shall signify in writing to the Society that I am desirous of withdrawing therefrom, I shall (after the payment of any Annual Contributions or Fines which may be due by me at that period, and after giving up any Books, Papers, or other Property belonging to the Society, in my possession or entrusted to me), be free from this obligation.

Witness my hand, this day of 1879.

.....

[To be dated, signed with the Member's ordinary signature, and posted to the *Hon. Sec.*, F. J. Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.]

B.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL AS TO THE PROPOSED CONTRACT WITH THE DELEGATES OF THE CLARENDON PRESS FOR COMPLETION AND PUBLICATION OF THE SOCIETY'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

JANUARY 24TH, 1879.

The change which has been made in the constitution of the Philological Society, consequent on the advanced state of the negociations now in progress between the Council of the Society and the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for the publication of the Society's English Dictionary, necessitates such a statement of the history of those negociations as will enable all the members to join in the discussion of the terms of the proposed Agreement with the Delegates at the General Meeting which the new constitution of the Society requires to be held before that Agreement can be concluded.

In the spring of 1878, the then President of the Society, Mr. H. Sweet, was authorized to open negociations with the Delegates for their publication of the Dictionary. The substance of the proposals was, that the Delegates should advance the capital required for completing and publishing the work, that the gross profits should in the first place be applied exclusively to repaying their advances with interest, the net profits being then divided equally between the Delegates and the Society, that Dr. J. A. H. Murray (now President of the Society) should be the Editor, and that he should be allowed ten years to complete the work in, it being calculated that returns would begin to come in after four years. The Society asked for only 50 per cent. of the net profits, instead of the 60 per cent. usually given by the Delegates for finished work, regarding the 10 per cent. as compensation to the Delegates for the largeness of their advances to complete the work. These proposals were accepted by the Delegates as a basis for negociation.

But it had been suggested that in order to secure the Editor's interest in his work, it would be advisable to give him half of the Society's share of the profits.

The Delegates approved of this general principle, but suggested several modifications. They finally proposed that the Society should have 20 per cent., and that they themselves should make a separate contract with the Editor, not remunerating him fully for his work during its progress, as they had contemplated having to do, but paying him enough to compensate for the partial surrender of his work and income as Assistant-Master at Mill Hill School, and for his expenses generally, and giving him 20 per cent. of the profits. They also stipulated for the entire control of him, and the power of dismissing him and appointing another editor at pleasure. But at the request of the Society they finally agreed to extend the arbitration clause in the Contract to the appointment of any new editor, retaining only the power of dismissal.

These terms were finally embodied by the Solicitor of the Delegates in the draft of a Contract between the Delegates and the Society, contingent only on the Delegates coming to terms with Dr. Murray, which draft was approved of and accepted by the Council.

The Delegates then proceeded to their Contract with Dr. Murray, which was settled on terms agreed on by him and them.

The Delegates, however, found on further consideration, that the expenses of the work would be so much greater than they had calculated on, that they proposed that the Society should receive only 15 per cent. of the net profits; and the Council, after long discussion, concluded to accept these terms.

By Order of the Council,

F. J. Furnivall, Hon. Sec.

P.S.—The Resolution that will be put from the Chair, by order of the Council, at the Special General Meeting of the

(incorporated) Philological Society at University College, Gower Street, W.C., on Friday, February 7, at 8 P.M., is: "That the Philological Society, having seen the Contract proposed to be entered into between the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and the Philological Society, accept the same, and order the Seal of the Society to be affixed thereto."

Mr. Furnivall will move an amendment, that for the words "*accept the same*" be substituted—

"Are of opinion that they are fairly entitled to the 20 per cent. of net profits originally guaranteed to them by the Contract approvd by the Delegates, but, in order not to stay the progress of the Dictionary, they accept the Contract in its present form,"

C.

Memorandum

AND

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(*Registered 2nd January*, 1879.)

No. 12722 C.

N.L. 12292.

Certificate of Incorporation

OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

I hereby Certify, That the **Philological Society** (The word "limited" being omitted by licence of the Board of Trade) is this day Incorporated under the Companies Act, 1862, and that this Company is **Limited.**

Given under my hand at London, this Second day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-nine.

W. H. COUSINS,
Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies.

FEE: £20 . 0 . 0.

THE COMPANIES ACTS, 1862 AND 1867.

COMPANY LIMITED BY GUARANTEE.

Memorandum of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

TO BE REGISTERED WITH ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.

1.—The name of the Association is "The Philological Society."

2.—The registered office of the Association will be situate in England.

3.—The objects for which the Association is established are:

To investigate and to promote the study and knowledge of the structure, the affinities, and the history of languages, and to apply all the profits (if any) or other income of the Association for the promotion of the above object, without payment of any dividend to the members of the Association. The doing all such other lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

4.—The income and property of the Association, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Memorandum of Association; and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, or bonus, or otherwise howsoever by way of profit, to the persons who at any time are or have been members of the

Association, or to any of them, or to any person claiming through any of them.

Provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment, in good faith, of remuneration to any officers or servants of the Association, or to any member of the Association, or other person, in return for any services actually rendered to the Association.

5.—The fourth paragraph of this Memorandum is a condition on which a licence is granted by the Board of Trade to the Association in pursuance of section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867. For the purpose of preventing any evasion of the terms of the said fourth paragraph, the Board of Trade may from time to time, on the application of any member of the Association, impose further conditions, which shall be duly observed by the Association.

6.—If the Association act in contravention of the fourth paragraph of this Memorandum, or of any such further conditions, the liability of every Member of Council of the Association shall be unlimited, and the liability of every member who has received any such dividend, bonus, or other profit as aforesaid, shall likewise be unlimited.

7.—Every member of the Association undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Association, in the event of the same being wound up during the time that he is a member, or within one year afterwards, for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association contracted before the time at which he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges, and expenses of winding up the same, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories amongst themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding one pound, or in case of his liability becoming unlimited, such other amount as may be required in pursuance of the last preceding paragraph of this Memorandum.

8.—If upon the winding up or dissolution of the Association there remains, after the satisfaction of all its debts and

liabilities, any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Association, but shall be given or transferred to some other institution or institutions, having objects similar to the objects of the Association, to be determined by the members of the Association at or before the time of dissolution, or in default thereof by such Judge of the High Court of Justice as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter.

We, the several persons whose names and addresses are subscribed, are desirous of being formed into an Association in pursuance of this Memorandum of Association.

Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers.

James Augustus Henry Murray, Mill Hill, N.W., B.A., Doctor of Laws.

Henry Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Master of Arts.

Frederick James Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, London, N.W., Barrister.

Edward Lyall Brandreth, 32, Elvaston Place, London, Barrister.

Charles Pierre Henri Rieu, 28, Woburn Square, Bloomsbury, Keeper of Oriental MSS., British Museum.

John Newby Hetherington, 62, Harley Street, London, Teacher of English.

Charles Bagot Cayley, 4, South Crescent, Bedford Square, London, Literary.

Henry Nicol, 52, Thornhill Road, London, Gentleman.

Dated the 20th day of December, 1878.

Witness to the above signatures:

Charles Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Solicitor.

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1.—None of the regulations contained in the table marked A in the first Schedule to the Companies Act, 1862, shall be regulations of this Company.

2.—The Society adopts and agrees to carry into effect the provisions of the Agreement of which a copy is contained in the Appendix to these Articles; and upon the proper entry being made in the register of members of the name and address and the occupation (if any) of any person who according to the terms of the said Agreement is to become an Ordinary or an Honorary Member of the Society, he shall become an Ordinary or an Honorary Member (as the case may be) accordingly, and these Articles shall apply to him with such modifications (if any) as may be necessary to carry the intention of the said Agreement into effect.

Constitution.

3.—The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents not exceeding seven in number, Ordinary Members unlimited in number, and Honorary Members not exceeding twenty-five in number, who shall be Foreign Scholars or British Scholars not resident in the United Kingdom.

Government.

4.—The Government of the Society is vested in the Council, and the Council shall consist of the President, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, one or two Honorary Secretaries, and twenty Ordinary Members.

The Members of the Council on the twentieth day of December, 1878, are:

President.

JAS. A. H. MURRAY, ESQ., LL.D., B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.
EDWIN GUEST, ESQ., M.A.
WHITLEY STOKES, ESQ., LL.D., M.A.
ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS, ESQ., B.A., F.R.S.
THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D., M.A.
HENRY SWEET, ESQ., M.A.

Treasurer.

BENJAMIN DAWSON, ESQ., B.A., The Mount, Hampstead, London, N.W.

Hon. Secretary.

FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, ESQ., M.A., 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.

Ordinary Members of Council.

E. L. BRANDRETH, ESQ.
PROF. CHARLES CASSAL, LL.B.
C. B. CAYLEY, ESQ., B.A.
ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, ESQ.
SIR JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, BART.
FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY, ESQ.
HENRY HUCKS GIBBS, ESQ., M.A.
E. R. HORTON, ESQ., M.A.
HENRY JENNER, ESQ., M.A.
RUSSELL MARTINEAU, ESQ., M.A.
THE REV. PROFESSOR J. B. MAYOR, M.A.
W. R. MORFILL, ESQ., M.A.
SIR CHARLES A. MURRAY, K.C.B.
HENRY NICOL, ESQ.
PROFESSOR CHARLES RIEU, PH.D.
THE REV. PROFESSOR W. W. SKEAT, M.A.
THE REV. W. THOMPSON, D.D.
PROFESSOR WILHELM WAGNER, PH.D.
HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD, ESQ., M.A.
R. F. WEYMOUTH, ESQ. D.LIT., M.A.

The Council may appoint additional Secretaries for special duties, and may for specific objects connected with Philology procure the assistance of persons not members of the Society.

Election of the Council.

5.—At the Annual General Meeting, the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary or Secretaries, and Ordinary Members of the Council, shall go out of office, and their successors shall be elected by open vote, unless a ballot be required by one-third of the members present, and all or any of the members of the Council for the past year may be re-elected for the ensuing year, except four of the Ordinary Members to be determined by the Council, regard being had, among other considerations, to the number of times they have attended the Council meetings.

6.—If between two Annual Meetings a vacancy in the Council occurs, the Council may appoint a member of the Society to fill it.

Admission of Ordinary Members.

7.—A candidate for admission as an ordinary member of the Society must be proposed according to the form No. 1 in the Appendix, under the hands of three members, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of the candidate, unless the Council in special cases dispense with this requirement.

The proposal must be delivered to the Secretary, and read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society; and at the first Ordinary Meeting after the proposal, if the Chairman declares that the candidate has obtained a majority of votes of the members then present, and the candidate within twenty-eight days thereafter (or within such further time as the Council for special cause may allow) subscribes the form No. 2 in the Appendix, and obtains the Treasurer's certificate that he has paid his entrance fee and his first year's contribution, he shall thereupon become a member of the Society. If one-third of the members present at the meeting so require, the voting shall be by ballot.

Election of Honorary Members.

8.—If a person is recommended to the Council for admission as an Honorary Member by three or more members, his claim shall be referred to a Committee for consideration. On their report, the Council may, if they see fit, recommend him to the Society as a proper person to be so admitted, whereupon he shall be proposed, and may be elected, in the same way as an ordinary member, save that a certificate of personal knowledge shall not be necessary.

An honorary member may not hold any office in the Society.

9.—An honorary member, being a British subject, who becomes resident in the United Kingdom, shall thereupon cease to be an honorary member, but may become an ordinary member without a fresh election by signing the form and obtaining the certificate mentioned in Article 7.

10.—An honorary member may become an ordinary member without being proposed or elected, by signing the form and obtaining the certificate mentioned in Article 7.

Expulsion of Members.

11.—Should the Council see cause for the expulsion from the Society of a member, they may call a Special General Meeting for that purpose; and if upon a vote taken while not less than twenty-four members are present, the Chairman of the meeting shall declare that three-fourths of the votes given, are for the expulsion of the member, he shall thereupon cease to be a member. The voting shall be by ballot, if one-third of the members present desire it to be so.

Contributions of Ordinary Members.

12.—Each ordinary member shall on his election pay one guinea as an entrance fee, and one guinea for his first year's contribution, and shall pay an annual subscription of one

guinea on each following first day of January for the year commencing with that day, until he has ceased to be a member.

13.—No ordinary member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for any year until he has paid the contribution for that year, and for every preceding year (if any) during which he was an ordinary member, and the fine (if any) in respect thereof.

14.—If an ordinary member's contribution for any year is not paid before the next January, he shall not be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for that year except by payment of a fine of five shillings in addition to the contribution.

15.—On each 1st of May the Treasurer shall send to each member whose contribution is in arrear, notice that he will not be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for the current year, without payment of the fine, unless the contribution is paid before the ensuing 1st of January.

16.—On each 1st of January the Treasurer shall send to each ordinary member whose contribution for the preceding year is unpaid, notice thereof, with a copy of the rules relating to the contributions of members, and if the arrear and the fine be not paid by the 1st of May following, the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the Society, and his exclusion shall be announced at the next Annual Meeting, and published in the next issued Address of the President of the Society or the Auditors' Report, but the defaulter may be re-admitted by the Council without re-election on payment of his arrears, with the fine of five shillings for each year in arrear, and thereupon he shall receive such of the Society's publications as he would have received if he had not been in arrear.

17.—An ordinary member may, on his admission or subsequently, compound for his annual contributions for the remainder of his life by payment of ten guineas, all sums

then due, whether for entrance-fee, arrears, or fines, being paid at the same time.

18.—An ordinary member may resign his membership by notice in writing to the Treasurer, and payment of all contributions and fines (if any) then due.

Meetings of the Council.

19.—Before each meeting of the Society, a meeting of the Council shall be held at the appointed place, and at such time as the Council shall by general rule or otherwise direct; but any three members of the Council may by letter to the Secretary require an extra Meeting of the Council to be called; and if the Meeting is not so called, any three members of the Council may call it.

20.—Notice of each meeting of the Council shall be sent by the Secretary to every member of the Council whose residence is known.

21.—Three members shall be sufficient to constitute a meeting of the Council.

22.—Every question before a meeting of the Council shall be decided by open vote, unless a ballot is demanded by one-third of the members present.

23.—The decision of any question in Council meeting shall, at the desire of any two members present, or of one member if only three are present, be deferred to the next meeting, but shall not be again adjourned unless a majority of the members present so decide.

24.—Minutes of the proceedings of every Council meeting shall be taken by the Secretary, and afterwards fairly entered in the Minute Book, and the entry having been read over and allowed or corrected at the next Council meeting, shall be signed by the Chairman of that meeting.

Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

25.—At least fourteen ordinary meetings of the Society

shall be held between each month of October and the next month of July, at such times and places as the Council shall by general rule or otherwise direct.

26.—The business of an Ordinary Meeting shall commence at eight in the evening precisely, or at such other time as the Council may appoint; and shall be (1) to read the minutes of the last Ordinary Meeting; (2) to announce any donations that may have been made to the Society; (3) to propose and vote for members; and (4) to read and discuss such communications relating to Philology, or other subjects concerning the Society (except as mentioned in Article 28), as have been approved by the Council.

27.—Every member may introduce a visitor at an Ordinary Meeting, with the consent of the meeting.

28.—At an Ordinary Meeting, no resolution relating to the rules or management of the Society shall be proposed, except as provided by Article 36.

Annual General Meetings.

29.—The Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Society shall be held on the third Friday in May at eight in the evening, or on such other day, and at such other time as the Council shall appoint, to receive the Auditors' Report, to discuss and determine questions relating to the affairs of the Society, to elect Officers for the ensuing year, and to hear the President's Address, or other Paper authorized by the Council.

Special General Meetings.

30.—The Council shall call a Special General Meeting of the Society when it seems to them expedient, or upon a requisition signed by five members of the Society specifying, in the form of a resolution, the object for which the meeting is required. The meeting shall be called by notice specifying the time, the resolution proposed to be submitted to the meeting, and the names of the requisitionists (if any), which notice shall be sent to all members residing in the

United Kingdom, at least fourteen days before the meeting; and the meeting shall not discuss any subject not specified in the notice.

31.—At a General Meeting each member present shall have one vote.

Chairman of a Meeting.

32.—At a meeting of the Society or of the Council, the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or, if they also are absent, by one of the Members of the Council, or, if no Member of the Council be present, by a Member of the Society chosen by the Meeting.

33.—The Chairman of a Meeting of the Council or of the Society shall decide all questions of order, and in case of an equality of votes (whether by ballot or otherwise), shall have a casting vote in addition to his original vote.

Treasurer.

34.—The Treasurer shall keep an account of all moneys paid or owing to or by the Society, and shall receive or direct payment to the Society's bankers of all moneys payable to the Society, and shall give to every person who has paid his entrance-fee and first year's contribution, in addition to a receipt for the payment, a certificate of it, and shall pay into the Society's account at their Bankers all moneys received by him for the Society.

35.—No payment on account of the Society to the amount of £5 or upwards shall be made except upon order of the Council entered in the Council Meeting Minute Book, signed by the Chairman and registered by the Secretary.

36.—The Treasurer's accounts shall be audited by two or more Auditors, chosen by the Society at one of the three Ordinary Meetings next before the Annual General Meeting, who shall prepare and lay before the Annual General Meeting a statement, under proper heads, of the receipts and expendi-

ture during the year ending on the 31st of December, and a balance-sheet containing a summary of the property and liabilities of the Society at the end of that year, and also a list of any members in arrear for sums due at the commencement of that year, with the amounts of the arrears.

37.—The Treasurer may, with the approbation of the Council, appoint a proper person to collect the annual contributions of the members; and such Collector shall, if required by the Council, give satisfactory security. The Treasurer shall keep a Register of the Members of the Society as required by the Companies Act, 1862, section 25, and a Register of the Members of the Council as required by the forty-fifth section of that Act.

SECRETARIES.

38.—If there are several Secretaries, they shall arrange which of them shall for the time being perform the duties of Secretary, and the acting Secretary is herein referred to as "the Secretary."

39.—The Secretary shall attend meetings of the Society and of the Council, take minutes of their proceedings, and cause the same to be properly entered in the minute-books.

40.—At an Ordinary Meeting the Secretary shall read the minutes of the preceding meeting of the Society, give notice of any candidate proposed for admission or to be voted for, and read such of the letters and papers sent or presented to the Society as the Council shall direct to be read, but any paper may, with permission of the Council, be read by the author.

41.—Subject to the control of the Council, the Secretary shall have the superintendence of all persons employed by the Society except the Collector, and shall conduct the Society's correspondence.

42.—The Secretary shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the printing and publishing of the Papers and Transactions of the Society.

Alteration of the Rules.

43.—The Rules of the Society may be altered by a special resolution as defined in the Companies Act, 1862, section 51.

Property of the Society.

44.—The Council may appoint members of the Society to act as Trustees of such property of the Society as cannot be conveniently vested in the Society itself, and may from time to time remove or discharge any Trustee, and supply any vacancy in the office, and decide on the mode of investing or dealing with the moneys and investments of the Society.

45.—All the profits (if any) and other income of the Society shall be applied in promoting its objects, and no dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money, or other equivalent (except the papers or publications of the Society), shall be paid or made by the Society unto or among any of the members.

Notices.

46.—A notice required to be served on any Member or Officer of the Society for any purpose, may be served either personally, or by being left or sent through the post in a letter addressed to the Member at his registered address, or to the Officer, at the Society's registered office.

Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of Subscribers.

James Augustus Henry Murray, Mill Hill, N.W., Doctor of Laws.

Henry Sweet, 140, Maida Vale, London, Master of Arts.

Frederick James Furnivall, 3, St. George's Square, London, N.W., Barrister.

Edward Lyall Brandreth, 32, Elvaston Place, London, Barrister.

D.

COPY OF THE AGREEMENT REFERRED TO IN THE ARTICLES.

An Agreement made on the Fifth day of December, 1878, between James Augustus Henry Murray, of Mill Hill, in the County of Middlesex, Esq., LL.D. (President of the unincorporated Association called "The Philological Society" meeting at University College, London), (which Society is hereinafter referred to as "the Association"), and Frederick James Furnivall, Esq., Secretary of the Association, of No. 3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, in the County of Middlesex, that:—

1. Upon the adoption and confirmation of this Agreement by resolution of a Special General Meeting of the Association, the said Frederick James Furnivall shall forthwith procure the Memorandum and Articles of Association of an intended Company to be called "The Philological Society" and hereinafter referred to as "the Society," the draft of which Memorandum and Articles has been signed in token of approval by the parties hereto, to be registered with limited liability under the Companies Acts, 1862 and 1867, provided the licence of the Board of Trade for the registration of the Society with limited liability without the addition of the word "limited" to its name can be obtained.

2. Every person who is an ordinary member of the Association at the date of the registration of the Society, and who within one year thereafter subscribes the form No. 2 in the Appendix to the said Articles of Association, or any agreement to the same effect, shall thereupon become an ordinary member of the Society as from the said registration; and every person who is an Honorary Member of the Association at the said date shall thereupon become an Honorary Member of the Society as from the said registration; and the President and every other officer of the Association at the time of the said registration shall become an officer of the Society with the like title, powers, and duties in the Society as he previously had in the Association; and all the moneys, investments, manuscripts, books, and other pro-

perty of the Association shall become the absolute property of the Society for the purposes thereof, and shall be transferred accordingly to the Society or to the Trustees thereof, as the Council of the Society shall direct.

3. On and from the registration of the Society, the proceedings of the Association shall be taken up and continued by the Society instead of by the Association, and the annual contributions which would otherwise have been payable to the Association by the ordinary members thereof, shall thenceforth be paid by the said ordinary members to the Society according to the terms of the said Articles of Association, and all contributions and fines then owing by any of the members of the Association shall become due and be paid to the Society as parts of its funds; but no member of the Association who becomes a member of the Society shall be entitled to receive a copy of any of the Transactions and Publications either of the Association or of the Society until he has so paid all contributions and fines (if any) so owing by him to the Association, or for the time being owing by him to the Society.

4. All the debts, engagements, and liabilities of the Association shall be undertaken, paid, and discharged by the Society; and the printing and publication, or distribution of the Transactions of the Association, and of Papers communicated to the Association, shall be carried on and completed by the Society under the direction of the Council thereof.

The expenses of and incident to the preparation, execution, and carrying into effect of this Agreement, shall be paid out of the funds of the Association.

As witness the hands of the said parties

JAMES A. H. MURRAY,

FREDK. J. FURNIVALL.

Memorandum

AND

Articles of Association

OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(*Registered 2nd January*, 1879.)

E.

This Indenture, made the First day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, **Between** The Philological Society (incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1862 and 1867), hereinafter called "The Society" of the one part, and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in the University of Oxford, on behalf of themselves and their Successors in that Office, hereinafter called "The Delegates," of the other part:— (March, 1879) Parties.

Whereas certain persons who are now incorporated in or otherwise represented by the Society have caused to be prepared and collected and partially arranged by Sub-Editors a quantity of papers, writings, and materials for the purpose of making a Dictionary of the English Language, which papers, writings, and materials, and all rights in respect thereof, are now vested in the Society, and the said persons and the Society have entered into negociations with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press with a view to the completion and publication of such a Dictionary by the Delegates. **And whereas,** in order to complete the said Dictionary, it will be necessary that a considerable additional quantity of papers, writings, and materials should be prepared, and that the whole should be set in order and edited by a skilled and competent editor. **And whereas** it has been agreed between the Delegates and the Society that upon having such an Assignment of the said papers, writings, and materials so already collected and prepared, and of all Copyrights therein, made by the Society to the Delegates as is hereinafter contained, the Delegates will undertake to complete and publish one such Dictionary as aforesaid, hereinafter some- Recital as to materials already collected for Dictionary. Recital as to further materials. Agreement for production of Dictionaries.

times referred to as the principal Dictionary, in the manner and upon the terms hereinafter expressed and contained. And it has been further agreed that such arrangements shall be made between the Delegates and the Society with a view to the completion and publication of other Dictionaries as are hereinafter referred to.

Assignment by Society to Delegates of materials and copyrights.

Now this Indenture witnesseth, that in pursuance of the said Agreement, and in consideration of the matters aforesaid, and in particular of the said undertaking on the part of the Delegates, the Society do hereby assign unto the Delegates, their executors, administrators, and assigns, all THOSE the said papers, writings, and materials already caused to be prepared and collected as aforesaid, and all Copyrights (if any) now subsisting therein; And all and singular the benefits, privileges, and advantages of, arising out of, or to be derived from, the said papers, writings and materials and Copyrights; And all and singular other (if any) the Copyrights in England or elsewhere, to be hereafter obtained or acquired, on account of the said papers, writings, and materials; And all the right, title, interest, claim, and demand of the Society to, or out of, or upon, the same several premises; **To have, hold,** RECEIVE, AND TAKE the said premises unto the Delegates absolutely, to the intent that the same premises shall belong to the Delegates, their executors, administrators, and assigns for ever. **And** the Society do hereby Covenant with the Delegates and their assigns, that notwithstanding any act or default of the Society, or of any of the said persons incorporated in or represented by the Society as aforesaid, they (the Society) now have good right to assign the said papers and writings, materials, Copyrights, and premises to the Delegates in manner aforesaid, and that the same shall henceforth be used, enjoyed, and exercised by them, their executors, administrators, and assigns, without any lawful interruption, claim or demand by or from the Society, or by or from the persons now incorporated in or represented by the Society as aforesaid, or any of them, or any person or persons employed by them or any of them, or by or from any person or persons lawfully or equitably claiming under them or any of them; AND ALSO that the Society and

Covenant for title and further Assurance.

all other persons lawfully claiming any right or interest to or in the said papers, writings, materials, Copyrights and premises, shall and will at all times hereafter, at the request and cost of the Delegates, their executors, administrators or assigns, do, execute, and perfect, or cause to be done, executed and perfected, all such acts, assurances, matters, and things for further and more perfectly assuring the said papers, writings, materials, Copyrights, and premises hereinbefore expressed to be hereby assigned to and for the benefit of the Delegates, their executors, administrators, and assigns, as shall or may be reasonably required.

And this Indenture also witnesseth, that in further pursuance of the said Agreement, and in consideration of the matters aforesaid, IT IS HEREBY MUTUALLY COVENANTED and agreed by and between the parties hereto in manner following, that is to say:—

Mutual Covenants and Agreements.

1. The Delegates shall, without unreasonable delay, cause to be completed, edited, and prepared for publication, a work or book to be entitled "A Dictionary of the English Language," hereinafter referred to as the Principal Dictionary, to contain such an amount of matter as, if printed uniformly so near as may be with the Specimen page marked **A** and attached to this Agreement, would occupy not less than 6,000 nor more than 7,000 pages, and to print the whole work with reasonable despatch, and to publish it as soon as it shall be printed, at the discretion of the Delegates, either in parts of such magnitude as they may think fit, or on completion as an entire work, and shall cause the same to be offered for sale in such manner as they may think fit; And the said Dictionary shall be edited and prepared on the same principles and the same lines of historical and linguistic evidence as to the forms and meanings of its words, as are shown in the said Specimen page marked **A**, and shall contain on its title-page "Founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society."

Agreement by the Delegates to publish the principal Dictionary.

2. The Delegates may (if and whenever they think fit) prepare and publish any Dictionaries compiled or abridged from the principal Dictionary, and in such form as they may think fit, and may deal with the same in all respects at their

Liberty for the Delegates to publish a shorter Dictionary and Supplements to the principal Dictionary compiled or abridged from the principal Dictionary.

discretion. They may also at any time, and from time to time, prepare and publish a Supplement or Supplements to the principal Dictionary, on the same terms and in the same manner and form as the said Principal Dictionary, provided that such Supplement or Supplements shall not occupy more than 2,000 pages in all, except with the consent in writing of the Society.

Form and price of Principal Dictionary at discretion of the Delegates.

3. The Type, size and form of the said principal or other Dictionaries and any Supplement or Supplements thereof, and the Stereotyping and electrotyping the same, as the case may be, and the price at which the same shall be sold in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, and the number of Copies to be included in an Edition or Issue, shall be at the discretion of the Delegates; and the Delegates shall have power from time to time to reduce the price of the copies remaining on hand of every Edition or Issue, or any part of any Edition or Issue, and to spoil and sell as waste paper any Copies on hand, if and whenever they shall think fit so to do.

The Editor: His appointment and discharge.

4. Dr. James Augustus Henry Murray, the Present President of the Society, is hereby appointed and shall be employed by the Delegates as first Editor of the Principal Dictionary in England, and shall continue to hold the office of such Editor so long as he shall continue to fulfil the duties thereof to the satisfaction of the Delegates. *Provided* that if the said James Augustus Henry Murray, or any Editor to be appointed as hereinafter provided, shall at any time not proceed with the work so fast as the Delegates shall think reasonable, or shall fail in any other respect to do the work in a manner satisfactory to them, it shall be competent to them to discharge him, without assigning cause, after six calendar months' notice in writing given to him under the hand of the Vice-Chancellor of the University for the time being; and thereupon the Delegates shall appoint another Editor in his place, who shall be subject to discharge in like manner, and so from time to time. *Provided also* that the Delegates, before appointing any Editor, shall give notice in writing of the names, description and address of the person they propose to appoint, to the Society, and the Society shall be entitled to object to such person being so appointed, and to name any other whom they think more fit to be appointed, and in that case they shall state their grounds of objection or preference

in writing, and the Delegates shall consider such grounds, and decide thereon; but in case, notwithstanding such objection, they shall adhere to their purpose of appointing the person so objected to by the Society, the question whether such person is a fit and proper person to be appointed shall be referred to arbitration in manner hereinafter provided; and if it shall be determined upon such arbitration that he is a fit and proper person, the Delegates shall appoint him accordingly, but if not, they shall proceed to appoint another person, with the like notice and in all respects subject to the same conditions as if no previous appointment had been proposed.

Remuneration of Editor and Assistants, and Contracts. to be at discretion of the Delegates.

5. The Delegates shall remunerate at their discretion, and may from time to time, in lieu of or in addition to any such remuneration, enter into such contracts and upon such terms as they may think fit with the Editor and all editorial and other assistants or other persons to be employed or concerned in and about the enterprise of completing, editing, and preparing for publication the said principal or other Dictionaries and all supplements thereof.

Expences and losses.

6. All the expences of and incidental to the said enterprise, including the costs of and incident to these presents and of and incident to an Indenture intended to bear even date herewith, and about to be made after the execution of these Presents between the Delegates of the one part and the said James Augustus Henry Murray of the other part, and the remuneration of the Editor and others, and the expences of printing. publishing, boarding, binding and advertizing the said principal or other Dictionaries and all Supplements, and all losses to be incurred in and about the said enterprise, shall be paid and borne out of the profits of the enterprise, or in case the same shall be deficient, shall be paid by the Delegates, and charged to the debit of the enterprise in the next ensuing Annual account; and from the date of such Account all sums so charged shall bear Interest as against the Enterprise at the rate of Four pounds per cent. per annum, to be computed in the manner usual in mercantile accounts, until the same shall be recouped out of subsequent profits.

Income and profits.

7. All the Income and profits of and incidental to the said enterprise shall in the first instance be received and taken by the Delegates, who shall have full power by themselves, their

Secretary or Agents, to give receipts for the same, without any further consent or concurrence on the part of the Society; but the Delegates shall account for such profits in manner hereinafter provided.

Books of Account.

8. The Delegates shall cause proper books of Account to be kept for the enterprise, and shall cause to be entered therein the particulars of all business done, and all receipts and expences affecting the enterprise, and all Books shall be kept at the Clarendon Press or elsewhere as the Delegates may from time to time direct, and shall be open at all convenient times to the inspection of the Society or their Agents appointed for the purpose.

Annual Accounts to be made up and rendered.

9. On the thirtieth day of June, or as soon afterwards as conveniently may be in any year, the Delegates shall cause an Account to be taken of their expences and receipts in respect of the enterprise during the year ending on that day, and also a Profit and Loss Account of the enterprise to be made out beginning from the foot of the previous annual Account up to the same date, and shall send a Copy of such Accounts, or of sufficient Abstracts thereof, to the Society, and keep a like Copy themselves; and after the said Accounts or Abstracts shall have been examined and approved by or on behalf of the Society, they shall be signed by or on behalf of both Parties to these Presents, and after such signing each party shall be concluded by the said Accounts or Abstracts, unless some manifest error to the amount of Ten Pounds or upwards shall appear therein and shall be notified by either Party to the other within three calendar months after the signing thereof, and then the said Accounts shall be opened so far only as to rectify such error.

Application of Income.

10. After the making up of any such annual account as aforesaid, the profits of the Enterprise (if any) during the then preceding year, after providing for the current expences thereof, shall be applied in the first place in or towards repayment to the Delegates of the expences and losses (if any) previously incurred by them in and about the enterprise and not already recouped, and of all Interest (if any) due to the Delegates on account of the enterprise; and subject thereto, the net profits (if any) shall be divided between the Society and the Delegates in the proportions hereinafter prescribed.

11. Fifteen equal hundredth parts of the said net profits shall belong to and be paid to the Society, and the remaining eighty-five equal hundredth parts shall belong to and be retained by the Delegates; but the Society shall not be deemed to be a Partner in the enterprise, or personally liable in respect of any expences or losses of the same.

Division of net profits. It is agreed that the Society are to have 15 per cent. of the profits remaining after paying the full remuneration provided for the Editor.

12. In ascertaining the net profits in any year, there shall be inserted on the credit side of the Account the proceeds of the actual number of Copies of the principal and other Dictionaries and any Supplements sold in England or elsewhere at the price known in the trade as the Sale price thereof, computing 25 as 24 according to the custom of the Trade, or at any lower price at which any Copies shall be actually sold; and on the debit side there shall be inserted all outgoings (including the cost of this Agreement, and incident to these Presents, and of and incident to the said Indenture intended to bear even date herewith) and payments made to Editors, Editorial Assistants or others, whether under control or otherwise, the expense of printing, stereotyping, electrotyping and getting up generally, and of paper, boarding, binding, publishing, advertizing, Insurance, and all other items of expenditure connected with the enterprise; also all allowances, deductions, charges and commissions, whether usual or unusual, which shall have been actually allowed by the Delegates to any person or persons through whom they shall have sold Copies; also all trade allowances, deductions, and commissions usually allowed to or made by Publishers when publishing a work for an Author on his own account, it being intended that the Delegates, in taking the said Account, shall be entitled as Publishers to take and make for their own benefit all allowances, charges and deductions usually allowed to or made by Publishers as aforesaid (but so that all such allowances, charges and deductions in respect of any Editions published in England shall not exceed seven and a half per cent. on the actual Sale price), together with interest at the rate of Four per cent. per annum, to be computed as aforesaid, upon the said items of expenditure, or the yearly balance thereof (if any) against the enterprise.

How Account to be debited and credited.

13. The Delegates shall be entitled at their discretion to present any number of copies, not exceeding in all 100 of the first and every or any Subsequent Edition or Issue of the

Presentation copies.

principal or other Dictionaries and any Supplement or Supplements thereof, to Editors of Reviews or Periodicals and other persons likely by means of their writings or otherwise to promote the sale of the work, and to reserve Sixteen Copies of the said first or any subsequent altered or amended edition or issue for themselves, their Secretary, the Chancellor of the University, and the Proctors; and the University shall give the Society thirty like Copies for distribution among the Council of the Society or helpers of the Dictionary; and Copies so presented, given and reserved, shall not be taken into Account as Copies sold.

Provision for publication of larger Dictionary.

14. As soon as conveniently may be after the expiration of twelve years from the time of completion of the Publication of the principal Dictionary under the provisions of these Presents, or sooner if they think fit, the Delegates shall take into consideration and decide whether or not they will undertake the preparation, printing and publication, on the like terms to those herein prescribed for the said Principal Dictionary, so far as the same are applicable, of a larger Dictionary, to consist of not fewer than ten volumes, each containing not less than 1,600 pages of the size of the said Specimen page marked **A**, and of their decision shall forthwith give notice in writing to the Society; and in case the Delegates shall decide to undertake such further enterprise, they shall proceed with the same without delay; but in case they shall decide not to undertake the same, and the Society shall resolve to undertake it, the Delegates shall hand over to the Society all papers, writings, and materials collected for the purpose of preparing and publishing the principal Dictionary and for the time being remaining in the Custody of the Delegates, and otherwise afford the Society and such editors, Assistants and Agents as aforesaid all reasonable facilities to enable them to carry out such further enterprise as aforesaid for the Account and at the sole expense and risk of the Society.

Custody of documents for 12 years after completion of the principal Dictionary.

15. For the space of twelve years from the date of the completion of the principal Dictionary, the Delegates shall provide for the custody of all papers, writings and materials collected, or to be collected, for the purpose of preparing and publishing the Principal Dictionary, and shall keep and preserve the same either in the buildings of the Clarendon Press or elsewhere as they may think fit, but shall not be bound to adopt any

greater precautions against loss or damage of the same by fire or otherwise than are ordinarily observed by the Delegates in the custody of similar papers, writings and materials committed to their charge.

Disposal of documents after the said 12 years.

16. After the expiration of the said twelve years, the Delegates may either retain the custody of the said papers, writings and materials as long as they think fit on the same terms as to keeping and preserving the same as are herein provided for the said space of twelve years, or may at any time reassign and deliver the same, or so much thereof as shall not have been lost or damaged by accidental fire or otherwise, to the Society or their assigns, and require the Society or their assigns to remove the same; and if the Society or their assigns shall on such requisition fail to remove the same within a reasonable time, the Delegates shall thenceforth be absolved from all responsibility in respect thereof.

Agreement not to be affected by Delegates or other University Officers being interested in certain profits.

17. None of the provisions herein contained shall be in anywise affected by the circumstance of the Delegates or any other Officers or Agents of the University, whether in their official or private capacities, being interested in the profits of the business of the printing or binding firm by whom any of the said Dictionaries, or any part or parts thereof, or any supplement or supplements thereto respectively, may be printed and bound, or of the business of the paper makers by whom the paper for the same may be supplied, or of any other business or employment the products or results of which may be used for the work or any purpose connected therewith.

Restriction against assignment, etc., by the Society.

18. The Society shall not, unless with the consent of the Delegates, assign, charge or part with the benefit of these presents or any part thereof, and if and so soon as a winding-up of the Society shall be commenced, the mutual covenants and agreements herein contained shall be at an end, but without prejudice to the Assignment hereinbefore contained, and the Delegates shall thenceforth be at liberty to deal with the premises hereinbefore expressed to be hereby assigned, at their discretion.

Contract to bind the Delegates officially only.

19. The present Delegates, and their successors in that office for the time being, shall be bound by, and entitled to claim the benefit of these presents, as if they had been parties to, and had signed the same; but no present or future Delegate,

nor the Vice-Chancellor by reason of his having signed the same or otherwise, shall incur any personal liability for or in consequence of the breach or non-performance of any of the conditions or provisions on the part of the Delegates hereinbefore contained.

Arbitration Clause.

20. If any dispute, question or difference shall arise between the Society and the Delegates touching these Presents, or any clause or thing herein contained, or the construction hereof, or any matter in any way connected with these presents or the operation hereof, or the rights, duties, or liabilities of either party in connection with the premises, then, and in every or any such case, such dispute, question or difference shall be forthwith referred to two Arbitrators, one to be appointed by each party in difference, or an Umpire to be chosen by the Arbitrators before entering on the consideration of the dispute, question, or difference referred to them; and if either of the parties shall neglect to appoint an Arbitrator for the space of 28 days after a notice in writing so to do shall have been given to them by the other party, or shall appoint an Arbitrator who shall refuse to act, then the Arbitrator appointed by the other party shall make a final decision alone; And every such arbitration shall be subject to the provisions in that behalf contained in the Common Law Procedure Act 1854, or any then subsisting Statutory modification thereof, except where the same are hereby expressly varied, and upon every or any such reference the Arbitrators and Umpire shall respectively have power to examine the parties and witnesses upon Oath or Affirmation, and to direct any Deeds, Instruments, or Documents to be executed, and acts to be done, by either party, and either to fix, settle, and determine the amount of Costs of the Reference and Award respectively or incidental thereto to be paid by both parties or by either parties, or to direct the same to be taxed either as between Solicitor and Client, or as between party and party, or otherwise, and to direct and award when and by and to whom such costs shall be paid.

Submissions to be made Rules of Court.

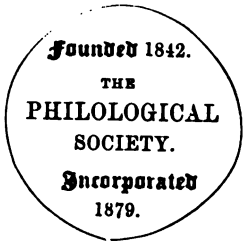
21. Every submission to Arbitration herein contained shall be made a Rule of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice on the application of either party.

Marginal notes.

22. The Marginal Notes to these presents are for convenience of reference only, and shall not affect the interpretation of the text.

In witness whereof the Society has caused its Common Seal to be hereunto affixed, and James Edward Sewell, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, has hereunto set his hand and Seal, for and on behalf of the within-named Delegates, the day and year first above written.

The Common Seal of the Philological Society was hereunto affixed in pursuance of a Resolution to that effect, in the presence of



FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

Honorary Secretary of the Philological Society,

3, St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.

March 1, 1879.

[*Specimen.*]

This is the Specimen Page above referred to, and marked **A.**

[*It is stuck in overleaf.*]

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(MEETING AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C.

1879.

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1877. J. WOOD, Esq.
1870. Nicholas Wilson WYER, Esq. 3, Matford Terrace, St Leonard's, Exeter.

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TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1877.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1877. CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance at Bankers	29	17	10			
„ „ in Treasurer's hands	0	2	0			
				29	19	10
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
To Sums received in 1877—						
For Arrears	21	0	0			
„ Entrance Fees	6	6	0			
„ Life Composition	10	10	0			
„ Subscriptions, 1877	107	2	0			
„ „ 1878	5	5	0			
				150	3	0
For Sale of Transactions				6	1	8
				£186	4	6

1877. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—						
Transactions—Asher & Co.....	44	6	0			
„ Austin & Sons ...	70	0	0			
				114	6	0
Dictionary and Sundries—Lowe and Jaques				3	12	11
By Engraving				2	12	6
„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				24	7	6
„ Hon. Secretary's Clerk				2	2	0
„ Stationery, Postage, etc.				1	9	7
„ By Banker's Charges on Country Cheques.....				0	3	0
„ Balance at Bankers	36	6	6			
„ „ in Treasurer's hands.....	1	4	6			
				37	11	0
				£186	4	6

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

JANUARY 30, 1878.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1878.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1878 CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance at Bankers	36	6	6			
" " in Treasurer's hands	1	4	6			
				37	11	0
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
To Sums received in 1878—						
For Arrears	8	8	0			
" Entrance Fees	4	4	0			
" Subscriptions, 1878	91	7	0			
" " 1879	2	2	0			
				106	1	0
For Sale of Transactions				10	0	0
				£153	12	0

1878. CASH PAID.	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.						
By Printing—						
Transactions—Austin & Sons	64	15	0			
" Clay & Taylor	5	8	0			
				70	3	0
By Dictionary—						
Martin				0	8	3
Registration of the Society				29	13	0
" Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				21	14	10
" Hon. Secretary's Clerk				1	1	0
" Stationery, Postage, etc.				0	17	3
" Banker's Charges on Country Cheques				0	1	0
" Balance at Bankers	28	16	8			
" " in Treasurer's hands	0	17	0			
				29	13	8
				£153	12	0

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

APRIL 28, 1879.

HERTFORD:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1878.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., *Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society.* *Cr.*

1878 CASH RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.						
To Balance at Bankers	36	6	6			
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Martin				0	8	3
Registration of the Society				29	13	0
" Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and Refreshments				21	14	10
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" Stationery, Postage, etc.				0	17	3
" Banker's Charges on Country Cheques				0	1	0
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" " in Treasurer's hands	0	17	0			
				29	13	8
				£153	12	0

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

APRIL 28, 1879.

(Signed) DANBY P. FRY, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.

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